

# SÜDOSTEUROPA

## Mitteilungen

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*Anneli Ute Gabanyi*

Moldova 2009: Nach der Wahl  
ist vor der Wahl

*Matthias Dornfeldt*

Präsidenten- und Kommunalwahlen  
in Makedonien 2009

*Oliver Joachim Rolofs*

Mazedoniens Perspektiven  
nach den Wahlen

*Vedran Džihic / Dieter Segert*

Das jugoslawische Rätsel

*Dominik Tolksdorf*

Rolle der EU im westlichen Balkan  
und im südlichen Kaukasus

*Paul Stubbs / Christophe Solioz*

In Search of the Lost  
European Perspective



**Schwerpunkt**  
**Nachhaltige Energiepolitik**

**Main Focus**  
**Sustainable Energy Policy**

**Beiträge von /**  
**Contributions from**

*Jens Boysen*  
*Goran Rafajlovski*  
*Dejan Stojadinović*  
*Silviu Stoica*

## Analysen / Positionen / Essays

---

- 6 *Anneli Ute Gabanyi*  
**Moldova 2009: Nach der Wahl ist vor der Wahl**
- 
- 24 *Matthias Dornfeldt*  
**Die Präsidentschafts- und Kommunalwahlen in Makedonien 2009**
- 
- 32 *Oliver Joachim Rolofs*  
**Mazedoniens Perspektiven nach den Kommunal- und Präsidentschaftswahlen**
- 
- 48 *Vedran Džihić / Dieter Segert*  
**Das jugoslawische Rätsel: Enklavendemokratie, Staatsschwäche und Probleme externer Demokratieförderung**
- 
- 66 *Dominik Tolksdorf*  
**Die Rolle der EU im westlichen Balkan und im südlichen Kaukasus – Potenzielle Hindernisse bei der Unterstützung von Reformprozessen**
- 
- 82 *Paul Stubbs / Christophe Solioz*  
**In Search of the Lost European Perspective**

**Schwerpunkt:  
Nachhaltige Energiepolitik in Südosteuropa**

**Main Focus:  
Sustainable Energy Policy in Southeast Europe**

---

93 **Editorial / Summaries**

---

97 *Jens Boysen*  
**Chancen und Barrieren für eine nachhaltige Energie- und Klimaschutzpolitik in Südosteuropa**

---

111 *Goran Rafajlovski*  
**Mazedonien: Potenziale zur Erhöhung der Energieeffizienz und für den Einsatz erneuerbarer Energien**

---

123 *Dejan Stojadinović*  
**Serbia: Enhancing Energy Efficiency and the Use of Renewable Energy Sources**

---

130 *Silviu Stoica*  
**Romania: Energy Policy and Financing Projects in the Romanian Energy Sector**

---

137 **Forum**

---

## Berichte

---

- 139  The Black Sea Region: New Challenges and Opportunities for Regional Cooperation. Report / Policy Paper; Berlin, 14-15 May 2009
- 147  Montenegro – drei Jahre nach der Unabhängigkeit. Berlin, 4. Mai 2009
- 151  Kosovo – Ein Jahr nach der Unabhängigkeit. Regensburg, 21.-26. April 2009
- 157  Energy Crisis and Climate Change – Challenges for Politics and Business in South East Europe. Tutzing, 27-28 March 2009
- 164  ABDOS – ein Fenster nach Ost- und Südosteuropa. Leipzig, 12. März 2009
- 165  Europäisierung und kulturelle Differenz in Südosteuropa. DFG-Graduiertenkolleg; Jena, 12.-14. Dezember 2008

## Rezensionen

---

- M. Beer (Hrsg.): Auf dem Weg zum ethnisch reinen Nationalstaat? Europa in Geschichte und Gegenwart  Ch. von Kohl: Eine Dänin am Balkan. Zwischen Kosova und Brüssel  J. Hoffmann: Die Integration Südosteuropas – Die Demokratisierungspolitik europäischer Organisationen in Albanien  I. Franović: Dealing with the Past in the Context of Ethnonationalism – The Case of Bosnia-Herzegovina, Croatia and Serbia  J. Jurčević: Die Entstehung des Mythos Jasenovac. Probleme bei der Forschungsarbeit zu den Opfern des II. Weltkrieges auf dem Gebiet von Kroatien  S. Kušić / C. Grupe (eds.): The Western Balkans on Their Way to the EU?  Konrad Adenauer Stiftung (ed.): „Mittelstand“ and Trade in South Eastern Europe. Social market economy as a compass of development  F. Pommer: Vergleich der EU-Tauglichkeit von Kroatien und Bosnien-Herzegovina  V. Samardžija / A. Dukes (eds.): Communicating Integration Impact in Croatia and Ireland  Lj. Djordjević: Serbien und die EU: Staatsreform und europäische Integration  G. Schubert (Hrsg.): Serbien in Europa – Leitbilder der Moderne in der Diskussion  K. A. Nilsen: Milošević i krig og i Haag – en dokumentasjon  I. Sajko: Rio Bar – Roman

# Editorial

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

2009 ist auch in vielen Staaten Südosteuropas ein Wahljahr. Die Vorgeschichten, Verläufe, die Ergebnisse und Konsequenzen der Wahlen in Moldova und Mazedonien werden in dieser Ausgabe der Südosteuropa Mitteilungen analysiert. Dubios waren die Umstände und gravierend die Folgen der Ausschreitungen in Chişinău nach den Parlamentswahlen vom 5. April 2009, die nun zu erneuten Wahlen Ende Juli führen. Friedlich blieb es dagegen bei den Kommunal- und Präsidentschaftswahlen in Mazedonien, deren zweite und entscheidende Runde ebenfalls am 5. April 2009 stattfand. Im Wahlkampf hatte sich die (am Ende erfolgreiche) regierende VMRO-DPMNE einer verschärft nationalistischen Rhetorik gegenüber dem Nachbarland Griechenland bedient – eine Tatsache, die weder den euro-atlantischen Perspektiven noch dem interethnischen Frieden im Land zuträglich sind, so unser Autor Rolofs. Seine Empfehlung: Auf die Entwicklungen in Mazedonien sollte die EU verstärkt (ermahnend und moderierend) als „externer Akteur“ sowie durch die Bekräftigung von Integrationsangeboten einwirken.

Mit den Möglichkeiten und Grenzen der EU-Politik gegenüber Südosteuropa (und im Süd-Kaukasus) – im Sinne der Unterstützung von Reformprozessen und Integrationsperspektiven – befassen sich mehrere Beiträge in diesem Heft. An deren Ende machen sich die Autoren Stubbs und Solioz in einem programmatischen Beitrag auf die „Suche nach der verlorenen europäischen Perspektive“. – Auch in der nächsten Ausgabe der Südosteuropa Mitteilungen werden die Themen EU-Stabilisierungspolitik, Krisenmanagement und Euroskeptizismus wieder eine zentrale Rolle spielen.

Der thematische Schwerpunkt in dieser Doppelausgabe befasst sich mit den Chancen und Hindernissen für eine nachhaltige Energie- und Klimaschutzpolitik in Südosteuropa. Verbesserungen der Energieeffizienz und die verstärkte Nutzung von erneuerbaren Energien sind Überlebensfragen (auch) für die Gesellschaften und Ökonomien in Südosteuropa.

Dass Ihnen dieses Doppelheft viele nützliche Informationen und Anregungen geben möge, wünscht Ihnen

Ihre Redaktion

*Hansjörg Brey*

*Claudia Hopf*

# SÜDOSTEUROPA

## Mitteilungen

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Anneli Ute Gabanyi

### **Moldova 2009: After the Elections new Elections are Imminent**

At the regular parliamentary elections in Moldova held on 5 April 2009, the ruling Party of Communists of the Republic of Moldova (PCRM) scored 49,48 % of the votes enabling them to form the government. However, the PCRM did not achieve the number of parliamentary seats needed to elect a new president. The three liberal parties elected to parliament refused to acknowledge the election results due to irregularities both before and during the electoral process.

Massive popular protests taking place on 7 April 2009 degenerated into acts of violence and vandalism when small groups of *agents provocateurs* stormed the buildings of the Presidency and the Parliament, planting EU and Romanian flags on the rooftops. The Moldovan police used excessive force to repress the demonstrations causing the death of three persons. President Voronin accused the liberal opposition of having attempted a *coup d'état* against the legal Moldovan authorities and brandished Romania for having fomented unrest.

The opposition parties adamantly refused twice to provide the Communists with the only "golden vote" needed for the election of their presidential candidate. As a result, a new round of early parliamentary elections was called for 29 July 2009. On the eve of the early elections, the configuration of political parties in Moldova is changing owing mainly to the defection of technocrat Marian Lupu from the Party of Communists and his joining the (Social-)Democratic Party.

Matthias Dornfeldt

### **Macedonia's Presidential and Local Elections in 2009**

Macedonian presidential and local elections took place on 22 March, the second round on 5 April 2009. The voter turnout was around 57 % in the first round and 42 % in the second round. There were seven candidates running for President. As mainly expected the candidates of the VMRO-DPMNE, Gjorge Ivanov, and the SDSM, Ljubomir Frchkoski, both being professors at the Faculty of Law and Political Science Department of the St Cyril and Methodius University in Skopje, got most of the votes and proceeded in the second round. There Mr. Ivanov took the victory with approximately 60 % of the casted votes.

In the local polls, the VMRO-DPMNE won the post of Mayor of Skopje and almost all municipalities in the Macedonian capital. Moreover the conservative party won mayors in 53 municipalities, whereas the SDSM lost dramatically.

Generally the elections were held in a peaceful and democratic manner, neither major violence nor any major incidents occurred, unlike during the previous early Parliamentary elections held in June 2008. International and domestic observers, and the international community at large, noted that the elections met the basic democratic standards.

The main Presidential and local election outcome is that the conservative party VMRO-DPMNE has now emerged as the main political actor in Macedonia. It has control of the Parliament, the Government; its candidate Gjorge Ivanov is the newly elected 3<sup>rd</sup> President. The party provides the post of mayors in the capital and about 2/3 of the municipalities around the country. Prime Minister Nikola Gruevski is at the peak of his political career. He is now the central figure in Macedonia and his political power is virtually unchallenged.

**Oliver Joachim Rolofs**

### **Macedonia's Prospects after the Local and Presidential Elections**

The candidate of Macedonia's ruling party VMRO-DPMNE, Gjorge Ivanov, won a landslide victory in the second round of the presidential election on 5 April 2009. With the victory of Ivanov, the centre-right party led by Prime Minister Nikola Gruevski has embellished its power on a grand scale.

Previously a confrontational and nationalistic election campaign against Greece that is blocking Macedonia's bid to join EU and NATO by urging its neighbour to change its name has been conducted. The dispute is traced back to antiquity and is still the leading issue in Macedonia's political daily routine – with increasing implications for the implementation of the Ohrid Agreement between ethnic Albanian and Macedonian citizens and the Euro-Atlantic perspective of the country.

The article examines main domestic and external conflicts of Macedonia which urgently must be solved by the government and backed by the EU. The present debate on European Union enlargement fatigue is jeopardizing these efforts and could cause a decreasing commitment of the government to resolve Macedonia's problems seriously. In order to avoid new instability in Macedonia and the region the EU is obligated to overcome its enlargement fatigue debate and should seriously reaffirm the Western Balkan membership perspective.

**Vedran Džihić / Dieter Segert**

### **The Yugoslav Puzzle: Enclave Democracy, Weak States and Problems of External Democracy Promotion**

The paper deals with the limited electorate democracy in the countries of ex-Yugoslavia and its relation to weak and dysfunctional welfare states, discussing it within the framework of the current debates on transformation and democratisation. The first question is why the ex-Yugoslav region has remained a rather undiscovered area within the democratisation studies? Another puzzle lies within the dilemma why the liberal type of Yugoslav socialism has caused so many difficulties during the democratisation processes since 1989, contrary to other East European countries which had faced more difficult preconditions for democratisation.

Starting from the in-depth knowledge of the regional debates, the paper perceives two complex sequencing problems of the political change in post-Yugoslavia, while it concurrently criticises western bias towards the region.

**Dominik Tolksdorf**  
**EU's Role in the Western Balkans and South Caucasus – Potential Obstacles Preventing the Promotion of Reform Processes**

The paper looks at the European Union's involvement in the Western Balkans and points out some of the imminent problems when dealing with a region with disputed territorial issues and trying to support reform processes in countries with divided societies.

Although the Western Balkans and the South Caucasus can hardly be compared with each other, at least when it comes to the engagement of the EU, it can be assumed that similar strategies will be pursued and policy instruments deployed. Therefore, it is useful to identify some lessons taken from the Western Balkans that are applicable for the South Caucasus.

The paper deals 1) with the controversies on Kosovo's independence and the problems of the EU to deal with its consequences, and 2) with the EU's efforts to support the constitutional and police reform processes in Bosnia and Herzegovina in order to illustrate the challenges the EU faces when it has to deal with a "divided" country. In the second part, the paper looks at the EU's engagement in the South Caucasus, where the EU might play a similar role in the future as it does in the Balkans.

The investigations demonstrate that European foreign policy has often lacked consistent strategies towards the Western Balkans, which prevented the EU from achieving "satisfactory" outcomes in its neighbourhood.

**Paul Stubbs / Christophe Solioz**  
**In Search of the Lost European Perspective**

The European Union is in danger of losing its vision with regard to the membership perspectives of the countries of the Western Balkans. The process is marked by strict conditionalities in the context of a loss of political will and enlargement fatigue in the context of problems concerning the ratification of the Lisbon treaty. Tracing the state of play as regards the Western Balkans since the Thessaloniki Summit of 2003, the suggestion is that the momentum has been lost and that the combination of technical and political hurdles makes accession too long and too difficult to be a significant factor in promoting reforms from within and realigning political commitments. The gap is growing between EU member states (Slovenia, Greece), candidate countries (Croatia, Macedonia), potential candidate countries (Albania, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Montenegro, Serbia), and Kosovo. The global economic and financial crisis has also brought the IMF back into the region and further contributed to a sense of abandonment by the EU.

Ultimately a commitment to enlargement is framed within other commitments in terms



of security, energy policy and reconstruction. Clear signals are needed to change this, including a Thessaloniki II summit under the Swedish Presidency to re-assert the commitment of the EU to the region where open bilateral issues should be negotiated, a common action plan to face the current financial crisis must be agreed and a pragmatic EU integration road map announced, giving candidate status to Albania and Montenegro, beginning accession talks with Macedonia, and accelerating the Stabilisation and Association Agreements (SAAs) for the region. The EU has, on the one hand, to put its own house in order and, on the other, to offer a reasonable political perspective to the Balkans.

## **Main Focus: Sustainable Energy Policy in Southeast Europe**

**Jens Boysen**

### **Chances and Barriers for a Sustainable Energy and Climate Protection Policy in Southeast Europe**

Twenty years after the end of communism, the countries of South East Europe (SEE) are still undergoing a fundamental economic transformation that will hopefully lead to their establishment as full-fledged members of the Western/European order. Parallel to this specific regional process, the global concern of climate change has triggered the implementation of another policy process that the SEE countries have to integrate into their self-restructuring process.

In order to meet those demands, they will have to advance their renewable energy sector and introduce modern, low-emission technologies. While this requires increased efforts from politicians as well as entrepreneurs, it offers at the same time an opportunity for an even more elaborated modernization process than a mere catching-up to given standards would.

Even as “weaker” partners within the EU, the SEE countries can become a major field for the implementation of measures that are not only useful but figure prominently in the EU’s self-perception of becoming a world leader in environmental technologies and policies. Whether this ambitious goal is going to materialize or not, climate change policy may indeed be one of the few instruments that can propel the Balkans from the periphery to at least near centre-stage in Europe.

**Goran Rafajlovski**

### **Macedonia: Potentials for Increasing both Energy Efficiency and the Use of Renewable Energies**

The international debate on sustainable energy supply, climate change and securing economic growth is also affecting the countries of South East Europe. The European Energy and Climate Policy as the foundation of the International Renewable Energy Agency, the Climate Package and the Energy Community Treaty are of crucial importance for growing energy efficiency, investments in renewable energies and precise measures of climate protection in Macedonia. The involvement of the country in the European Energy Community is pushing regional cooperation as well as

international investments in the energy sector.

The improvement of energy efficiency and a stronger use of renewable energy resources are strategic goals of the Macedonian government. Huge available potentials as sun energy, geothermal sources and wind energy are still not used. The only renewable energy resource used for electricity production is hydropower. During the EU accession process Macedonia is requested to improve regulations on the electricity and gas market, energy efficiency and renewable energies as well as to improve the administrative capacity in the whole energy sector.

**Dejan Stojadinović**

### **Serbia: Enhancing Energy Efficiency and the Use of Renewable Energy Sources**

In Serbia lignite dominates the domestic energy production and contributes to relative energy self-sufficiency, while hydropower is the only renewable energy that is widely used in the country.

Endowment with other types of renewable energy resources is substantial, but the realization of these potentials and overcoming the institutional barriers require government action. Therefore, the Serbian government has initiated policies and measures to enhance energy efficiency and promote the use of renewable energy sources.

**Silviu Stoica**

### **Romania: Energy Policy and Financing Projects in the Romanian Energy Sector**

Due to climatic changes and their dramatic effects, the identification and use of renewable, more eco-friendly sources of energy became issues of utmost importance for all member states of the European Union.

The article aims at presenting the way in which Romania, a new member state with potential in the renewable energy sector, encourages the use of alternative energies and also the modernisation of old facilities, in order to reduce pollution and consumption. The alternative to conventional practices is made attractive through governmental and European financing programmes which facilitate modernisation / retechnologisation and encourage initiatives in this sector.