



CONSENT for Europe

PHD ONLINE JOURNAL

VOL. 2

(Edited by Attila Ághm, Beatrix Futák-Campbell, and József Szuper)



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OCTOBER, BUDAPEST TOGETHER FOR EUROPE RESEARCH CENTRE- DOCTORAL
SCHOOL**

The series of the EU Consent PhD Schools has been set in motion and the Budapest School will soon be followed by the Dublin and Cambridge Schools in early 2007. Establishing a real PhD network across Europe takes more time than a year, although its first signs can already be seen through the intensifying contacts amongst the 'alumni' of the Budapest School on one side, and between the PhD students and the whole EU Consent network on the other. Despite our efforts to issue calls for papers to publish them on the PhD online Journal, not too many papers have arrived so far. But hopefully this number will increase by the up-coming PhD Schools and by the perspective of the next Award for the best three papers in 2007.

This issue of the Journal attempts to facilitate the networking by introducing current information on the major EU news and upcoming events. We take into account that many students may have interests not only in the EU25 or EU27 but also in the neighbouring countries, first of all in the West Balkan region or in the potential candidate states, but also in the East European states. Therefore we have made some efforts to open up the information window towards these lesser known but more challenging topics and states that is additional special profile of this

Journal. As far as the upcoming events are concerned, we believe that getting information about the events is very useful even in those cases when the readers have no opportunity this time to attend them, but knowing about these events makes it possible to prepare for such occasions. We would also like to offer the opportunity here to all PhD students to express their opinion and comments which we will attempt to meet in future publications.

In this issue of the Journal, three topics emerge as important themes for the year 2006, which offer at the same time attractive topics for research for the next year. First, the last phase of the so called fifth enlargement or the Eastern enlargement will take place on 1 January 2007 when two Balkan states, Bulgaria and Romania will enter the EU. It is a big challenge not only for the Balkan experts, but for all EU researchers, since this entry will also influence the entire workings of the EU transnational institutions; in same way as the entry of the EU10 did in 2004. Of course, there will be particular effects to the new enlargement, given the relatively low capacity of these new member states and/or the problems concerning the relationships with their neighbourhood. The second topic which invites research is the old and still new debate on the absorption capacity of the EU. No doubt

that these new discussions will focus on the membership of Turkey after the 6 December Communication of the European Commission and after the 14-15 December Summit of the European Council that will be overwhelmed by this issue. Thirdly, the "constitutionalization" of Europe will be high on the agenda in 2007 given the fact that the German Presidency will attribute a great significance to the issue of the Constitution or, perhaps better to say, to the next Treaty. The 50th anniversary of

the EU in Rome in March 2007 will certainly relaunch the initiative for the new Treaty and a large debate will start or restart around this topic. Most probably these will be the important issues for the 2007 PhD papers too, since the PhD students are usually very sensitive to recent events. Finally, the editors of this Journal wish to thank you all for your cooperation this year and hope for more papers and more intensive collaboration next year.



II. GENERAL INFORMATION ON THE UPCOMING SCHOOLS

The Summer and Winter Doctoral Schools are integral parts of the EU-CONSENT network of excellence. They are designed to provide transnational training for doctoral students and to create lasting networks of young researchers. The Schools enable us to link the horizontal and vertical work packages with the mobility and training of young doctoral students. Six Doctoral Schools will be held during the lifetime of the project in EU-CONSENT partner institutions. Five of them will be attached to work packages; the sixth school has been left open for summarising the experiences and closing the training process. The Steering Group has decided on the following themes connected with the Work Packages:

1. EU Institutions and Political Actors (WP IV, date: 1-5 May 2006 *in Budapest*)
2. Constructing Europe (WP II/III, date: 18-23 February 2007 *in Dublin*)
2. Political and Security Aspects of the EU (WP VII, date: 23-26 April 2007 *in Cambridge*)
4. Democracy, Legitimacy and Identities (WP V, expected date: Summer of 2007)
5. Economic and Social Policies (WP VI, expected date: Spring of 2008)
6. Closing PhD School in Cologne

Second EU-CONSENT PhD School The Dynamics of European Integration: Trends and Turns in the Theoretical "Acquis Académique"

The second EU-CONSENT PhD School will be organized in Dublin jointly by the *University College Dublin*, the *University of Cologne* and *Budapest Corvinus University*.

The theme of this second summer school will be to examine and to assess both "classical" and more recent theoretical approaches to the process of EU deepening and widening from different disciplinary backgrounds (political science, economic and law). In doing so, the differentiation and (disciplinary) heterogeneity of the field will be taken into account. As a major task, the school will discuss the questions of

- how dominant theoretical approaches in the field of EU studies may be applied to the analysis of EU deepening and widening and
- cross-disciplinary insights can be gained from them.

The week of the PhD school will consist in equal parts of lectures from leading senior researchers on approaches in political science, economics and law and of the participants presenting and discussing their PhD projects. In addition to presenting a paper based on their own doctoral research, all participants will be expected to act as discussant to one of the other presentations and to contribute to the general discussion of papers presented throughout the school.



The School will be held from **18 February 2007** to **23 February 2007** in the **University College Dublin**.

**Third EU-CONSENT PhD School
The CFSP/ESDP: Effective
Multilateralism?**

The second EU-CONSENT PhD School will be organized in Cambridge jointly by the *University of Cambridge* and *Budapest Corvinus University*.

The theme of the School will focus on the effectiveness of the CFSP/ESDP as a system of collective diplomatic action, and its interaction with other IGOs. As a major task, the school will discuss the questions of:

- Leadership in CFSP/EDSP
- Representation and legal personality
- Implementation and effectiveness
- Problems of foreign policy integration in an EU of 27
- Relations between the EU and other international organisations
- EU capacities and capabilities in foreign policy

These topics will be presented by the most competent lecturers such as Dr Lisbeth Aggestam, Prof Renaud Dehousse, Dr Ettore Greco, Dr Karen Smith, Prof Wolfgang Wessels, and Prof Christopher Hill.

The School will be held from **23 April 2007** to **26 April 2007** in the **University of Cambridge**.

The application deadline is **31 January 2007**.



III. UPCOMING EVENTS

Date: 5-6 December 2006

Event: Social Platform Conference

Title: *Social Values and Democracy - Renewing the Guiding Principles of the European Union*

More information:

www.socialplatform.org

Date: 11-12 December 2006

Event: ERA Conference

Title: *The Europeanisation of Private Law*

More information: www.era.int

Date: 23-24 March 2007

Event: UACES Conference

Title: *Reflections on European Integration 50 Years of the Treaty of Rome*

More information: www.uaces.org

Date: 23-25 May 2007

Event: NISA Conference

Title: *Power, Vision, and Order in World Politics*: University of Southern Denmark,

Call for papers, and panels deadline:

1 December

More information:

<http://www.ps.au.dk/nisa/>

Date: 2-4 August 2007

Event: ICCEES Regional European Congress

Title: *Transcending Europe's Borders - The EU and Its Neighbours*

Call for papers deadline 1 December

More information: www.iccees-europe.de

EU News

EPC

The full articles are available at:

www.epc.eu

Europe as a model for a global open society

The EU is a "text book" example of an open society, with its insistence on individual freedom and the rule of law, and could serve as the prototype for a global open society and thus help to build a more stable world order, George Soros told a Policy Dialogue organised by the EPC and the Open Society Institute. EU foreign policy chief Javier Solana expressed "optimism" about the progress being made, despite the recent setbacks.

The inclusive labour market and career patterns: achieving the Lisbon targets?

Social policies must adapt to the Europe's changing demography, encourage higher fertility levels, improve 'human capital' and enable more women to enter the labour market, speakers at an EPC Policy Dialogue agreed. As well as policies to foster greater labour market flexibility, support Europe's older workers and protect older citizens, much more needs to be done to support



working parents and help both men and women to achieve a good work/life balance.

Central & Eastern Europe: economic prospects, policies and market views

The ten new and future EU Member States in Central and Eastern Europe are achieving “impressive” economic growth, said Susan Schadler, Deputy Director of the International Monetary Fund’s European Department, at an EPC Policy Briefing. This has been fuelled by the “halo” of EU membership, and the prospect of eventual euro-zone membership. These countries are also taking steps to improve their economic management and create an investment-friendly atmosphere, with positive results.

The European Parliament at mid-term

“The Parliament can be proud of itself,” declared its President Josep Borrell Fontelles at an EPC Breakfast Policy Briefing. It is working well, has successfully integrated MEPs from the new Member States and is playing a major role in deciding on key EU legislation. However, Mr Borrell acknowledged that the rejection of the Constitutional Treaty had left a “deep mark” on the Parliament, and also said it needed to monitor the European Commission’s work more effectively.

Peace versus justice? Lessons for the EU’s role in conflict prevention

Speakers at the EPC-International Center for Transitional Justice Policy Dialogue focused on the challenges of ensuring that international efforts to bring closure to violent conflicts pay equal attention to the demands of peace and justice. While agreeing that there must be no competition or confrontation between the two values and that peace and justice must be mutually reinforcing to be effective, the speakers also recognised the need to be realistic in dealing with specific conflicts.

Striking a healthy balance: the role of public health in promoting a safer Europe

Europe needs a healthy population both because of the benefits this brings to society as a whole and the impact of ill-health on its economic performance, Markos Kyprianou, European Commissioner for Health and Consumer Protection, told an EPC Breakfast Policy Briefing. Highlighting obesity and excessive alcohol consumption as two major concerns, Mr Kyprianou outlined what the Commission is doing to encourage healthier lifestyles and explained why the cross-border provision of health services is becoming an increasingly important issue.



Sixty-Minute Briefing on Transport

The mid-term review of European transport policy is designed to provide “sustainable mobility for Europe”, in the road, rail, marine and air transport sectors, Matthias Ruete, the European Commission’s Director-General for Energy and Transport, told an EPC Sixty-Minute Briefing. The review therefore focuses on a “triangle” of issues: encouraging the development of a ‘green’ energy policy, boosting European growth and competitiveness, and ensuring safety and security in the transport sector.

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ICEG EC- Corvinus

The full articles are available at:
www.icegec.hu

Romania ‘needs’ higher budget deficit

The Romanian government has approved the planned budget on 28 June 2006, and due to this step the 0.9% budget deficit planned for this year will go up to 2.5%. The decision does not affect the macro factors, and the analysts do not wait for the significant increasing of the inflation as well.

CER

The full articles are available at:
www.cer.org.uk

Will the eurozone crack?(by Simon Tilford)

Europeans often refer to EMU and enlargement as two of the EU’s greatest successes. Unfortunately, diverging trends in competitiveness within the eurozone threaten its stability. If they persist, there is a risk the eurozone will break-up. Italy is most likely to trigger a crisis. If Italy fails to improve its competitiveness, it will eventually be forced to leave the eurozone. The consequences would be hugely damaging, not just for EMU, but for Europe more broadly. It could easily force other countries to quit and even threaten the single market.

Notre Europe

The full articles are available at:
www.notre-europe.eu

Europe and its think tanks: a promise to be fulfilled



It is always interesting to watch the arrival of a word onto the European political and media scene. That of “think tank” seems to be on the way to establishing itself in the lexicon - some might say jargon - of European discourse.

Paradoxically, the development of think tanks in Europe has hardly been “thought” about. The phenomenon itself is relatively new and few studies have concentrated specifically on the subject. By focusing on the development of think tanks in the 25 member States of the European Union which are interested - exclusively or in large part - in the analysis of EU institutions and policies, the present survey therefore seeks to explore largely uncharted research territory.

The exercise was carried out by a team of external researchers led by Stephen Boucher. It is not, of course, unrelated to *Notre Europe’s* analysis of what role it may play today. But it goes further than that by presenting as in-depth an examination as possible of think tanks working on European affairs, both from the descriptive angle (which mission, activities, resources ?) and from the analytical one (which strengths, weaknesses, influences, challenges and future trends ?).

CEPS

The full articles are available at:

www.ceps.be

Just what is this ‘absorption capacity’ of the European Union?

There is a tendency in some political discourse now to say that, because the Constitution that was meant to prepare for enlargement failed to be ratified, the enlargement process has now hit a roadblock called ‘absorption capacity’. An alternative narrative is that the Constitution proposed some useful but marginal systemic changes, but its ratification was badly mismanaged by some political leaders. In the meantime, the EU has not experienced gridlock, and its current major political issues have nothing to do with enlargement. The case for a pause after the 2004 and 2007 enlargements is undeniable. EU27 will have to settle down, and sort out the constitutional imbroglio. However the plausible time horizon for any next major enlargement is many years ahead, maybe 2015, with various transitional arrangements pushing the real date in important respects beyond 2020 (e.g. for the labour market). The vague idea of ‘absorption capacity’ is better deconstructed into more precise and objective components such as the capacity of the EU’s internal market, labour market, budget, eurozone and institutional system to absorb new member states, society’s capacity to absorb immigration and the EU’s capacity for assuring its strategic security. All these issues can be discussed, but they are not static matters. Changes in public opinion may be expected to follow from new realities. The dynamics of enhancing capacities for change deserve priority attention. The ‘final frontiers’ proposition (presumably



to the exclusion of both Turkey and Ukraine at the least) is a thoroughly bad idea, since there are well-established outer limits in any case to the map of Europe (e.g. Council of Europe membership) and to EU membership as in the Treaty of Rome. It would be a strategic blunder for the EU now to invent a new irreversible dividing line within this map between 'real Europe' and an imagined 'other' (uncivilised?) Europe beyond. The term 'absorption capacity' should be dropped from use in official texts, unless deconstructed into objective elements. Otherwise it is giving the impression of some pseudo-scientific and static reality, and plays into the hands of populist political rhetoric.

Neighborhood Policy

EPC

The full articles are available at:

www.epc.eu

The Serbian question

Speakers gave a mixed assessment of Serbia's current and future prospects at a Policy Dialogue organised by the EPC with the King Baudouin Foundation. While the country's current political leaders appeared incapable of moving the country forward, the forthcoming elections might bring in new blood. Speakers agreed that Serbia needs to move forward and prepare itself for potential EU membership, and the Union needs to increase its visibility on the ground.

ICEG EC- Corvinus

The full articles are available at:

www.icegec.hu

Montenegro Economic Consequences of Secession

On 21 May 2006 Montenegro organised a referendum on independence in line with the provisions of Article 60 of the Constitutional Charter of Serbia and Montenegro. According to the results published by the Republic Referendum Commission on 31 May, 86.5% of those eligible to vote took part in the referendum and 55.5% of voters supported independence. Thus the Montenegrin Parliament adopted the Declaration of Independence on 3 June (formally celebrating independence on July 12). Along with the European Union, the United States, Croatia and other countries the Government of Serbia also officially recognized Montenegro on

15 June.

Fighting inflation in Serbia

It has been many times stated that in Southeast Europe the two biggest macroeconomic problems are the high level of trade deficit and unemployment, but on the other hand the region performs a remarkable economic growth rate. All these stand for Serbia as well, but in addition it has a further problematic factor that needs to be combated, namely the inflation. Despite the strict fiscal policy and monetary policy attempts, the rate is still double-



digit and it is expected to remain so in 2006 and 2007 as well, thus fighting inflation remains an important issue in the economic policy of Serbia.

IFIMES

The full articles are available at:

www.ifimes.org

Post-Dayton Bosnia and Herzegovina: its past, present and future

Bosnia and Herzegovina (B & H) under her present full name, with her own state symbols, constitution, internal composition and institutions is one of the youngest states in Europe. When in 1991 the Yugoslav communist system collapsed at the federal level multinational and yet centralist unitary Bosnia & Herzegovina was among the six "Socialist Republics" the least prepared for the introduction of competitive multi-party politics. In December 1995 Bosnia & Herzegovina was reestablished as single, formally sovereign state. In fact the Bosnians have lived since then under international protectorate.

Koštica is winning with (or without) Kosovo

IFIMES has analysed the political situation related to recent events in Serbia with a special emphasis on the adoption of the new constitution and the announced referendum on the new constitution which is to take place on 28 and 29 October 2006. The most relevant and interesting sections from the

comprehensive analysis are given in the article.

CER

The full articles are available at:

www.cer.org.uk

Europe's blurred boundaries- Rethinking enlargement and neighbourhood policy (by Charles Grant)

In many parts of the EU there is growing hostility to further enlargement. Charles Grant argues that the EU must keep open the prospect of accession for its European neighbours, and suggests how opposition to enlargement can best be overcome. He also examines the EU's policy towards neighbours that are unlikely to join in the foreseeable future. He proposes new schemes for linking these countries to the EU, offering less than membership but much closer ties than the existing neighbourhood policy. He concludes that the definition of EU membership will become increasingly blurred: some neighbours will take part in certain EU policies, without being full members, while some member-states will establish *avant-gardes* that involve only a small number of countries.

Notre Europe

The full articles are available at:

www.notre-europe.eu



**Forgiveness and a promise
Advocating a more regional
approach to the Balkans by the EU**

(by Bertrand de Largentaye, Tamara
Buschek and Fabien Dupuis)

Ten years after Dayton, six years after NATO intervened to put an end to the violence in Kosovo, the wars of Yugoslav succession finally seem to be over. But the Yugoslav succession itself is still in a sense open. On 21 May 2006, a referendum is due to be held in Montenegro on whether or not the country maintains its union with Serbia. The final status of Kosovo has not yet been determined, even though it looks highly likely that it will ratify severing its link with Serbia. The people from the three main faiths in Bosnia-Herzegovina are not yet ready to be reconciled. The proceedings instituted at the tribunal in The Hague against alleged war criminals are far from over. The referendum in Montenegro could trigger a new outbreak of a phenomenon that was recognised and identified by a British journalist 15 years ago. Edward Mortimer called this the destructive magnetism of the Community, signalling that the attraction of the European Union for Slovenia and even for Croatia had led these two republics to regard the rest of the federation as a burden and independence as an opportunity to move closer to the European institutions more rapidly. This same argument will be played out on 21 May in favour of Montenegro's full independence, given

the state of relations between the Union and Belgrade.



ABSTRACTS

EU programs and funds and their impact on the development of Hungarian economy (by Éva Borbála Szabó)

The present study aims at focusing in more detail upon an area closely linked to the present economic development of Hungary, namely, the cohesion policy and the funding system of the EU. Before 2004, Hungarian organizations could benefit from the financial assistance of the pre-accession funds. The European Union provides support under three pre-accession instruments to candidate countries: Phare, Ispa, and Sapard, which are of vital importance as they have an impact on the candidate countries' economies, and cover essential areas such as transport, agriculture and the environment in general. With its accession to the European Union, Hungary became eligible for support provided by the EU Structural Funds and Cohesion Fund, and other Community Initiatives and Programs. These programs have diverse aims and target groups as it is unfolded in this study. This system determined the 2000-2006 programming period, so the study tries to reflect on the opportunities of the next period, too.

The examination of the operations of these funds and the flow of financial

grants from the funding organizations to the beneficiaries constitutes another significant part, which provides an insight into the problem of how Hungary can benefit from this system and how it can facilitate regional development. Irrespective of specific programs, the aim is to find a project balance between being able to absorb funds and being in accordance with cohesion aims.

For the period 2004-2006, the National Development Plan defines various development aims and the amounts to be distributed. According to official statistics, the last three years have been successful in terms of the absorption of the available funds. But, at the moment, it is still questionable whether all the funds distributed can really contribute to the development of the economy. Usual obstacles are the lack of self-contribution, lack of liquidity, the slowness of the bureaucratic official system, and the financial instability of the supported companies and organizations.

An important question of the future is how the Hungarian government can enhance the efficiency of the present funding system. 2007 will definitely be the year of significant changes, but can the newly established National Development Agency fulfil the expectations of the present government? Taking into consideration the changes of the Hungarian funding system, what objectives should we target until 2020? Does a centralized or a decentralized system serve the economic aims of Hungary best? These factors may have a



substantial effect on the future development of Hungary.

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**Bringing closer EU and its citizens
Implementing strategies for
bridging the gap by communicating
EU in Hungary
(by Krisztina Smidt)**

Realizing the problem of democratic deficit, the consequences of enlarging the European Union, the failure of the ratification process of the EU constitution, and the fact of increasing importance and usage of all and new types of media put the communication policy into spotlight. Communication became one of the tools trying to make people understand the sense of EU, to give them guidance at the labyrinth of institutions, to make them see the essence of its existence and nevertheless to show them their key role and competence in making decisions and encouraging them to use the advantages of living in democracy.

This paper attempts to review the communication policy after the French and the Dutch rejection of the EU Constitution in spring 2005.

The rejection made the member states and EU leaders realize that something is wrong, that there are concerns about the deeper and wider integration. However the reasons of the mentioned referendums were much more complex, the fact was still clear: citizens said no to the last step of constitutional process. It was an obvious

sign for the EU leaders that the concerns has to be taken seriously and needs the right treat.

In June 2005 the European Council initiated a broad debate in each member country, calling it 'period of reflection', and declared, that all the institutions have to make their contribution, giving a special role to the Commission. The first reaction of the Commission was immediate, in 20 June 2005 the introduced their 'Action Plan to Improve Communicating EU'. In October 2005 the Commission presented its contribution, addressing it to the Council, the European Parliament, The European Economic and Social Committee and the Committee of the Regions. It was called Plan-D for Democracy, Dialogue and Debate. This document initiated debates on special subjects, and gave guidelines in organizing them, and emphasized the importance of the involvement of all the other institutions.

The next result of the Commission working on the European Communication Policy was the White Paper, released 2 January 2006.

The main purpose of the White Paper was 'to propose a way forward and to invite all the players to contribute their ideas on how best they can work together to close the gap'. They launched a 6 month long consultation period, after which they would summarize the replies and draw conclusions, and proposing plans.

After giving some more details about these documents, which are the bases of the analyzed period, I would



like to take a deeper look into the Hungarian implementation of these initiations and objectives. What kind of tools and ways were successful, and what kind of attempts failed? Who were the players so far? How much effort was taken into the debate and communication by the different EU institutions, and the national institutions. Who were addressed? Who were invited for the events? What communication channels were used?

I base my evaluation and suggestions on my view about communication. Communication is not giving, presenting, publishing. It is a two way process, which is mostly misunderstood or forgotten by politicians.

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**'Democratic control in the decision-making of the European Union-national parliaments and the European Parliament'
(by Andrea Meszaros)**

The Western societies are much too complex for parliaments, there are far too many actors (see Andersen and Eliassen, Hirst and Thomson or Simon Hix in this topic). 'Law' itself has a new meaning as it is made on many different levels. Parliaments are not capable to keep on monitoring such a high volume of European decisions, therefore they cannot scrutinize effectively all the legal drafts. Even in the 'post- governmental era', however, parliaments shall have a substantive role in controlling the

decisions made on the European level. Parliamentary representation and control has a symbolic value of ensuring democracy. The greater involvement of parliaments- both the more and more powerful European Parliament and the national legislations- in the decision-making of the European Union would lead to a wider consensus on the legal acts, which may facilitate the Member States to implement them into the national legislation. By bringing the decisions closer to the citizens through explaining their underlying causes and prospective consequences in open debates, transparent and articulate communications would create more channels for feedback and it might even become easier for the European Union to carry out deeply- rooted reforms like for instance cuts in the welfare system, in the agricultural expenses or fostering other measures serving the creation of the single market. A more effective parliamentary control may mean a great help for the governments- it would serve them arguments when debating the different proposals in the Council or in case some countries stayed there alone with their opinions, they may protect their positions by referring to the obligatory mandate they got from their parliaments. To avoid deregulation and making the EU- laws more acceptable for the citizens is a common interest of the decision- makers, while not cooperatig with the parliaments may bring along legal as well as political consequences, especially in the face of the new Treaty establishing a Constitution for Europe.



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Historical perspective of the Balkans as a part of the Mediterranean region
(by Ana Bojinović)

(Paper presented for Ph.D. Summer School, Ljubljana, 4th -7th July 2006.)

When looking at the history of regional co-operation in the Mediterranean, the Balkans had a major role in this process especially in the times of the Modern history, when foreign powers became interested in the South Eastern Europe due to its geo-strategic relevance for world trade and subsequently joined the big domestic actors in struggle for power in the area.

It is very well known from the study of reasons and causes of the 1st WW that it was the interests of the big powers which firstly caused the two Balkan wars (in 1912 and 1913) and after that initiated the World War itself. The Balkan 'Powder Keg' was therefore an area of the Mediterranean region which was at the time a stumbling block for big powers mainly due to its Mediterranean geostrategic features. It is from these times that 'balkanisation' as a term was born and brought mainly negative (self)perception on the Balkans area. After 1918, all three area-surrounding Empires (Austrian, Russian, and Ottoman) collapsed, enabling small nation states to come into existence as independent.

Different authors agree on the premise that from this time onwards, strong foreign (external) political actors' involvement was crucial in the Mediterranean affairs, due to the region's geostrategic importance which during the Cold War shifted from territorial-economic, to ideological, military, and oil-based. In this era the Balkans gained importance again, because the both poles were striving to contain the other through small powers' alignments. Next to that, it was Yugoslavia's leading role in the Non-aligned movement, which was important for the Balkans' role in the Mediterranean as the movement was an example of political unity – a Mediterranean feeling shared by southern European as well as Third World countries in the area.

After the fall of the Berlin Wall, the Balkans became a scene of long unseen intra- and inter-state conflicts on the European soil. As different European actors were unable to help resolving the gist of the ethnic antagonisms, they are even more bound to integrate the region among themselves and in this way prevent further possible conflicts; this being the reason for intense Europeanisation of the South Eastern European states after the 1990s Yugoslav wars.

A relevant research question which arises here is 'What is the state of the Balkans' Mediterranean 'identity' today? The paper will investigate the historical state of regional cooperation orientations of different actors in the



territories of the respective states; the paper will also look into possible differences in state and non-state Balkans actors' involvement in the Mediterranean web of regional co-operation. I intend to look into this research question 1 by using content analysis of the secondary literature, mainly books and case studies on the history of the Mediterranean region by the authors from the area and beyond. Secondly, for the current data on the Mediterranean component of the Balkan states' identity I use data available from the respective states' Ministries for Foreign Affairs and documents on Foreign Policy issued by the governments. In the paper, the existence or the contextual layers of meanings of the term 'Mediterranean region' will not be questioned; the area will be taken into research interest as a coherent geographic territory with historically recognisable and relevant meaning.

The thesis of the paper is as follows: The Mediterranean regional perspective of the South Eastern European Mediterranean states today is weak, meaning the mentioned states are little interested in forging Mediterranean regional co-operation ties. My hypothesis is that this is so due to a currently almost entirely European (Euro-Atlantic) integration orientated foreign policy of the respective states (with notable exception of Greece's). Besides the Balkan Mediterranean states' foreign policy focus on the Europeanisation agenda, it is furthermore the European

Union (EU) itself who is contributing to this orientation, treating the area separately than the other Southern Mediterranean partners, despite the historically different orientation it took before the 1990s wars and armed conflicts in the territories of former Yugoslavia.

The paper's intention is not to study nor produce a definition of the Mediterranean as a region. Therefore the Mediterranean will be taken as a geographic area with some sense of commonness or distinctiveness according to other areas/regions.

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