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Main Focus

Human Security and Civil Society in the Western Balkans

Contributions from

Mary Kaldor
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Vesna Bojičić-Dželilović /
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Maren Roth

Amerikanische Politik und
soziokulturelle Realität in Bulgarien

Katrin Bergholz

Bürgerbeteiligung und Demokratie-
förderung in Bosnien und Herzegowina

Dokumentation

Martti Ahtisaari's Proposal on the Kosovo
Status Settlement, 2 February 2007

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Editorial

Sehr geehrte Leserin, sehr geehrter Leser,

Am 24. November 2006, wenige Wochen vor dem Auftakt zur deutschen EU-Ratspräsidentschaft, veranstaltete die Südosteuropa-Gesellschaft in der Bundesakademie für Sicherheitspolitik in Berlin eine internationale Konferenz zum Thema „German Presidency of the EU: Civil Society and the Human Security Agenda in the Balkans“. Initiator und Kooperationspartner war das Centre for the Study of Global Governance an der London School of Economics and Political Science. Im vorliegenden Heft der Südosteuropa Mitteilungen präsentieren wir Ihnen die wichtigsten Beiträge zu dieser Tagung sowie einen Konferenzbericht.

„Human Security“ beschreibt einen besonderen Ansatz, eine alternative Herangehensweise an die Fragen der Sicherheit. Anders als der „geopolitische Ansatz“, welcher die Verteidigung der Staatsgrenzen und des Staatsapparats in den Vordergrund stellt, konzentriert sich der Ansatz der „Human Security“ auf die Sicherheit des Individuums und berücksichtigt gleichermaßen wirtschaftliche und soziale wie militärische Aspekte von Sicherheit. Auch die Initiativen der EU auf dem Balkan, lautet die Kritik, konzentrieren sich zu stark auf den Staat und vernachlässigen individuelle, lokale und regionale Faktoren. Der Zivilgesellschaft, so die Autoren, sollte eine weit größere Bedeutung bei der Gestaltung der Politik in den Balkanländern zukommen als bisher. Neben kritischen Analysen der EU-Politik im Balkan widmen sich spezielle Beiträge dem Engagement der EU im Kosovo, der Reform des Sicherheitssektors und schließlich der „Transitional Justice“, dem Umgang mit und der Bewältigung von massenhaften Gewalt- und Kriegsverbrechen. Alle Beiträge werfen ein besonderes Augenmerk auf die spezifische Rolle der Zivilgesellschaft.

Mit Aspekten der Zivilgesellschaft auf dem Balkan befassen sich auch die letzten beiden Analysen in diesem Heft. Hier werden die US-Initiativen zur Demokratieförderung in Bulgarien einerseits und die Demokratisierung durch Bürgerbeteiligung in Bosnien-Herzegowina andererseits auf den Prüfstand gestellt.

Eine interessante und anregende Lektüre wünscht

Ihre Redaktion

Hansjörg Brey

Claudia Hopf

Dear reader,

on 24 November 2006, shortly before Germany took over the presidency of the European Council, the Southeast Europe Association organized an international conference on "German Presidency of the EU: Civil Society and the Human Security Agenda in the Balkans" at the Federal College for Security Studies in Berlin. The Centre for the Study of Global Governance at the London School of Economics and Political Science initiated and co-organized this event. In this issue of the *Südosteuropa Mitteilungen* you will find a collection of articles as an outcome of this conference, as well as a conference report.

„Human Security“ represents a special approach to the questions of security. Different from a geo-political approach which is defined by the defence of borders and the state apparatus, a human security approach is centred on the individual and includes economic, social and military aspects of security. The EU's initiatives in the Balkans, too, are severely state-centred and thus tend to neglect individual, local and regional aspects. According to the authors, civil society should play a crucial role in shaping politics in the Balkans. Following some critical analyses of EU politics in the Balkans, other contributions give an assessment of EU engagement in Kosovo, deal with the concept of security sector reform and examine the subject of transitional justice in addressing legacies of mass abuse and war crimes. All articles put a special focus on the role of civil society.

Two additional contributions to this volume, in German language, deal with US strategies of promoting democracy in Bulgaria and with projects engaging in fostering democracy through citizen participation in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Hansjörg Brey

Claudia Hopf

Editors

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Mary Kaldor

Human Security in the Balkans

The article elaborates two approaches to security informing the interventions in the Balkans: a geo-political approach which is defined by the defence of borders and of the state apparatus and a human security approach which is centred on an individual and includes economic, social and military aspects of security. A human security approach was developed during the Bosnian war, largely in response to the failure of the geo-political approach to further the security of individuals and communities. Most notably, it has been championed and practised by the EU. However, the EU has never succeeded in articulating a distinctive human security narrative, which may challenge the dominant geopolitical approach. Arguing that EU's involvement in the Balkans is tied to the character of the EU itself, the article contends that the future of the EU may well depend on its readiness to apply seriously a cosmopolitan approach to the Balkans. It would not only improve the lot of the people in the region, but also strengthen the European idea.

Marie-Janine Calic

EU Enlargement and Common Foreign and Security Policy in the Western Balkans

From the early 1990s onwards, the EU has assumed ever greater responsibility in shaping post-Yugoslav security. However, from the very beginning there have been indications that EU foreign policy bodies lacked synergy and that "full coherency between the EU political agenda and EU civilian-based activity on the ground" was missing.

The perspective of future membership in the European Union has had a profound transformative impact on the Western Balkan countries: it has worked as a carrot to initiate and sustain reforms; it represented a framework for conflict settlement; and an effective incentive to improve regional co-operation. In view of a further stabilisation and pacification of the region it remains of vital importance to keep up the perspective of full membership of the EU.

However, in light of the EU constitutional crisis, ambiguity over future enlargement arises in a critical moment when the European Union faces serious challenges in the Balkans, resulting in renewed contradictions between intergovernmental (CFSP) and community (SAP) approaches. Since conditionality is more and more seen as an obstacle, not incentive, to developing relations with the EU, policies towards the

region seem again to be drifting apart, thereby risking to seriously endanger achieved progress with regard to coherency between goals, policies and instruments of the EU.

Vesna Bojičić-Dželilović / Denisa Kostovicova / Mary Martin
Civil Society's Role in Advancing Human Security: European Union Policies in the Western

The article argues that framing the EU policy in the Western Balkans in human security terms could help overcome failures of its past attempts to achieve sustainable security in the region. It first discusses the value added of a human security approach to existing EU state and non-state initiatives, and analyses the difficulties in implementing a human security policy in the Western Balkans. It goes on to show how and why state weakness has become a root cause of human insecurity in the Western Balkans, which makes the EU's overwhelmingly state-centred initiatives inapt in providing the security of individuals and communities. Through an elaboration of three key principles of the Human Security Doctrine for Europe, i.e. the 'bottom-up' approach, legitimate political authority and a regional focus, the paper argues there is a crucial role that the civil society can and should play in mitigating the risks to human security in the Western Balkans.

Edis Arifagić / Senad Šabović
A Human Security Assessment of EU Engagement in Kosovo

The UN-led interim administration in Kosovo represents a near unique case in terms of the scope of responsibilities accorded to the international community in its role as the province's surrogate government. Over the past seven years, international officials have policed Kosovo, created and managed its institutions, passed legislation and held free and fair elections. The European Union has had a major role to play within this arrangement, acting as the caretaker of the province's economy and the driving force behind the post-conflict reconstruction effort.

The EU's record in Kosovo, much like that of the international community in general, has been mixed, with major successes tempered by a number of systemic and critical failures that have at times attracted harsh criticism, both locally and internationally. With the future status of Kosovo set to be determined in the early months of 2007, the EU is poised to take over from the UN as the principle civilian representative of the international community in Kosovo.

This study draws out human security-related lessons from the UN-led era, for the benefit of the new administration, a useful task given that many of the challenges faced previously by the UN still linger today.

Svetlana Djurdjević-Lukić
Security Sector Reform and the Role of Civil Society in the Western Balkans

The paper gives a background to the concept of security sector reform (SSR), an overview of common problems within the security sector in the Western Balkans, and concrete recommendations regarding the support of civil society in fostering SSR. These issues are analyzed in the context of attempts to achieve a more coherent EU conception of SSR and its human security approach.

The author argues that the concept of SSR is particularly pertinent to the Western Balkans, as it provides a framework for addressing three simultaneous transitions: post-authoritarian, economic and post-conflict. There are many features common to SSR in the Western Balkans, but also some important differences regarding perceptions of threats to security, the status of reform, and the prioritization of various security-related issues. It is argued that civil society is a key enabler in both SSR and human security.

Mark Freeman / Jaspreet K. Saini 1Transitional Justice and Civil Society

The subject of transitional justice has emerged in recent years as one of the fastest growing domains of theory and practice within the broader field of international human rights. Broadly speaking, transitional justice focuses on the question of how societies in transition from war to peace, or from authoritarian rule to democracy, can and have addressed legacies of mass abuse. The aim of transitional justice is to confront these legacies in a broad and holistic manner. In practice, the discipline focuses on four main mechanisms: criminal prosecutions, truth commissions, victim reparation programs, and vetting procedures. Additional cross-cutting themes should be considered in order to effectively confront a legacy of mass abuse.

The paper provides an overview of transitional justice mechanisms and thematic considerations, and identifies potentially constructive roles that civil society actors can play in a transitional justice process.

Nataša Kandić Transitional Justice in the Post-Conflict Societies in Former Yugoslavia

The paper first reflects on the post-conflict political context in Serbia and the issues it raises for transitional justice, and, in particular, war crimes trials as a mode of dealing with the past.

It then provides a detailed review of the involvement and activities of the Humanitarian Law Centre, Belgrade, aimed at encouraging the state and society to face the past. The paper argues that war crimes trials currently being held in the states of the former Yugoslavia are conducted more professionally if regional cooperation has been established between prosecutor's offices, if human rights organizations help to secure documentation and witnesses, and if the victims are represented in court.

Maren Roth

Education for Democracy? American Politics and Socio-Cultural Reality in Bulgaria after 1990

After the end of socialism, international actors such as the IMF or the EU as well as individual governments implemented ambitious programs to help the post-communist countries in their transition to democracy and market economy. Although such processes taking place in different historical periods and countries are hardly comparable there is a strong belief, particularly in the USA, that the successful democratization of Germany after 1945 can serve as a global model, i.e., that democracy can be installed in all socio-cultural contexts by means of external aid. The paper focuses on American “democracy promotion” in post-socialist Bulgaria where the US government and private organizations aimed at not only democratizing the political system but also at “changing values and habits absorbed by the Bulgarian people over generations” through “education for democracy”. The empirical study of three institutions involved in the education for democracy and funded largely by US money revealed that American donors promoting democracy abroad indeed tend to impose their own models and not to take into account the socio-cultural realities of the recipient country. By not acknowledging the fact that Bulgarian institutions – and society in general – function according to local rules, norms, and traditions (such as the great importance of kinship networks, clientelism, and systemic distrust) the long-term impact of the “education for democracy” has been relatively low. In order to be effective, democratization aid has to be adjusted to the specific conditions of the country.

Katrin Bergholz

Democratization from Bottom-up or from Outside? Citizen Participation and Democracy Promotion in Bosnia and Herzegovina

For the last fifteen years a whole range of external actors has been engaged in fostering democracy in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Recently a new approach has been applied: democratization through citizen participation on the municipality level. At the same time new forms of citizen participation emerged. But so far no assessment has been made, if citizen participation really is the result of external assistance programs. The article examines the circumstances being provided for citizen participation and discusses the influence of internal and external factors in building an active citizenship and a responsive government in Bosnia and Herzegovina. It comes to the conclusion that both the level of urbanization as well as the level of combining different instruments of external aid can explain the emergence of certain forms of citizen participation.