

# SÜDOSTEUROPA

## Mitteilungen

02 | 2007 47. Jahrgang

*Cemal Karakas*

EU – Türkei:  
Abgestufte Integration  
als Alternativmodell  
zur Vollmitgliedschaft?

*Ioannis N. Grigoriadis*

EU-Beitrittsprozess und Säkularismus  
in der Türkei

*Gülistan Gürbey*

EU-Beitrittsverhandlungen mit der  
Türkei in der Sackgasse?



*Helmut Braun / Erjola Kerluku*

Probleme der sozialen Sicherung  
in Albanien

*Saša Gavrić / Damir Banović*

Eigenverantwortung übernehmen?  
Wahlen und Regierungsbildung  
in Bosnien und Herzegowina

# Inhalt

02 | 2007

47. Jahrgang

## Analysen / Positionen / Essays

---

- 4           *Cemal Karakas*  
**EU – Türkei: Abgestufte Integration als Alternativmodell zur Vollmitgliedschaft?**
- 
- 20          *Ioannis N. Grigoriadis*  
**EU-Beitrittsprozess und Säkularismus in der Türkei**
- 
- 32          *Gülistan Gürbey*  
**EU-Beitrittsverhandlungen mit der Türkei in der Sackgasse?**
- 
- 38          *Helmut Braun / Erjola Kerluku*  
**Probleme der sozialen Sicherung in Albanien**
- 
- 52          *Saša Gavrić / Damir Banović*  
**Eigenverantwortung übernehmen? – Wahlen und Regierungsbildung in Bosnien und Herzegowina**

---

65

**Forum**

---

## Berichte

---

- 67-76             Mitglieder- und Jahreshauptversammlung der Südosteuropa-Gesellschaft 2007. Duisburg, 16. und 17. Februar 2007
- 77-80             Wie europäisch ist der Balkan? Wie balkanisch ist Europa? Duisburg, 16. Februar 2007
- 80-82             Bulgarien vor dem EU-Beitritt: Ökonomische, soziale und räumliche Disparitäten. Leipzig, 3. und 4. November 2006

## Rezensionen

---

St. Appelius: Bulgarien – Europas Ferner Osten     Botschaft der Bundesrepublik Deutschland in Rumänien / Bundesagentur für Außenwirtschaft / Deutsch-Rumänische Industrie- und Handelskammer / Gesellschaft für technische Zusammenarbeit (Hrsg.): Wirtschaftsführer Rumänien     M. Meier: Das Engagement der Schweiz in den Konflikten im ehemaligen Jugoslawien     H. Antoniadis-Bibicou / A. Guillou (dir.): Pour une Grande Histoire des Balkans des origines aux Guerres Balkaniques: Unité culturelle et particularismes, identités culturelles et dialogues interculturels; I. Espaces – Peuples – Langues     S. Trubeta / Chr. Voss (Hrsg.): Minorities in Greece – Historical Issues and New Perspectives     Vereinigung der Deutsch-Griechischen Gesellschaften: Hellenika – Jahrbuch für griechische Kultur und deutsch-griechische Kulturbereihungen (Neue Folge 1)     H.-D. Blume / C. Lienau (Hrg.): Chοregia – Münstersche Griechenland-Studien (1-4)     Y. Papadakis: Echoes from the Dead Zone. Across the Cyprus Divide     Chr. Schlötzer: Das Mädchen mit dem falschen Namen. Türkische Tabus     N. Dinçkal: Istanbul und das Wasser     Th. Nikolaou (Hrsg.): Das Schisma zwischen Ost- und Westkirche     G. Brogi Bercoff / P. Gonneau / H. Miklas (Edd.): Contribution à l'histoire de la slavistique dans les pays non slaves / Beiträge zur Geschichte der Slawistik in den nichtslawischen Ländern     R. Detrez / P. Plas (eds.): Developing Cultural Identity in the Balkans. Convergence vs. Divergence

**Cemal Karakas****EU-Turkey: Gradual Integration – An Alternative to Full Membership?**

The accession negotiations between the European Union (EU) and Turkey are the most complicated in the EU's enlargement history. After Turkey's refusal to expand the Customs Union to Cyprus, the EU decided towards the end of 2006 to freeze 8 of 35 chapters in the negotiation process. Although both sides underline their interest in Turkish accession, they discuss integration options beyond full membership. The main question is the following: Should the EU-Turkey cooperation be extended along deepening intergovernmental cooperation or along integrating Turkey into the supranational EU structures?

The model of Gradual Integration enriches this debate and could develop into a realistic option for integration for the EU and Turkey. It foresees, on the basis of the neo-functionalism spill-over theory, a thematic and temporarily dynamic intergovernmental integration in three phases. This could be developed along the concepts "Core Europe" and "Europe of Variable Geometries". The novelty is that Gradual Integration provides Turkey with the right to participate in decision-making in the Council. Furthermore, Turkey would keep its status as an accession candidate, i.e. full membership would not be ruled out a priori. This is a key for Turkey and, at the same time, saves the EU from a loss of credibility.

**Ioannis N. Grigoriadis****Turkey's EU Accession Process and the Question of Secularism**

The study aims to address a major aspect of Turkey's democratisation process, the debate on the liberalisation of Turkey's secularism, and explore the shift of opinions on this issue within Turkish political Islam. Special attention is given to two key aspects of the question, the headscarf issue and the status of the Directorate of Religious Affairs. It is argued that a liberalisation of Turkish secularism is of major significance for Turkey's democratic consolidation.

Besides, the shift from an Islamist to a liberal critique of republican Turkish secularism by Turkey's moderate Islamist Justice and Development Party (*Adalet ve Kalkınma Partisi-AKP*) was an optimistic signal for the course of democratic consolidation in Turkey, as it pointed at a proliferation of liberal democratic ideals throughout the Turkish political spectrum. European institutions should not be influenced by the rising anti-Islamic sentiment in the West and support Turkey's

moderate political Islam. The reform process in Turkey could succeed more easily, if European institutions proved their commitment to liberal principles, even if they worked for the benefit of Islam.

### **Gülistan Gürbey**

### **EU-Accession Talks with Turkey at a Dead End?**

The Cyprus question has a decisive influence on the course of the EU accession process with Turkey. Without a joint solution of this question the accession process with Turkey will proceed only slowly. A solution seems to be realistic within the scope of UN negotiations.

For the EU the task nevertheless remains to support such a process explicitly and to find an acceptable way to integrate Northern Cyprus in this process as well as to support civil society forces on both sides of the demarcation line that plead for a solution.

### **Helmut Braun / Erjola Kerluku**

### **Problems of Social Security in Albania**

The process of transition in Albania is linked with several very special problems in the economic as well as in the social sphere. One of the crucial fields is the system of social security, even after its reform in 1994.

The paper investigates the deficits in the institutional frame of the system of social security and identifies some incentives which undermine the system. The most difficult problems financing the system of social security in Albania are a weak trust in institutions in general and a strong preference for activities in the shadow-economy.

### **Saša Gavrić / Damir Banović**

### **Taking over Ownership? Elections and Forming of Government in Bosnia and Herzegovina**

The article analyses the general (parliamentary) elections of October 1<sup>st</sup> 2006 in Bosnia and Herzegovina (BiH) with a special focus on the contesting political parties and the electoral campaign. In the second part of the article, analyse is based on the post-electoral forming of the governments at the state-level, but also at the entity-level.

While the three national parties (the Serbian Democratic Party, the Croatian Democratic Union and the Party of Democratic Action) have, more or less, lost the elections, the Union of the Independent Social-Democrats (SNSD) and the Party for Bosnia and Herzegovina (SBiH) – two apposed positions – have gained the leadership. With these electoral results, BiH is going to have difficulties with the constitutional reforms and integration into the European Union.