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Master Thesis on the topic:

Changing positions in international relations – Germany supporting Serbia to get
candidate status in March 2012

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Abstract

Masters thesis is about the process of enlargement of European Union. I would like to discuss the reasons for change in Germany's decision to grant Serbia candidate status of European Union. In my thesis there will be short historical review of Serbia – EU and Serbia Kosovo relations. Furthermore, I will discuss my research question and try to explain it with several independent variables. My research question sounds like this: why did Germany grant candidate status to Serbia, in March 2012 when it was against Serbia's candidacy of European Union several months before in December? I have several independent variables and will choose one as my hypothesis, which will later be explained by the theory. In my thesis I would like to show how the attitudes of countries can change in short period in international relations on the example of Germany and Serbia. What is more, I would like to show the reasons of such changes and later to prove my hypothesis with theory.

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List of abbreviations used in thesis

1. MEP – Member of European Parliament
2. NATO – North Atlantic Treaty Organization
3. EU – European Union
4. P. - Page
5. SAP–Stabilization and Association Process
6. MS – Member State
7. ICTY–International Criminal Tribunal for former Yugoslavia
8. US – United States
9. KFOR – Kosovo Force
10. UN – United Nation
11. UNMIK - UN Interim Administration Mission in Kosovo
12. KLA – Kosovo Liberation Army
13. Eulex - The European Union Rule of Law Mission in Kosovo

1. Introduction

In March 2012 Serbia became an official candidate for joining the European Union. However, its path to candidacy was not the easy one, as many western European countries opposed it. One of such countries was Germany, which was against granting such status to Serbia in December 2011 at the European Union summit in Brussels. At that time, it was said, that “conditions necessary to grant Serbia the European Union candidate status have not been fulfilled for now”.¹ However, the same Germany was eager to grant such status to Serbia after 4 month. It is interesting to discuss why and how such dramatic changes happened in relation to Serbia. Because of this I chose this topic as my master thesis and I will try to analyze what was the reason of such changes.

What is more, the topic of further enlargement of European Union is pretty interesting especially for Georgia. Because of this, I decided to write my thesis in the sphere of foreign policy of European Union, about the enlargement and overall attitude of Germany about it. Today we are on our way of further cooperation with European Union, many similarities with Serbia, such as soviet past, ethnic conflicts and great interest of Russia about the region may mean that Georgia will have more or less similar way on the road of euro integration. This means that we may face similar problems and in order to overcome them, we need to analyze every similar case in detail. What is more, it is very interesting to find out the reasons of such fundamental changes with regards to Serbia, as we may face the similar changes in more or less near future. However, if those changes were positive with regard to Serbia, in some cases they may be negative. Because of this I think that it will be very interesting to find out the reasons for such changes.

In my thesis I will try to show the case of Serbia, how the position of Germany had changed in time from negative to positive in regards with the candidacy of Serbia. Furthermore, I would like my thesis to find out the reason for such dramatic changes. In order to do this, I will analyze situations before European Union summit in December

¹ B92, December 7, 2011, Germany: too early for Serbia's candidacy. Available from http://www.b92.net/eng/news/politics-article.php?yyyy=2011&mm=12&dd=07&nav_id=77676 Last access 03.07.2012

2011 and before March 2012. With the help of independent variables I will try to make hypothesis which will answer my research question. Later, the hypothesis will be checked by the theory and I will try to prove it.

2. Short overview of the thesis structure

My thesis consists of six main parts. These are: 1. introduction, 2. short overview of thesis structure, 3. methodology used in my thesis, 4. historical overview, 5. research question, hypothesis and theory and 6. conclusion. I will not discuss Introduction here, however, as some parts of my thesis have several subparagraphs and I would like to discuss them briefly below.

2.1. Methodology

In this part I will discuss what kind of methodology I have decided to use during conducting my research and writing thesis.

2.2. Historical description

The section of Historical Description consists of two parts: 1. Historical relations between Serbia and European Union and 2. Historical relations of Serbia and Kosovo. In the first subsection I will describe briefly historical relations between Serbia and European Union, the progress Serbia has in euro integration and problems which it had on the path of euro integration. What is more, in the second subsection, I would like to discuss also the relations between Serbia and Kosovo, as these relations had great effect on the decision to grant Serbia candidacy in 2012. I would like to show the beginning of conflict and the reasons of it. What is more I will discuss briefly the situation after conflict.

2.3. Research question, Variables, Hypothesis and Theory

In this part of the thesis I will analyze the research question, bring dependent variable and several independent ones, discuss all of the independent variables and by that, I will try to find an answer on the research question and bring my hypothesis about the research topic. After this, I will apply one or more theories on my Hypothesis and will try to explain and prove it with the help of those theories.

2.4. Conclusion

In the section of conclusion I will briefly analyze once again the hypothesis and the theory and sum up the results.

3. Methodology

In my thesis I am going to use case study as a methodology. I will discuss the case of Serbia, its way towards European Union integration and how the opinion of Germany was changed. It is rather qualitative method. I will describe and discuss the case and later will interpret it using a theory. Furthermore, in my thesis I will use different articles about the topic of European Union enlargement, about European Union's foreign policy and about the theories which can interpret all this.

What is more, I will analyze different theories of European integration and will try to explain my hypothesis with it. Furthermore, in order to come to hypothesis I will analyze articles about Serbia, Germany and European Union from different foreign news sources.

4. Historical overview

In this part of the thesis I will analyze historical relations between Serbia and European Union. What is more I will discuss the reasons and history of the conflict between Serbs and Albanians. This is an interesting part, because Balkan conflict was major historical occurrence which had great influence on all sides of conflict. It is necessary to analyze it in order to come to the right conclusion and answer research question.

4.1. Historical relations between Serbia and European Union

The history of Serbia-European Union relation starts in 1997, when the European Union Council of Ministers established political and economic conditionality for the development of bilateral relations. In 1999 the European Union proposed the new Stabilization and Association Process for five countries of southeastern Europe, including Serbia. What is more, already in 2001 European Council stated that all SAP countries are “potential candidates” for European Union membership. Gradually European Union-Serbia relationships were becoming more and closer and in 2003 at Thessaloniki Summit, the SAP was confirmed as the European Union policy for Western Balkans. This was the confirmation of the European Union perspective for Serbia. Already in 2005 negotiations for Stabilization and Association Agreement with Serbia started. However, already in 2006 called off because of the lack of progress on cooperation with the International Criminal Tribunal of Former Yugoslavia. Belgrade was not able to arrest war criminal Ratko Mladic in time and because of this the next round of Stabilization and Association talks were rescheduled.

However in 2007, negotiations were resumed because of the full commitment of Serbia to achieve full cooperation with the International Criminal Tribunal of Former Yugoslavia. Later at the end of the year the SAA with Serbia was initialed. What is more,

in January 2008 the Visa Facilitation and Readmission Agreement between Serbia and European Union went into force.

As for the 2009, this year was pretty successful for Serbia. First, European Commission decided to put Serbia on white Schengen list. After less than month, Serbia got visa-free regime for Serbia. After 3 days, Serbia officially applied for the membership of European Union.

In July 20 of 2011, war fugitive, Goran Hadžić the last fugitive indicted by the ICTY, was arrested. This was a signal that the final hurdle was removed for Serbia on the way to the candidate status. Already in October European Commission recommended that Serbia could be granted an official European Union candidate status and in March 2012 Serbia was granted with the candidate status for European Union membership.²

4.2. Historical relations between Serbia and Kosovo

The Serbs consider Kosovo their historic heartland. It was the historic place of origin of the Serbian Orthodox Church.³

After the end of the war Josip Broz Tito's Communist regime was established and Kosovo was granted the status of an autonomous region of Serbia in 1946. Later in 1963 it became an autonomous province. What is more, Kosovo gained virtual self-government after passing of the 1974 Yugoslavia constitution.

During the 1980s tensions escalated between the Albanians and Serbs in the province. The Albanians wanted greater autonomy for Kosovo, on the other hand, Serbs wanted to have closer ties with the rest of Serbia. However, Albanians did not want to join with Albania itself, because at that time Albania was ruled by a Stalinist government and living standards there was considerably worse than in Kosovo. Beginning in March

² Serbia-European Union relations, available from http://ec.europa.eu/enlargement/potential-candidate-countries/serbia/eu_serbia_relations_en.htm last access 03.07.2012

³Between Serb and Albanian: A history of Kosovo; Miranda Vickers; available from <http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?a=o&d=78022026> Last access 12.07.2012

1981, Kosovar Albanian students organized protests. They demanded that Kosovo should become a republic within Yugoslavia. Those protests rapidly escalated into violent riots involving 20,000 people in six cities that were harshly contained by the Yugoslav government.⁴ These demonstrations were started by Albanian students in Pristina, in the beginning, these were protests simply against poor living conditions and the lack of prospects (unemployment was rampant in the province and most of the university educated ended up as the unemployed). However, later, in addition to that, calls for a separate Albanian republic within Yugoslavia were voiced.

What is more, Kosovo Serbs were complaining that they were being neglected from Belgrade by the communist government.⁵ Later in August 1987, Kosovo was visited by Slobodan Milosevic. At that time he was rising as a politician. During that period it communist regime in Yugoslavia was coming to an end. Milosevic was using Serb nationalism to further his career. He used huge crowds, which was rallied commemorating the Battle of Kosovo. There he called to Kosovo Serbs and said, that "No one should dare to beat you". By this, he instantly became the hero of Serbs which lived in Kosovo. Soon after this, Milosevic came into Serbian government.⁶

Soon after this, the northern province of Vojvodina was taken away from Serbian regime. It was protested by the Trepca miners which began a hunger strike before the autonomy was officially abolished. Milosevic's government introduced new constitution which allowed a multi-party system. It guaranteed freedom of speech and promoted human rights. However, in practice it did not work as good, as Milosevic's government was in control of the media and was rigging elections. Even more, the government was accused of abusing human rights, persecution of political opponents and national minorities. However, it was still a step forward from the previous Communist

⁴One storm has passed but others are gathering in Yugoslavia, The New York Times, David Binder, April 19, 1981 <http://www.nytimes.com/1981/04/19/weekinreview/one-storm-has-passed-but-others-are-gathering-in-yugoslavia.html>Last access 12.07.2012

⁵Belgrade battles Kosovo Serbs, The New York Times, June 28 1987 <http://www.nytimes.com/1987/06/28/world/belgrade-battles-kosovo-serbs.html>Last access 12.07.2012

⁶Between Serb and Albanian: A history of Kosovo, Miranda Vickers, Columbia University Press <http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?a=o&d=78022026>Last access 12.07.2012

constitution. By the constitution provincial rights were reduced significantly. Because of this the government of Serbia became in control of many areas, which before was under control of autonomous governments. By these changes, such vital areas as police, court system, educational system and economy were handed over to Serbian government. Because of this, the new constitution was strongly opposed by many of Serbia's national minorities. They saw it as a centralized rule of provinces which was based on ethnical factors and was abusing ethnical minorities. Because of this, Kosovo's Albanians portrayed the referendum as illegitimate and refused to participate in it.⁷

What is more, the new constitution was also opposed by the provincial governments. However, it should have been ratified by their assemblies, which meant that they would vote for their own dissolution. But on the voting day, in March 1989, despite they opposed new constitution, they still had to vote for it, as the tanks and armored cars surrounded their meeting place. Using such force, Serbian government was able to make changes in constitution and gain more powers.⁸

After the constitutional changes, all the parliaments in Yugoslavian republics which until then had only members from communist party were dissolved and new multi-partial elections were appointed. This was refused by Kosovo Albanians. They did not participate in elections and on the contrary held their own, unsanctioned elections.

By the constitution the control over state-owned companies was transferred to the Serbian government. Soon tens of thousands of Albanian workers were fired from their positions in government-controlled industries, provoking a general strike and mass unrest. Many Albanians left their job to show the solidarity to ones who were fired. They simply refused to work for the Serbian government. Despite all this, Serbian government simply described it as getting rid of old communist directors. However, in reality it was the purge of Albanians on ethnic bases. Kosovo Albanians began riots and unrests in

⁷Yugoslavia the old demon arise, Time Magazine Gertraud Lessing, John Borrell, August 06, 1990 <http://www.time.com/time/magazine/article/0,9171,970851,00.html>Last access 12.07.2012

⁸Between Serb and Albanian: A history of Kosovo, Miranda Vickers, Columbia University Press <http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?a=o&d=78022026>Last access 12.07.2012

order to protest against the attack on their rights. These riots were followed by violence and the declaration of the state of emergency.

In 1992 unsanctioned elections was held. On this election Albanians overwhelmingly elected Ibrahim Rugova as "president" of a self-declared Republic of Kosovo; however these elections were not recognized neither by Serbian nor any foreign government. In 1995, thousands of Serb refugees from Croatia settled in Kosovo, which further worsened relations between the two communities.

In 1996 armed actions started by Kosovo Liberation Army. First, despite several rioting in capital Pristina, Ibrahim Rugova was against violence and advocated non-violent resistance, however, as I have said above, later the movement took the form of the separatist agitation and Kosovo Liberation Army started armed resistance together with other political groups.

The terror campaign with regular car bombing and using gunfire was started by KLA. Main target was Yugoslav security force, government structures and civilians who supported the national government. KLA showed no mercy even to Albanians which supported Yugoslav government. In March 1998, Yugoslav and Serbian army units started joint operation against separatists. Soon after several months of using military force, thousands of Albanian civilians were killed and more than 500,000 fled their homes. Lots of Albanian families were forced to flee their homes because of the gunfight between national security and KLA forces. It was estimated by the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) that 460,000 people had been displaced from March 1998 to the start of the NATO bombing campaign in March 1999.⁹

In March 24, 1999 NATO intervened Serbia without United Nations authority. It followed the breakdown of negotiations between conflict sides. NATO was bombing Yugoslav military targets at first, however, later it launched a campaign of heavy bombing against bridges and other communication buildings. A full-scale war started and Kosovo Liberation Army continued to attack Serbian forces. On the other hand,

⁹Kosovo Crisis, UNHCR emergency updates 30 March 1999, Available at <http://www.unhcr.org/cgi-bin/texis/vtx/news/openssl.htm?tbl=NEWS&page=home&id=3ae6b80dc> Last access 12.07.2012

Serbian/Yugoslav forces continued to fight KLA which made even more civilians to leave their houses. This was regarded as ethnic cleansing by many international organizations. What is more, they claimed that Serbian government was responsible for this. Later after war, many senior Yugoslav government officials and military officers, including President Milosevic, were found guilty by the International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia (ICTY) for war crimes. Milosevic died in detention before a verdict was rendered.

In June 10, 1999 the war ended. Serbian and Yugoslav governments signed the Kumanovo agreement which agreed to transfer governance of the province to the United Nations. Kosovo Force (KFOR) led by NATO entered Kosovo after the Kosovo War. Its task was to provide security to the UN Mission in Kosovo (UNMIK). Before and during the war, an estimated 100,000 Serbs and other ethnic people, mostly Roma, fled the province for fear of revenge. In the case of the non-Albanians, the Roma people were regarded by Albanians as assistants of Serbs during the war time. Many people left Kosovo together with the withdrawing Serbian security forces in fears that they would be targeted by returning Albanian refugees and KLA fighters who blamed them for wartime acts of violence.

As for today, large numbers of refugees from Kosovo still live in temporary camps and shelters in Serbia. In 2002, 277 000 displaced people were reported in Serbia and Montenegro. What is more, most of them were from Kosovo. However, by some sources the numbers are lower. For example, the European Stability Initiative estimates the number of displaced people as being only 65,000. What is more, despite the war, almost two-thirds of the Serbian population in Kosovo continues to live in the Albanian-dominated south of the province.¹⁰

The situation was not stable in Kosovo even after the end of war. For example, on March 17, 2004, serious unrest in Kosovo ended with 19 deaths. More than 35 Serbian Orthodox churches and monasteries were destroyed in the province. This was organized

¹⁰The Lausanne Principle: Multiethnicity, Territory and the Future of Kosovo's Serbs, 7 June 2004, available at http://www.esiweb.org/index.php?lang=en&id=156&document_ID=53 Last access 12.07.2012

by Albanians against the Serbs. After this pogroms several thousand more Kosovo Serbs have left their homes and moved to the north of Kosovo.¹¹

Another clash happened last year. On July 25, 2011 Kosovar Albanian police tried to seize several border control posts in Kosovo's Serb-controlled north. They were trying to enforce the ban, which was imposed on Serbian imports. It was imposed as an answer to Serbia's ban on import from Kosovo. Large crowd erected the roadblock and Kosovar police units came under fire. There were casualties between Albanian policemen. One died when his unit was ambushed and another officer was reportedly injured. NATO-led peacekeepers moved into the area to calm the situation and Kosovar police pulled back. The US and European Union criticized the Kosovo government for acting without consulting international bodies. Though tensions between the two sides eased somewhat after the intervention of NATO's KFOR forces, they continued to remain high.¹²¹³

5. Research question, Hypothesis and Theory

As I have written in introduction, opinion of German government about Serbia's membership of European Union was pretty negative. What is more, it was negative not only on governmental level, but also on the level of population. However, today we see that German government has changed its opinion and voted for Serbia to become candidate state. Therefore the question arises: why did Germany grant candidate status to Serbia, in March 2012 when it was against Serbia's candidacy of European Union several months before in December? The question is even more interesting as the decision to grant candidacy to Serbia may be very unpopular among the people in Germany. In order to answer it and then explain by the theory, first we must state the research question. It

¹¹The Guardian, NATO force "feeds Kosovo sex trade" Ian Traynor, 7 May 2004, available at <http://www.guardian.co.uk/world/2004/may/07/balkans> Last access 12.07.2012

¹²NATO steps in amid Kosovo Serbia Border Row, Sky News, 27 July 2011, Available at <http://news.sky.com/story/870322/nato-steps-in-amid-kosovo-serbia-border-row> Last access 12.07.2012

¹³Kosovo tense after deadly clash on Serbian Border, BBC, 27 July 2011, available at <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-europe-14303165> last access 13.07.2012

may sound like this: Why did Germany grant candidate status to Serbia, in March 2012 when it was against Serbia's candidacy of European Union several months before in December? To answer this question, we need to find independent and dependent variables. In this case the dependent variable is the decision of Germany to change the opinion about Serbia's candidacy of European Union and to vote for it. As for the independent variables, they are variables that had or may have had the influence on dependent variable. In this case, we must find out what could have the influence on Germany's decision.

In my opinion there may be these independent variables: 1. Germany agreed on the candidacy of Serbia because it wanted to change Serbia's vector from Russia to European Union, 2. Germany agreed in order to show Serbia that it sees all the positive changes inside the country and to promote even more changes, 3. Candidacy would boost security 4. The reason for such agreement may be close economic co-operation between Germany and Serbia and not mastered Serbian market.

Below I will discuss each independent variable one by one, find out which one is the most reliable to explain and answer to the question, make the hypothesis and then explain it with one of the theories.

5.1. Agreement in order to change Serbia's political vector

First independent variable is that Germany has agreed on the candidacy of Serbia because German government wanted to change its vector from Russia to European Union. According to *Politika*, Serbian political magazine the government's European Integration Office recorded 51 percent support for European Union membership in December 2011, down from 73 percent in late 2009. Thirty-three percent now actively oppose joining the European Union, up from 12 percent in 2009.¹⁴¹⁵ Non-government

¹⁴<http://www.politika.rs/Stranice/Arhivaa.sr.html>

polls, such as that of the *NSPM* political magazine, report figures even less favorable to the European Union: 46 percent in favor and 37 percent against membership.¹⁶¹⁷ Three quarters of those questioned also opposed joining NATO. This means that European Union was losing Serbia. What is more, Serbia's pro-European president Boris Tadic and his party were losing supporters and the elections were coming. Tadic's opponent was Tomislav Nikolic, former radical who made new, Progressive party. Officially the ideology of the party is pro-European, however, the party has tight relations with Russian political party "united Russia".¹⁸

What is more, Serbs living in Kosovo are strongly against joining European Union. They are mostly pro-Russian and represent nationalist parties. These people want to split Kosovo and unite its northern part with Serbia. Such rhetoric had very negative consequences for Serbia as Germany blocked Serbia's European Union candidacy bid after the clashes, demanding that Belgrade dismantle its institutions in Kosovo and urging the Serbs there (40 000) to integrate into society.¹⁹

Before elections, it was thought that candidacy would boost supporters for pro-European candidate, Boris Tadic. It was written in press, that "the decision is widely seen as calculated to boost the Serbian ruling party ahead of the coming general elections. This comes against a background of declining public support for European Union membership and the existing pro-European president and leader of the ruling Democratic Party, Boris

¹⁵World Socialist Web Site, EU grants Serbia candidate status in run-ip to federal election, OgnjenMarkovic, 10 May 2012, Available at <http://www.wsws.org/articles/2012/mar2012/serb-m10.shtml> Last access 12.07.2012

¹⁶<http://www.nspm.rs/nspm-in-english/europe-as-a-high-ranking-power.html>

¹⁷World Socialist Web Site, EU grants Serbia candidate status in run-ip to federal election, OgnjenMarkovic, 10 May 2012, Available at <http://www.wsws.org/articles/2012/mar2012/serb-m10.shtml> Last access 12.07.2012

¹⁸Спренсканапреднастранка, 11.28.2011, Nikolic was the only guest from Serbia at the congress of United Russia in Moscow, available from <http://www.sns.org.rs/%D1%81%D1%80/eng/3797--srpska-napredna-stranka-news.html> last accessed 03.07.2012

¹⁹ Fox News, 14.02.2012, Serbian referendum may hinder attempt to join European Union, available from <http://www.foxnews.com/world/2012/02/14/serbian-referendum-may-hinder-attempt-to-join-eu/#ixzz1uOCtTrHw> last accessed 03.07.2012

Tadic”.²⁰ However, Brussels hopes to boost the chances of Tadic were challenged by nationalists, who were “expected to mount a strong challenge and question the benefits of European Union membership over closer ties with Serbia’s traditional ally, Russia, and economic powerhouse China.”²¹

The elections showed that such boost was not enough for Boris Tadic, as “Despite all predictions of a smooth victory for Tadic, Nikolic won the presidential elections leading by two points”.²² However, newly elected president stated, that “Serbia will keep the European Union path but also protect Kosovo”.²³

Now after this factual information written above, I would like to discuss if all this could have an effect on the position of Germany. Of course, European Union needs pro-western neighbors next to its borders. However, is such wish so great to grant candidacy status to countries which are still not ready for it? What is more, Serbia always had close relations with Russia; furthermore, Serbian people still have more close relations with Russians than with any other western European countries. NATO countries for them for a long time will be the ones which were bombing Belgrade during the war. Even more, as I have written above, Serbs are pretty nihilistic about joining European Union and such nihilism grows towards years. With such electorate, I wonder how candidacy could boost popularity of Tadic. It is pretty simple, when people do not wish joining an organization, candidacy status of this organization will not make them happy, even more, it may work against the popularity of government. As I have written above, Tadic lost the elections and it showed that candidacy was not major boost for his popularity. What is more, German government knew in December that there would be elections in Serbia soon and

²⁰ World socialist website, 10.03.2012, European Union grants Serbia candidate status in run-up to federal election, available from <http://www.wsws.org/articles/2012/mar2012/serb-m10.shtml> last accessed 03.07.2012

²¹ Irishtimes.com, 05.03.2012, European Union leaders decide to grant Serbia candidate status, available from <http://www.irishtimes.com/newspaper/world/2012/0305/1224312798528.html> last accessed 03.07.2012

²² BalkanInsight, 20.05.2012, TomislavNikolic wins Serbian presidency, available from <http://www.balkaninsight.com/en/article/tomislav-nikolic-wins-serbian-presidency> last access 03.07.2012

²³ BalkanInsight, 20.05.2012, TomislavNikolic wins Serbian presidency, available from <http://www.balkaninsight.com/en/article/tomislav-nikolic-wins-serbian-presidency> last access 03.07.2012

if it wanted to boost Tadic's popularity, it would do it in December and not straight before the election.

To sum up this part, I do not think that this variable can answer my research question. The hypothesis that Germany changed its position in order to make sure that Serbia would not change its vector towards Russia is not valid because of what I have written above.

5.2. Positive changes in relation with Kosovo

As for the second variable, we may think that Germany agreed in order to show Serbia that it sees all the positive changes inside the country and to promote even more changes. As we all know, in order to become European Union member state, one must fulfill the Copenhagen Criteria. These criteria are both economic and political. What is more, important factor is Serbia's relation with Kosovo. In order to discuss this variable and tell whether or not it could have an effect on the change of Germany's decision, we must discuss what has changed between first and second summit in Serbia and how its attitude towards Kosovo had changed. I will discuss all the changes one by one in order to make them more visible.

First of all, I would like to discuss the situation shortly before the first summit and the reasons why Germany went against Serbia at that time.

In July 25 of 2011 border clashes started between ethnic Serbs living in northern region of Kosovo and the government of Kosovo.²⁴ Kosovo police wanted to gain control of several border crossings in northern Kosovo. These crossings were controlled by ethnic Serbs. NATO forces had to interfere in order to stopclashes; however tensions continued to be high. At that time European Union blamed Kosovo for provoking tensions. In Brussels, a spokeswoman for European Union foreign policy Chief Catherine Ashton said:

²⁴ Sky News, Jane Dougall, 27.07.2011, NATO steps in Amid Kosovo-Serbia Border Row, available from <http://news.sky.com/home/world-news/article/16038032> last access 03.07.2012

"We believe the operation by the Kosovo authorities was not helpful. We do not approve it."²⁵

On the other hand, if we look at the background of the clashes, the main reason for them was the ban of cross-border trade. Since the declaration of independence, Kosovo has been unable to export anything to or via Serbia.²⁶ The week prior to the incident Kosovo banned cross-border trade following Serbia's ban on Kosovar imports.²⁷ Serbia has also stationed troops in the northern region to enforce a boycott of goods from Kosovo proper. As an answer to this fact, European Union warned both sides of the conflict. Catherine Ashton, European Union foreign policy chief, said in a statement: "I strongly condemn the violence that has taken place in northern Kosovo. These latest developments are unacceptable".²⁸ She stated, that "it is the responsibility of the governments in Belgrade and Pristina to restore peace between the two nations."²⁹

What is more, tensions reignited in September when the Kosovo forces tried to gain control over its northern region. Kosovar Serbs blocked the road and isolated northern regions from the rest of Kosovo. The situation became even more dangerous in October, Kosovo Force commander said, that his troops would remove roadblocks by force unless protesters did it.³⁰ On October 20, Kosovo Forces had a clash with Kosovar Serbs, which ended with 22 injured Serbs and 8 injured soldiers. Several days later, in clashes 21 Kosovo Force soldiers were injured in clashes.³¹ Such clashes were not the best decision before the summit. Germany threatened to block Serbia's candidacy unless it

²⁵ BBC news, 27.07.2012, Kosovo tense after deadly clash on Serbian border, available from <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-europe-14303165> last access 03.07.2012

²⁶ BBC news, 27.07.2012, Kosovo tense after deadly clash on Serbian border, available from <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-europe-14303165> last access 03.07.2012

²⁷ BBC news, 27.07.2012, Kosovo tense after deadly clash on Serbian border, available from <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-europe-14303165> last access 03.07.2012

²⁸ Aljazeera, 28.07.2011, European Union warns against growing tensions in Kosovo, available from <http://www.aljazeera.com/news/europe/2011/07/201172842419128741.html> last access 03.07.2012

²⁹ Aljazeera, 28.07.2011, European Union warns against growing tensions in Kosovo, available from <http://www.aljazeera.com/news/europe/2011/07/201172842419128741.html> last access 03.07.2012

³⁰ Aljazeera, 16.10.2011, Tensions linger along Kosovo border, available from <http://www.aljazeera.com/news/europe/2011/10/201110167539819979.html> last access 03.07.2012

³¹ <http://tempsreel.nouvelobs.com/monde/20111124.FAP8318/kosovo-21-soldats-de-l-otan-blesses-dans-des-affrontements-avec-des-manifestants-serbes.html>

normalizes its relations with neighbors.³² And so it happened. What is more, president Tadic on November 29 claimed, that the attacks had hurt his country's membership bid and, for the first time, called on Serbs in Kosovo to abandon their roadblocks.³³ This was stated as an answer to the clash on November 28, when NATO attempted to remove Serbian road blocks. During that try, 30 soldiers were injured, between them, two German soldiers who suffered gunshot wounds.³⁴ As an answer to this, Franziska Brantner, a German Green MEP, took a similar line: "The minimum we can ask is that Serbia contributes to a de-escalation of the situation in Kosovo," she said. "The message to Serbia is, we cannot give you candidacy while you are shooting at our soldiers."³⁵ Several months earlier, Angela Merkel stated, that "If Serbia wants to achieve candidate status, it should resume the dialogue and achieve results in that dialogue, enable Eulex to work in all regions of Kosovo, and abolish parallel structures and not create new ones."³⁶

Now I would like to find out if there were any changes in situation inside Serbia and in relation with Kosovo between first and second summit. If there were any major changes, than we may think that "positive changes in Serbia" may be the correct answer to my research question.

On February 23 2012, German Foreign Minister Guido Westerwelle while visiting Serbia stated, that "Germany firmly supports Serbia joining European Union" and "it

³² New Europe online, 11.12.2011, Germany, Britain oppose Serbia's European Union bid, available from <http://www.neurope.eu/article/germany-britain-oppose-serbias-eu-bid> last access 03.07.2012

³³ EuropeanVoice.com, Toby Vogel, 01.12.2011, German veto threat to Serbia's European Union Candidacy, available from <http://www.europeanvoice.com/article/imported/german-veto-threat-to-serbia-s-eu-candidacy/72784.aspx> last accessed 03.07.2012

³⁴ EuropeanVoice.com, Toby Vogel, 01.12.2011, German veto threat to Serbia's European Union Candidacy, available from <http://www.europeanvoice.com/article/imported/german-veto-threat-to-serbia-s-eu-candidacy/72784.aspx> last accessed 03.07.2012

³⁵ EuropeanVoice.com, Toby Vogel, 01.12.2011, German veto threat to Serbia's European Union Candidacy, available from <http://www.europeanvoice.com/article/imported/german-veto-threat-to-serbia-s-eu-candidacy/72784.aspx> last accessed 03.07.2012

³⁶ BBC news, 23.08.2011, Germany's Angela Merkel ties Serbian European Union hopes to Kosovo, available from <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-europe-14631297> last accessed 03.07.2012

would like to see Serbia given candidate status” on the summit in march.³⁷ Westerwelle also stated during meeting with president Tadic that “Serbia has gone very far” and was close to its goal.³⁸ What is more, the same article stated that “European Union leaders postponed a decision on whether to grant Serbia candidate status in December because of a lack of progress in the Serbia-Kosovo talks.”³⁹

Later the next day, Serbia and Kosovo came to consensus about the conditions under which Kosovo can be represented at international meetings and outlines technical parameters for border controls.⁴⁰ As it was stated, this agreement would “helps pave the way for Serbia’s gaining official “candidate” status to join the European Union.”⁴¹ This agreement changed many things between Serbia and Kosovo. Main change was that Serbia before thwarted any participation by representatives of the Kosovo government in international meetings by walking out or refusing to participate. Under new agreement, Serbia would accept international forums in which Kosovo would be represented by Kosovars.⁴² Serbs saw such compromise inevitable on the way of joining European Union.

To sum up this part, I would like to find out how important variable is normalization of relations with Kosovo, can it answer my research question and could it have an effect on the change of Germany’s decision. First of all, we can see real change in situation before second summit of European Union. First summit was conducted simultaneously with demonstrations and protests in northern Kosovo. Even more, there

³⁷ Radio Free Europe Radio Liberty, 23.02.2012, Germany will back Serbia’s European Union candidacy, available from http://www.rferl.org/content/germany_says_to_back_serbias_eu_candidacy/24494311.html last access 03.07.2012

³⁸ Radio Free Europe Radio Liberty, 23.02.2012, Germany will back Serbia’s European Union candidacy, available from http://www.rferl.org/content/germany_says_to_back_serbias_eu_candidacy/24494311.html last access 03.07.2012

³⁹ Radio Free Europe Radio Liberty, 23.02.2012, Germany will back Serbia’s European Union candidacy, available from http://www.rferl.org/content/germany_says_to_back_serbias_eu_candidacy/24494311.html last access 03.07.2012

⁴⁰ The New York Times, Matthew Brunwasser, 24.02.2012, Kosovo and Serbia reach key deal, available from http://www.nytimes.com/2012/02/25/world/europe/25iht-kosovo25.html?_r=2 last accessed 03.07.2012

⁴¹ The New York Times, Matthew Brunwasser, 24.02.2012, Kosovo and Serbia reach key deal, available from http://www.nytimes.com/2012/02/25/world/europe/25iht-kosovo25.html?_r=2 last accessed 03.07.2012

⁴² The New York Times, Matthew Brunwasser, 24.02.2012, Kosovo and Serbia reach key deal, available from http://www.nytimes.com/2012/02/25/world/europe/25iht-kosovo25.html?_r=2 last accessed 03.07.2012

were casualties between German soldiers.⁴³ It was not the best situation for Serbia to get candidacy. Before second summit on the other hand, situation was more or less normalized with Kosovo. What is more, there were achieved some positive agreements with regards the status of Kosovo.⁴⁴ This led to more normalized relations with European Union. Furthermore, as I have written above, Angela Merkel tied hopes of Serbia to get candidacy to Kosovo.⁴⁵ This was major condition and unless it was fulfilled, Serbia would not get candidacy status. What is more, there were no more problems with fugitive war criminals, as the last one – Goran Hadzic was captured in July 2011.⁴⁶

Hence, I think that this variable more or less describes the motivation of Germany. Furthermore, it may be an answer on my research question, first of all because it has changed. Before first European Union summit situation between Serbia and Kosovo was very strained, however, it changed after first summit and before second summit of European Union certain agreements were achieved. Secondly, German government always used to tie the membership of Serbia to better relations to Kosovo. Both Merkel and Westervelle stressed on it in every talk about Serbia.

Despite this, I would like to discuss two other variables below in case one of them may also be logical answer to my research question.

5.3. Candidacy would boost security

Another variable is that candidacy of Serbia would boost security in region and in European Union. However, in my opinion it is not so strong answer to my research

⁴³ EuropeanVoice.com, Toby Vogel, 01.12.2011, German veto threat to Serbia's European Union Candidacy, available from <http://www.europeanvoice.com/article/imported/german-veto-threat-to-serbia-s-eu-candidacy/72784.aspx> last accessed 03.07.2012

⁴⁴ The New York Times, Matthew Brunwasser, 24.02.2012, Kosovo and Serbia reach key deal, available from http://www.nytimes.com/2012/02/25/world/europe/25iht-kosovo25.html?_r=2 last accessed 03.07.2012

⁴⁵ BBC news, 23.08.2011, Germany's Angela Merkel ties Serbian European Union hopes to Kosovo, available from <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-europe-14631297> last accessed 03.07.2012

⁴⁶ The Guardian, Ian Traynor, 20.08.2011, Goran Hadzic capture a milestone for Yugoslav war crimes tribunal, available from <http://www.guardian.co.uk/world/2011/jul/20/goran-hadzic-capture-war-crimes-milestone> last accessed 03.07.2012

question. Of course, if Serbia would have more guarantees that it will join European Union, it would have been more careful in relation with Kosovo. However, this variable was valid as much before the first summit as it was before second. Because of this I think it is not as important as two variables discussed above. But nevertheless I would like to discuss it here.

According to NATO Secretary-General Anders Fogh Rasmussen, “any step that can improve the relationship between countries in the region and the Euro-Atlantic structures, including the European Union and NATO, will benefit not only the region but Europe as a whole.”⁴⁷ And this is true, Serbia’s candidacy would really boost regional safety, but still it cannot be an answer to my question above. Surely, Germany is interested in regional safety. However, it was interested in it as much before first summit, as it was interested before second one. As there is no change in such interest, we can assume that this variable could not have any effect on the change of Germany’s decision to grant Serbia candidate status. Therefore, it can be said that this variable is not useful in my case and it cannot answer to my research question.

5.4. Close economic cooperation between Germany and Serbia

The reason for such agreement may be close economic co-operation between Germany and Serbia. In order to find out the validity of this hypothesis, it is necessary to find any changes which occurred before and after the first summit of European Union.

Serbia has always been interesting place for investments for German companies. This year German investors listed Serbia in there top 10 best places for investations. “The German-Serbian economic association released a poll carried out among its members that shows that Serbia would be chosen as an investment destination by 91% of German

⁴⁷ B92, December 7, 2011, Germany: too early for Serbia’s candidacy. Available from http://www.b92.net/eng/news/politics-article.php?yyyy=2011&mm=12&dd=07&nav_id=77676Last access 03.07.2012

companies.”⁴⁸ Michael Schmidt, head of the Delegation of the German Economy to Serbia said that “the German enterprises are ready to invest and employ new workers in spite of the economic crisis, and the German investors also expect larger turnover, incomes and export profits.”⁴⁹ What is more, in the first trimester of this year, according to poles Germany was the main export partner for Serbia. As for the import, only Russia is bigger importing partner for Serbia than Germany.⁵⁰ In future even more investment inflow is expected in Serbia. The trade between Serbia and Germany now is 2.5 billion Euros annually, what is more, it is expected to double in future.⁵¹ If Serbia would get candidacy and it would have closer ties with European Union, Serbian market would become more reliable for German businessmen. What is more, investing money in Serbia would become easier. By this would benefit not only Serbia, but all German firms which would invest there. Because of this, we can assume that German corporations could lobby with German government Serbia’s candidacy. These hopes of German investors were visible when large number of German businessmen visited Serbia along with Angela Merkel in august 2011. There was “the hope of increasing Germany's already significant investment in Serbia.”⁵²

What is more, financial interest in Serbia is not only from the side of German businessmen, but also from German government, as it is the biggest donor for Serbia. According to Serbia’s Deputy Prime Minister Bozidar Djelic, in 2011 “Germany has been the biggest donor among individual countries.”⁵³ Germany has provided 1.09 billion euros

⁴⁸BC4S Consulting, German investors listed Serbia in their top ten, April 25, 2012, available at <http://www.bc4sconsulting.com/german-investors-listed-serbia-in-their-top-ten/> last accessed 12.07.2012

⁴⁹Serbia Times, Serbia on top ten list for German investors, April 25, 2012, available at <http://serbia-times.com/times/4921-serbia-on-top-ten-list-for-german-investors> Last access 12.07.2012

⁵⁰International Radio Serbia, New wave of German investments expected, May 08, 2012, Available at <http://voiceofserbia.org/content/new-wave-german-investments-expected> Last access 12.07.2012

⁵¹International Radio Serbia, New wave of German investments expected, May 08, 2012, Available at <http://voiceofserbia.org/content/new-wave-german-investments-expected> Last access 12.07.2012

⁵²BBC news, Germany’s Angela Merkel ties Serbia’s EU hopes to Kosovo, August 23, 2011, available at <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-europe-14631297> Last access 12.07.2012

⁵³Bloomberg, Serbia to get 137 million Euro from Germany for Energy, Economy, June 30, 2011, available at <http://mobile.bloomberg.com/news/2011-06-30/serbia-to-get-137-million-euros-from-germany-for-energy-economy?category=> Last access 12.07.2012

of financial support to Serbia since 2000, 40 percent of which was grants.⁵⁴ Of course Germany is interested how this money is spent, what is more, German government would like to see the “fruits” of such huge investments in strengthening democratic institutions and reducing unemployment. By granting Serbia candidacy, German government can have more control on the democracy inside Serbia and on its relations with Kosovo. This means that Serbia will stay forever candidate state unless it improves relations with Kosovo and builds democracy. By this, Germany will make sure that its investments in Serbian democracy will not be lost.

To sum up, at first sight this variable may be an answer to my research question. German businessmen have huge interest in Serbia’s economy. They could easily lobby in German government its candidacy of European Union. However, there is one more question, why Germany did not grant Serbia candidacy on first summit? At first sight, nothing has changed after it in Serbian economy. There were no changes in the attitude of German companies towards Serbia. If this variable is an answer to my research question, than there should be some change, for example, before second summit German companies should be more interested in candidacy of Serbia than before first summit. However, it has not been so. And even if it was, it is still not visible anywhere. Because of this I think that this variable is not useful and it cannot be an answer to my research question and therefore it may not be hypothesis.

5.5. Hypothesis and theory

Now I would like to state my hypothesis and choose one from above discussed four variables. All four of them could answer my research question, however, in my opinion, the best answer to my research question, why did Germany grant candidate

⁵⁴Bloomberg, Serbia to get 137 million Euro from Germany for Energy, Economy, June 30, 2011, available at <http://mobile.bloomberg.com/news/2011-06-30/serbia-to-get-137-million-euros-from-germany-for-energy-economy?category=> Last access 12.07.2012

status to Serbia, in March 2012 when it was against Serbia's candidacy of European Union several months before in December, is better relationship with Kosovo. Because of this, my hypothesis may sound like this: Germany granted Serbia candidacy status in March 2012 because Serbia normalized relations with Kosovo and it had certain progress and change in this field since December 2011. Because of this Germany changed its position from December 2011 and granted Serbia candidacy status in March 2012. I have discussed above the reasons why I think so, however I would like to state it briefly once more in this part.

First of all, as I have written above, there was real change in situation before second summit of European Union, whereas first summit was conducted at the same time with demonstrations, protests and casualties in northern Kosovo.⁵⁵ On the other hand, before second summit, the situation was more or less normalized with Kosovo. What is more, positive changes and agreements were achieved with Kosovo,⁵⁶ which normalized relations not only between Serbia and Kosovo, but also between Serbia and European Union. Furthermore, as I have written above, Angela Merkel tied hopes of Serbia to get candidacy to Kosovo.⁵⁷ After fulfilling this major condition, Germany decided to vote for Serbia to grant candidate status.

Because of everything written above, I think that main reason for Germany's decision was Serbia's normalized relations with Kosovo. What is more, German government always used to tie the membership of Serbia to better relations to Kosovo. It was a condition that there would not be any progress in relations between Serbia and European Union unless Serbia would achieve progress in talks with Kosovo. As this condition was fulfilled and Serbia achieved certain consensus with Kosovo, Germany decided that it should "reward" Serbia with something for this and this something was

⁵⁵ EuropeanVoice.com, Toby Vogel, 01.12.2011, German veto threat to Serbia's European Union Candidacy, available from <http://www.europeanvoice.com/article/imported/german-veto-threat-to-serbia-s-eu-candidacy/72784.aspx> last accessed 03.07.2012

⁵⁶ The New York Times, MAttewBrunwasser, 24.02.2012, Kosovo and Serbia rich key deal, available from http://www.nytimes.com/2012/02/25/world/europe/25iht-kosovo25.html?_r=2 last accessed 03.07.2012

⁵⁷ BBC news, 23.08.2011, Germany's Angela Merkel ties Serbian European Union hopes to Kosovo, available from <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-europe-14631297> last accessed 03.07.2012

the support during European Union summit in March 2012 and voting for Serbia's candidacy.

Now I would like to interpret my hypothesis with theory. Before I come to the theory, I would like to discuss the conditions, which countries must fulfill in order to become members of European Union. These are called "Copenhagen Criteria". In 1993 at the Copenhagen European Council, Union decided to grant the membership to new countries if they fulfilled certain criteria. These membership criteria require that candidate country must have achieved: 1. stability of institutions guaranteeing democracy, the rule of law, human rights and respect for and protection of minorities; 2. the existence of a functioning market economy as well as the capacity to cope with competitive pressure and market forces within the Union and 3. The ability to take on the obligations of membership including adherence to the aims of political, economic & monetary union. With these criteria, European Union makes certain conditions under which new members are admitted in union. The same happened to Serbia when it was granted with candidacy. According to my hypothesis, Serbia would make next step towards joining European Union and get candidate status, only if it fulfilled condition-normalize relations and achieve certain consensus with regards Kosovo. As soon as it happened, Germany decided that Serbia had fulfilled this condition and supported its candidacy on European Union summit in March 2012. By such condition, Germany made sure that Serbia would respect Kosovo and European Values. It was rather political condition than economical or any other.

Frank Schimmelfennig and Ulrich Sedelmeier described the process of integration as "gradual and formal horizontal institutionalization."⁵⁸ I would like to explain this definition. First of all, institutionalization, as Sedelmeier and Schimmelfennig explain, means "the process by which the actions and interactions of social actors come to be normatively patterned."⁵⁹ There may be two types of institutionalization, horizontal and

⁵⁸Frank Schimmelfennig and Ulrich Sedelmeier, *Theorizing EU enlargement: research focus, hypotheses and the state of research*, *Journal of European Public Policy* 9:4 August 2002: 500-528; p. 503

⁵⁹Frank Schimmelfennig and Ulrich Sedelmeier, *Theorizing EU enlargement: research focus, hypotheses and the state of research*, *Journal of European Public Policy* 9:4 August 2002: 500-528; p. 503

vertical. First one becomes wider and second one becomes deeper. In this case we have wider institutionalization. This means that number of actors “whose actions and relations are governed by the organization’s norms” becomes larger.⁶⁰ In constructivist logic, the speed and rate of such institutionalization are related with shared values.⁶¹ In other words, if candidate country agrees with and shares values of European Union, than it will have better progress in integration than the one who does not fulfill conditions. This happened in the case of Serbia. As soon as it started sharing values of European Union and fulfilling conditions by achieving progress with Kosovo, its integration process begin to move farther and because it fulfilled conditions, Germany voted for Serbia’s candidacy on the European Union summit in March 2012. Furthermore, institutionalization has formal character; this means that membership rules are defined formally. And the fourth aspect of definition is graduality. This means that enlargement process begins before and continues after the admission of new member in organization. This is an interesting aspect for my thesis, as even in the absence of full membership, outside actors might follow certain organizational norms and rules. This means that European Union enlargement is in line with the Community norms in as long as there is no major disagreement among the policy makers on the standard of these norms and condition preferences of enlargement.⁶² Non-members align with organizational rules as a result of the organization’s accession conditionality, or because these rules are embodied in formal agreements that create an institutional relationship short of full membership, such as association agreements or agreements to participate in selected policies of the organization. In my case this happened to Serbia. In order to get candidacy Serbia had to fulfill certain conditions of European Union regarding with Kosovo.

⁶⁰Frank Schimmelfennig and Ulrich Sedelmeier, *Theorizing EU enlargement: research focus, hypotheses and the state of research*, *Journal of European Public Policy* 9:4 August 2002: 500-528; p. 503

⁶¹JOHANNES-MIKAEL MAKI, *EU Enlargement Politics: Explaining the Development of Political Conditionality of “Full Cooperation with the ICTY” towards Western Balkans*, *Politickamisao*, Vol. XLV, (2008.), No. 5, pp. 47–80; p. 61

⁶²JOHANNES-MIKAEL MAKI, *EU Enlargement Politics: Explaining the Development of Political Conditionality of “Full Cooperation with the ICTY” towards Western Balkans*, *Politickamisao*, Vol. XLV, (2008.), No. 5, pp. 47–80; p. 61

What is more, such conditions are not necessarily economical. For example, geopolitical explanation of enlargement, this emphasizes security rather than economic benefits.⁶³ In my opinion this works the most according to Serbia, as European Union does not want to accept new member with unstable situation both inside the country and on an international arena. In its case, conditions from the side of Germany and European Union were not economical, but they insisted mainly on normalization of relations with Kosovo. The process of integration of Serbia to European Union was tied to Kosovo talks. As soon as there was the progress in these talks, progress appeared in the process of integration of Serbia in European Union.

European Union enlargement process is interactive. There are two sides, member states and country, which wants to join European Union. Enlargement happens only if both sides satisfy certain conditions for membership. According to Schimmelfennig, “states that share the collective identity and have adopted the values and norms of [the EU] will also seek to become members of [it].”⁶⁴ The EU, in turn, “will admit those states that have adopted the community values and norms and are therefore regarded as legitimate members”.⁶⁵ The same happened with Serbia, as soon as it started respecting values and fulfilling conditions, it was allowed to take one more step towards integration in European Union.

What is more, such conditionality is not first for Serbia; European Council stopped negotiations with Serbia in 2006 until it would cooperate with International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia. At that time, the accession of Serbia in European Union was tied to its cooperation with ICTY. However, at that time, negotiations resumed after parliamentary elections held in Serbia in 2007 despite the fact that main

⁶³Cirtautas, Arista Maria and Schimmelfennig, Frank(2010) 'Europeanisation Before and After Accession: Conditionality, Legacies and Compliance', *Europe-Asia Studies*, 62: 3, 421 — 441; p. 423 <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/09668131003647812>

⁶⁴JOHANNES-MIKAEL MAKI, EU Enlargement Politics: Explaining the Development of Political Conditionality of “Full Cooperation with the ICTY” towards Western Balkans, *Politickamisao*, Vol. XLV, (2008.), No. 5, pp. 47–80; p. 62

⁶⁵JOHANNES-MIKAEL MAKI, EU Enlargement Politics: Explaining the Development of Political Conditionality of “Full Cooperation with the ICTY” towards Western Balkans, *Politickamisao*, Vol. XLV, (2008.), No. 5, pp. 47–80; p. 62

war criminals were still not arrested.⁶⁶ The same happened with Serbia this time, its accession to European Union was tied to Kosovo. It was the main condition for further progress in the process of integration. After fulfilling this condition, Serbia was granted the status of candidate country.

To sum up this part of the thesis, in my opinion the theory of conditionality can answer the question why Germany changed its position towards Serbia. As I have written above, European Union makes certain conditions for countries which want to join it. In our case, for Serbia, such condition was better relation with Kosovo. As Serbia fulfilled it in the beginning of 2012, there were no more obstacles for it to get candidate status. Because of this, Germany changed its position and voted for Serbia and granted it candidate status of European Union.

⁶⁶JOHANNES-MIKAEL MAKI, EU Enlargement Politics: Explaining the Development of Political Conditionality of “Full Cooperation with the ICTY” towards Western Balkans, *Politickamisao*, Vol. XLV, (2008.), No. 5, pp. 47–80; p. 65

6. Conclusion

As a conclusion, I would like to sum up my thesis and discuss briefly what I have written above. First of all, by my hypothesis Germany granted Serbia candidacy status in March 2012 because Serbia normalized relations with Kosovo and it had certain progress and change in this field since December 2011. As I have already written above, Government of Germany often stressed that Serbia's membership of European Union hugely depended on its relations with Kosovo. I have analyzed different news sources, also read articles about Serbia and European Union and decided that from four independent variables, the best one, which could describe actions of Germany, was relations with Kosovo.

I have explained this hypothesis by the theory of conditionality. As I have written, European Union makes certain conditions. These conditions should be fulfilled by the country which wants integration. In this case conditions for Serbia alongside with democracy and human rights, was better relation with Kosovo. After achieving some progress in this area, Serbia was rewarded with candidacy and Germany backed it in this process.

As I have written in introduction, my goal during writing this thesis was to show the case of Serbia, how the position of Germany had changed in time from negative to positive in regards with the candidacy of Serbia. I have made my hypothesis about this case and stated that the reason for such dramatic changes in the position of Germany is that Serbia has normalized relations with Kosovo. As I have analyzed the situation before both summits, I saw, that the situation was radically different. Because of this, I decided that normalizing situation with Kosovo was certain condition for Serbia in order to make further steps towards integration in European Union.

After that, I have checked my hypothesis with the help of the theory. The theory of conditionality best describes my hypothesis. The existence of certain conditions and fulfilling them best explains why Germany has changed its position so quickly. As I have written above, European Union makes certain conditions for countries which want to

join it. In our case, for Serbia, such condition was better relation with Kosovo. Serbia fulfilled this condition in the beginning of 2012 and because of this there were no more obstacles for it to get candidate status. With all the conditions fulfilled, Germany changed its position and voted for Serbia and granted it candidate status of European Union.

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