

# SÜDOSTEUROPA

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05-06 | 2006 46. Jahrgang



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## **Sehr geehrte Leserin, sehr geehrter Leser,**

für Deutschland und die Europäische Union wird der 1. Januar 2007 ein bedeutender Meilenstein sein. Mit dem Beitritt Bulgariens und Rumäniens vollzieht die EU einen weiteren großen Schritt bei ihrer Südosterweiterung. Deutschland übernimmt für sechs Monate die EU-Ratspräsidentschaft und sieht sich dabei mit enormen Erwartungen konfrontiert. Nicht zuletzt sollen endlich Fortschritte bei der Einigung auf grundlegende institutionelle Reformen (Stichwort: Europäische Verfassung) erreicht werden. Solche Reformen erklärte die Europäische Kommission in ihrer im November 2006 veröffentlichten Erweiterungsstrategie zu einer Voraussetzung für die Aufnahme neuer Mitglieder. Schon deshalb wird somit auch die EU-Südosterweiterung zu einem Thema der deutschen Ratspräsidentschaft werden.

Für eine „konsequente EU-Südosterweiterung“ plädiert Ditmar Staffelt, Mitglied des Deutschen Bundestags, in seinem programmatischen Beitrag. Die Aufgabe der deutschen EU-Ratspräsidentschaft bestehe darin, „gleichzeitig Wege aus der Verfassungskrise aufzuzeigen und Vorschläge zu entwickeln für eine Zukunftsstrategie der EU einschließlich der Südosterweiterung“. Sein Argument: „Die sicherheitspolitischen Kosten der Nicht-Integration, die Verantwortung der Europäischen Union als Akteur in der Region, die historische und kulturelle Nähe Westeuropas zum westlichen Balkan, und die Frage des europäischen Selbstverständnisses, all dies sind gewichtige Punkte, die für eine EU-Südosterweiterung sprechen.“ Staffelts Fazit: „Der westliche Balkan gehört zu Europa und seine Länder mittelfristig auch in die EU. Deutschland muss Motor des EU-Integrationsprozesses bleiben.“

Dass Integration und Kooperation für alle Beteiligten ein Gewinn sein kann, dies soll sich am „Energy Community Treaty“ zeigen, mit dem sich der Sonderkoordinator des Stabilitätspakts für Südosteuropa, Erhard Busek, in seiner Analyse befasst. Die am 1. Juli 2006 in Kraft getretene Energiegemeinschaft zwischen der EU und den Staaten Südosteuropas will die Energieversorgung in Südosteuropa stabilisieren, optimieren und diversifizieren, und zugleich die Sicherheit der Energieversorgung in den EU-Staaten erhöhen. Die Vertragsstaaten in Südosteuropa haben sich dabei verpflichtet, wichtige Reformschritte im Energiebereich konkret und rasch umzusetzen und dabei effektiv miteinander zu kooperieren. Die Energiegemeinschaft schafft damit quasi einen Raum, in dem Reformen unmittelbar und unabhängig vom Stand der EU-Integrationsstufe des jeweiligen Landes vollzogen werden können und müssen.

Das vorliegende Doppelheft der Südosteuropa Mitteilungen bietet Ihnen als Leser/in wieder eine Fülle von Beiträgen, die sich überwiegend mit Grundsatzthemen der Region befassen. An dieser Stelle wollen wir uns besonders bei unseren Autoren bedanken. Oft stehen wir in der Redaktion vor der „Qual der Wahl“ aus einer Fülle eingereicher bzw. angebotener Beiträge –

eine Tatsache, die für manchen am Ende abgewiesenen Autor bitter, der Qualität des Endprodukts aber sicherlich zuträglich ist. Ein besonderer Dank gilt auch den Verfassern von Buchrezensionen. Sie erschließen unseren Lesern die nach wie vor große Fülle von (meist) lesenswerter Literatur über und aus Südosteuropa.

Zu Beginn des Jahres 2007 müssen wir die Verkaufspreise für die Südosteuropa Mitteilungen nach vielen Jahren Preisstabilität leicht auf 60 Euro (Abonnement) bzw. 12 Euro (Einzelheft) erhöhen. Diese Erhöhung wird durch die auch für uns konstant gestiegenen Produktionskosten notwendig und geht im Übrigen parallel zu einer Erhöhung der Mitgliedsbeiträge der Südosteuropa-Gesellschaft. Wir hoffen sehr, dass Sie uns als Leser/in die Treue halten werden.

Eine anregende und aufschlussreiche Lektüre wünscht Ihnen

Ihre Redaktion

Hansjörg Brey

Claudia Hopf

# SÜDOSTEUROPA

## Mitteilungen

Zeitschrift der Südosteuropa-Gesellschaft

Summaries Heft 05-06/2006 46.Jahrgang

**Ditmar Staffelt**

### **Integrating the Balkans: A Plea for a Coherent South Eastern Enlargement of the European Union**

Germany will hold the presidency of the European Union starting from January 2007. The main challenges which Germany will have to tackle are the so-called “enlargement fatigue” together with the constitutional crisis within the EU. For both, it is necessary to go back to the original idea of the European Union: peaceful political cooperation and economic development.

As far as the integration of the Western Balkans is concerned, two major achievements in the region give rise to hope: first, the SEEFTA (South East Europe Free Trade Agreement) has been created and should be ratified soon; second, the “Energy Community Treaty” between South Eastern Europe and the EU has come into being in 2006. These offer a good basis for economic development in the region. The perspective of accession to the European Union is also the strongest incentive for democratic movements in the region. At the same time the European Union should insist that there will be no accession to its structures without a complete fulfilment of its economic and political conditions. Germany’s commitment to the integration of the Western Balkans is expressed in its support of the Stability Pact for South Eastern Europe, among many other efforts to support these countries. Germany should continue to lead the region on its way to the European Union and place the subject on the agenda of the EU presidency.

**Erhard Busek**

### **The Energy Community Treaty: Securing the Energy Supply in Southeast Europe and in the EU**

The Energy Community Treaty (ECT) that has entered into force on 1 July 2006 has set up a legal framework that enhances security of energy supply both in South Eastern Europe and in the EU by creating competitive energy markets compatible with sustainable development. The initiative has been launched as a prerequisite to maintain social cohesion in South Eastern Europe and to meet the future demand for energy resulting from economic growth.

The challenges that the EU will be facing in the future in the field of energy security are manifold: Infrastructure is ageing and needs to be replaced; the dependency on import of primary fuels is growing and these are concentrated in only a few countries; world energy demands and energy prices are still rising; the growth in energy

consumption means a further boost in the emission of greenhouse gases. In order to address these challenges, the European Commission is following an energy strategy that rests on five pillars: the creation of competitive internal energy markets; the diversification of the energy mix; suppliers and supply routes; enhancing energy efficiency and saving; enhancing solidarity (in order to prevent and eventually manage energy supply crises); and enhancing a coherent external energy policy. The Energy Community Treaty shows that countries in South Eastern Europe can successfully work together and thus gives regional co-operation true credibility.

**Cornelius Friesendorf**

### **Strategies Against Human Trafficking in Southeast Europe: A Lack of Prevention, Protection and Cooperation**

The trafficking of women and girls for the purpose of sexual exploitation has become a prominent European security concern. Over recent years, governments, international organizations and non-governmental organizations have been implementing numerous programs in Southeast Europe against sex trafficking. The article examines the shortcomings of counter-trafficking efforts. One problem is that counter-trafficking has focused on coercion, neglecting the prevention of trafficking. Wealthy countries of destination have been primarily fighting illegal migration and organized crime, instead of mitigating poverty, social exclusion and other socio-economic root causes of trafficking. Another problem is that law enforcement in Southeast Europe and the EU has often victimized trafficked persons. Last, anti-trafficking actors fiercely compete for funding and influence and have thus often failed to coordinate their activities. Much needs to be done for anti-trafficking efforts to be more effective, efficient and just.

**Michael Raith**

### **Quo vadis Belgrade? Serbia between European Integration and Nationalist Isolation**

2006 has been a very decisive year for Serbia. At the beginning of May, the EU suspended the negotiations about a Stabilization and Association Agreement due to Belgrade's failure to hand over war crimes fugitive Ratko Mladic to the International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia (ICTY) in The Hague. Only a few weeks later, Serbia was dealt another blow when Montenegro's citizens decided to leave the State Union with Belgrade. In addition to that, Prishtina has been steadily gearing up for independence, with international pressure rising on Belgrade to come to terms with the ultimate loss of Kosovo.

In defiance of these developments, however, the country's newly adopted constitution refers to Kosovo as an integral part of Serbia. Threatened by a nationalist backlash in the case of Kosovo's independence, the country has indeed reached the most important political crossroads since the fall of the Milosevic-regime six years ago. In light of the upcoming parliamentary and presidential elections, it is now up to Serbia's democratic forces and her people to decide whether Belgrade will continue on the path to Euro-Atlantic integration or walk in the other direction, opting for



nationalist isolation and a pariah status within an integrating Europe.

<p><b>Erwan Fouéré</b>  <b>Macedonia's Perspective of EU Membership</b></p>
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The perspective of EU membership has proven to be a most effective instrument to sustain stability and to achieve much needed reforms in Macedonia like in the whole Southeast European region. Macedonia serves as an example for the rest of the region – barely five years after a grave conflict it was granted candidate status to join the EU. The EU's decision taken in December 2005 to grant candidate status was recognition of the commitment of the country's leaders to fully implement the Ohrid Framework Agreement and progress achieved in that respect. However, much effort is required to ensure continued inter-ethnic cooperation. Only through a continuous dialogue a broad consensus on crucial reforms can be attained.

In a number of areas Macedonia still needs to deliver on its reform agenda: the full implementation of judicial reforms; fight against corruption; economic and administrative reforms. The country needs to get rid of an unhealthy degree of party influence over vital areas of society and in particular the economy. It should also remain fully committed to regional cooperation.

The EU, meanwhile, will continue its support programmes that cover all vital sectors targeted for reform. After all, it is very important that the enlargement perspective be upheld.

<p><b>Heinz-Jürgen Axt / Oliver Schwarz</b>  <b>“It's Only Your Name That's My Enemy” – Scenarios for the Solution of the Greek-Macedonian Name Dispute</b></p>
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Like Shakespeare's "Romeo and Juliet", the Greek-Macedonian name dispute belongs to the classics on the stage of politics. But in contrast to the well-known end of these two narrative characters, it is up to the decision-making of the real political actors in Greece and Macedonia to avoid such a kind of tragedy in the name dispute. Referring to the Macedonian position in this issue, a recent change has to be noticed: Since July 2006, a new conservative government rules the Western Balkans state. Using this change of administration as a starting point, the following article discusses several scenarios for the solution of the Greek-Macedonian name dispute. Reflecting the European integration process of Macedonia, three possibilities will be analyzed: The name dispute will be solved before the start of the EU negotiation talks, a solution will be found during these talks or the dispute will be solved after the entry of Macedonia into the European Union. Before the chances of realization of these three scenarios will be evaluated, the background of the Greek-Macedonian name dispute will be presented, the up-to-now approaches of the dispute will be described and the new positioning of Prime Minister Gruevski's administration will be discussed.

<p><b>Delina Binaj</b></p>
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## **The Political Participation of Women in Albania**

The low level of political participation of women in politics in Albania gives reason for concern. In the analyses, the situation of the political representation of women is described and different causes for the actual situation, like the lack of a coherent feminist movement, are discussed. Based on a comparison with the apparently high level of political emancipation of women during the time of the socialist regime, the paper argues that equal rights for women in politics have to be achieved and defended, not only in public but also in a private sphere in order to be sustainable. Nevertheless, traditional and patriarchal values, attitudes and behaviour are not only still very present in the rural areas of Albania today but seem to re-emerge also in the urban centres of the country, accompanying the process of modernization. Women, their role in the families and their situation in the society are particularly affected by these tendencies, which also limit their aspirations for equal participation in politics. The paper calls for a more comprehensive understanding of these phenomena and for adequate actions of the state, as well as of the society.

## **Edda Binder-Iijima Monarchy in Romania – About the European Classification of a Southeast European Institution**

The European unification process, symbolized by the motto of the European Union „United in Diversity“, and the claim for forging a common destiny for the European peoples, while remaining proud of their own national identities and history, as stated in the preamble of the Treaty for a Constitution for Europe, means also a challenge for European historiography. Moreover, it leads to the question to what degree a country’s history is shaped by indigenous factors and mainstream European influences. A look into the development of the Romanian monarchy may exemplify how the old traditional institution of “The Prince” was transformed into a constitutional monarchy under the influence of the overall European constitutional process in the 19th century. All newly established countries in South Eastern Europe were confronted with the simultaneous problems of state- and nation-building. To secure internal and external stability, the elites of Romania, Greece and Bulgaria adopted the model of a constitutional monarchy under a foreign ruler, also as a means to integrate themselves in a monarchical European community and to be treated on equal terms, a process with parallels to the present situation in Europe. The article discusses problems how in the case of Romania, the kings of a foreign dynasty – the Hohenzollern-Sigmaringen – contributed to the formation of a political system with a strong government impact and how nowadays, the royal legacy influences Romanian historiography and politics.

## **Stefan Troebst The Black Sea World as Historical Region**

Among the various concepts of historical meso-regions, the “Black Sea World” is a fairly new one. Here, the British historian-turned-journalist Neal Ascherson paved the

way with his bestseller 'Black Sea'. Whereas Fernand Braudel has treated the Black Sea region as a mere annex of his "Mediterranean World", other historians, like the Romanian Gheorghe Ion Brtianu, set out to construct a circumpontic region sui generis. In the 1990s, the Turkish historian Eyüp Özveren re-discovered Brtianu and incorporated his ideas in his own concept of a primarily mercantile and cultural "Black Sea World" in the "long" 19<sup>th</sup> century. And recently, Charles King published the first comprehensive monograph entitled 'The Black Sea. A History'.