SUMMARY OF THESIS

Dalma Vincze
Democracy promotion in the Western Balkans through regional international organizations
entitled Ph.D. dissertation

Supervisor:

Dr. József Juhász CSc.
associate professor and head of department

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Institute for International Rerlations

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1. PURPOSE AND SCOPE OF THE RESEARCH

Democracy assistance or democracy promotion is one of the widely used terms of the current foreign policy discourse. The notion appeared for the first time in the focus of attention of foreign policy in relation with the period which was characterized by Huntington as the 'third wave' of democratization. The related bibliography was completed during the analysis of the democratization processes of Latin-American and Central European countries. However it became a largely analysed and debated term in the present political discourse after 9/11. At the same time the question of spreading democracy and the possibility of its imposing on other nation states, as well as the related debates about universality of democracy appear mostly in connection of democracy assistance for regions outside Europe. Democracy promotion activities of international organisations were not criticized from this point of view.

While in Central and Eastern European states democracy assistance mostly aimed at supporting democratic transition and guaranteeing the irreversibility of democratic processes, in the Western Balkans international community initially was in charge of state-building as well. After the political changes of the 1989/90-ies CEE states complied with the accession criteria of international organisations in a relatively short period of time. However for the Western Balkans state-building and consolidation of democracy is still an important task. In a region where international presence in the entire country or part of it is still considerable (Kosovo, Bosnia and Herzegovina), and where ethnic division lines are still significant (FYROM, Bosnia and Herzegovina), building of a functioning state was a new challenge for international community as well. Implementation of democratic norms is mostly carried out through compliance with conditions of accession to international organisations, which is the main 'driving force for democratization'.

The central question of this dissertation is the democracy support activities of regional international organisations in the Western Balkans. Among regional organisations we analyse the European Union, the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation, the Council of Europe and the Organisation for Security and Cooperation in Europe. The dissertation conducts a comparative analysis how the above-mentioned organisations have been supporting consolidation and functioning of democratic norms. We comprehensively analyse the democracy promotion instruments, the mechanisms and motivations of its functioning, the similarities and differences in application of democracy promotion tools as well as the strengths and weaknesses of democracy promotion activities of each organisation. We also speak about the main dilemmas related to the research question.

The present research aims at bringing closer the international political theory and the political science focusing at democratization studies, through the analysis of democracy-promotion of the international community focusing in one concrete region, namely the Western Balkans. We believe that the number of analysed international bodies (EU, NATO, OSCE, CoE) will give a justified basis for comparison, moreover, the regional focus of the research is narrowed down enough to arrive to new and useful conclusions for both fields.

2. METHODOLOGY

The dissertation applies interdisciplinary approach, since it deals with a border field between international political theory, democratization studies, comparative political science and transitology.

During the research related to democracy promotion a detailed analysis of *political science* was necessary with a special focus on democratization studies, as well as application of its terminology (democracy, democratization). While conceptualizing democracy we aimed at choosing the most appropriate definitions for the research among the numerous notions used by political science. During our research however we realized that the definition of democracy and its evolution merit a special attention as well.

The analysis of the role of international organizations in world politics made it necessary to use the theory of different schools of *international relations* as well as the examination of the social-constructivist theory, is considered to be the border discipline between political science and international political theory. During our research we studied the related theories of the idealist, realist and constructivist schools as well.

Even if the dissertation did not aim to revise in details the history of democratic development of Western Balkan countries, we still used the *historiographical* works in order to analyse the historical changes in the region. Since the analysis focuses on the post-2000 period, historiographical works constituted a background for our research. Among the materials I would like to highlight the works by József Juhász, Péter Tálas and László Valki, and of foreign authors those of Tim Judah and Misha Glenny.

While analysing the relations between Western Balkan countries and international organizations we used the results of *transitology* dealing with democratic transition. Since the development of democracy promotion activities by international organizations and its instruments as well as "the great period of democratization studies in the political science was brought by the democratization of Eastern and Central European countries in the margin of eighties and

nineties" (Ágh [2012] p. 55.), we also used the democratization and Euro-Atlantic integration experience of CEE states. EU activities from the point of view of democracy promotion are the most comprehensive ones, therefore multidisciplinary *enlargement studies* as well as EU *integration studies* also constitute part of our research. While studying theoretical models of external democracy promotion we made a special focus on the integration model of democracy promotion.

Beside the critical analysis of the above-mentioned wide bibliography, the dissertation also studies the *documents of international organizations*. First of all these are documents providing a legal framework for relations between Western Balkans and the given international organization (enlargement studies, EU treaties and other acts, NATO communiqués, partnership documents, CoE positions, reports, recommendations, OSCE statements and documents etc.) . And second, it includes the scrutiny of documents related to the role of international organizations in democracy assistance in general.

Another important source is the *personal experien*ce the author of the dissertation acquired as an employee of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Hungary, especially underlining the role of information and impressions gathered during the four years period spent at the Hungarian NATO Mission in Brussels. I believe it is an added value of the dissertation that the knowledge of the background events is also incorporated in the study, contributing in a way to the interconnection of theory and practice.

We apply *comparative approach* while analysing the democracy promotion activities of international organizations. Due to size limits we only highlighted those historical events and episodes of integration history which are relevant for the present study. The dissertation analyses the relations of Western Balkans and international organizations starting from the late nineties. We finished the gathering of materials in the first half of 2014.

The research applies *regional approach* in the analysis of the relations of the Western Balkans with international bodies. However we also made reference to specific countries in the context of their relations with international organizations, in order to avoid a possible generalization.

From the research point of view we had to operationalize the terms such as democracy, democratization, Europeanization, democracy promotion, international organization and Western Balkans.

Since the concept of *democracy* used by international organizations has been constantly evolving, we had to choose a basis definition in order to conduct an unbiased analysis. As reference point we chose the minimalist or procedural definition of democracy by Schumpeter.

We applied political science terminology also for the operationalization of the term of *democratization*: for the purpose of the latter we use the definition by Leonardo Morlino, according to whom democratization is a transition from a non-democratic political regime to a democratic one, and the following processes such as consolidation, crisis or improvement of the quality of democracy. (Morlino [2012])

For the purpose of this dissertation we define *democracy promotion* as activities of international organizations in order to assist democratic changes as well as supporting the consolidation and guarantee the sustainability of democracy. Relevant sources mostly refer to these as external democracy promotion. The main reason for that is to underline the external nature of the democratization, where the participation of actors exceed the 'domestic/internal' scope. We consider essential to use this term since we attribute first and utmost importance to the internal factors in the process of democratization. Among democracy export and similar terms, we use democracy promotion or democracy support, since democracy export or spreading democracy are more politicized terms in our view.

3. RESULTS OF THE RESEARCH

3.1. Explanatory theories of external democracy promotion

Understanding the theoretical background of democracy promotion as a foreign policy goal and explaining theory of democratization in international relations and foreign strategy theories is not a largely studied part of international political theory and foreign policy analysis. According to Hazel Smith "international democratic theory, in terms of explaining and understanding the interrelationship of democracy, democratisation and the international system, does not exist." (Smith [2000] p. 1.)

Despite the "lack" of explanatory theory of the international system and democratization – criticized above – we have to bear in mind that research on democracy and democratic states – especially as a means of guaranteeing state security – has always been at the centre of international political theory. Idealist or in other words 'Wilsonian liberalists' thinkers of international political theory, who dominated the discipline in the first twenty years of its existence, attached a great deal of importance to democracy as it was seen as a safeguard against warring leaders. (Flockhart [2005] p. 7.)

Practical implementation of this political thought manifested in post-WWI peace treaties and the so called President Wilson's Fourteen Points. Unfortunately the translation into practice of the presidential proposals met some difficulties, therefore Wilsonian ideas were played down, while

the popularity of the realist school of international political theory grew considerably. However in 1983 Michael Doyle published his work of two articles with a title 'Kant, Liberal Legacies, and Foreign Affairs', and this brought the ideas of Kant, elaborated in his Perpetual Peace to the attention of international political thought. This triggered a proliferation of studies related to the concept of 'democratic peace'. While rediscovering Kant, the concept of 'security communities' by Karl W. Deutsch was also rediscovered. A deeper analysis of these two concepts as well as their influence to foreign policy strategies could lead us to a better understanding of the place of democracy promotion within the theory of international relations. The security community theory and its renewal by Adler and Barnett can be linked to the constructivist approach of international relations, and provides an alternative answer to the modalities for the creation of international peace and security besides realism and liberalism. The growing role of international norms can also be linked to the so called 'constructivist turn' in international relations, which gave a basis for research about the normative power of international actors, especially the EU. Theories related to normative power first of all deal with the international role of the EU, and mostly focus on the question of how we can define this sui generis entity. By analysing EU relations with third countries numerous studies exist about whether EU is a civilian (François Duchêne) or normative power (Ian Manners), and as such achieves its goals using soft power (Joseph Nye).

Ian Manners introduced the concept of normative power, developing the definition of civilian power by François Duchêne. The normative power of the European Union comes from historical specificities, its mixed political structure and its political and legal framework. The normative difference of the EU means its ability to influence the perception about 'normality'.

3.2. Specificities of the Western Balkan Democratic Development

The 1989-90 democratization wave in CEE and Balkans (and we mean here the Balkan peninsula as a geographical term) was different from preceding democratization processes in the sense that – together with a transition towards liberal democratic political systems – these countries had to carry out a transition to market economy as well. This posed the so-called 'dilemma of synchronicity'. (Ramet [2010] pp. 12-13.) However the differences between democratic development of the Balkans and of the CEE were clear already in the early 90-ies. Authors dealing with this topic underline several factors leading to this differences. These are historical traditions and legacies, the differences between democracy-forming actors as well as the difference in the scenarios of changes.

Comparing CEE and Balkans transitions it becomes evident that there are differences in the process itself as well as its assessment. In the Western Balkans – apart from creation of the multiparty system – the transition was completed with a delay, after the creation of new state structures, and it was only afterwards that economic, social etc. consolidation appeared in the agenda. This process mostly could not finish till the 2008 economic crisis. As for the assessment, in both regions a great disappointment can be observed, however in the case of the Western Balkans it is not manifested through a rightist populist rhetoric characterizing Central and Eastern Europe, rather through leftist radicalism.

While analysing the specificities of the democratization in the Western Balkans we often refer to a so-called post-Yugoslav path. However our analysis does not include the evaluation of the democratic development of Slovenia, since this country rapidly joined the group of the well-performing CEE and Baltic states. (Dolenec [2013] p. 34.), therefore it separated from the Western Balkans in political terms. In the analysed region the development of nationhood and statehood of Albania followed a different pattern from the post-Yugoslav countries, however the specificities of democratic development are also largely applicable to Albania as well. We can distinguish the following specificities of the democratic development in the region:

(1)   Balkan states do not have such a strong democratic traditions as in CEE, therefore they started democratization seriously relatively late, in the early nineties. (Ágh [1999] pp. 269-270.) In fact, the traditions of the rule of law and constitutionalism are weak.

(2)   The process of changes was equally determined by historical memories, the distance from 'Europe', namely whether – and to what extent – the European democratic thought had incorporated into historical memory. (Ramet [2010] pp. 14-17.)

(3)   A certain active popular resistance against state socialism in CEE countries existed, therefore it was the population who initiated the ousting of the regimes through opposition parties. In the Balkans the passive and unorganized masses only reacted to the manipulations of the ruling elite. (Ágh [1999] pp. 269-270.)

(4)   Contrary to CEE, political and economic changes in the Balkans went on through bloodshed and conflicts. The intensity of the changes lag behind the neighbouring region. (Ágh [1999] pp. 269-270.)

(5)   War circumstances determined the speed and nature of democratic institution-building. We can witness a somehow delayed institution-building in the Western Balkans. During the conflicts a 'strong man' often seized leadership, and access to power was based on nepotism and clan relations. (Ramet [2010] p. 27.)

(6)   Contrary to CEE, the elite change was carried out very slowly in the Balkans. (Ágh [1998] pp. 526-529.)

(7)   The difference of the traditions of political systems is also remarkable. Balkan states have a strong presidential tradition with weak parties, while in CEE is characterized by parliamentarism and strong parties. This lead to weak democracy in the Balkans. (Ágh [1998] pp. 526-529.)

(8)   Problems of the development of nation states contributed to the specificity of the region. Western Balkan countries had to establish nationhood and statehood during the post-socialist era.

(9)   Presence of minorities and ethnic heterogeneity is a social feature that contributes to ethnic divisions as well as using of nationalism for political aims, which is characteristic to the region. (Boduszyński quoted by Elbasani [2013] p. 11.)

(10)   In part of post-Yugoslav societies the role of clan, family and tribalism in general is largely present. On a political level one still can feel the hierarchy of social relations (Ruggeri Laderchi and Savastano [2013] pp. 1-13.)

(11)   The possibilities and sometimes the vector of the Balkan democratic development are determined by the economic underdevelopment of the region and its causes.

(12)   May be the most important cause of the specific democratic development of the Balkan lays in the weaknesses of statehood as well as in the connections between the nation-, state- and democracy-building.

In the case of the Balkans the general weakness of the reformist elite, the problems of democratic traditions, the long-standing patrimonial relations between state and society, the difficulties of social and economic development and the violent circumstances of the change of regime are considered as 'historical legacy'. (Diamandouros and Larrabee [2000] pp. 29-33.)

3.3. Model of democracy promotion in the Western Balkans

At the 1993 European Council Summit in Copenhagen formulating the accession criteria for the European Union, Member States assigned primacy to the requirement of democracy in achieving membership status by candidate countries. The Washington Treaty establishing NATO, as well as the successive enlargement documents, including the Study on NATO Enlargement prepared in 1995 all underline the importance of the stability of democratic institutions for countries with membership aspirations. The same principles apply in the cases of the Organization for Security

and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) and the Council of Europe (CoE). The fact that these regional inter-governmental organizations deem democratic principles so important clearly illustrate that they consider them as the bedrock of European and Euro-Atlantic identities.

In most cases, candidate and aspiring countries are required to pay special to attention to the requirements of democratic obligations by international organizations in their enlargement policies. Although the effectiveness and 'utility' of the conditionality imposed through the enlargement policies of the four international organizations examined is of varying degrees, still democracy promotion is an inherent consequence and pre-condition of the enlargement policies for these international organizations. At the same time, it is not only through the instruments of their respective enlargement policies that the EU, NATO, OSCE and CoE offer democracy support for the nations of the Western Balkans.

All four international organizations have established an institutional presence of sorts in the Western Balkans. Depending on the scope and nature of this institutional presence they offer direct support to maintaining stability and to promoting democracy building in the country through political and financial support to governments and civil society. In view of the definition proposed by Magen and Morlino, however, democratic control as a mechanism for democracy promotion - namely, when democracy building is fostered by the direct involvement of an international organization - is only embraced by NATO and the EU.

Clearly, of the international organizations scrutinized here it is the **European Union** whose democracy promotion engagements are the most significant in the Western Balkans, since the influence of the EU derived from its enlargement process also affects the legal systems, as well as the political, economic and social structures of the respective countries in the region. The main theoretical underpinning of its democracy support endeavours is the concept of normative power. The democracy model promulgated by the EU goes beyond the so-called minimalist approach to democracy, since the ever-firmer conditionality of the enlargement policy encompasses the basic requirements of good governance norms, the observance of human rights and the rule of law. As enumerated by Magen and Morlino, the most effective and characteristic mechanisms of its democracy promotion are democratic example and conditionality. Besides these, the supervision of compliance with prerequisites, in short, monitoring is also an essential tool in the kit for the Union in order to prompt the countries of the western Balkans in its desired direction.

In essence, the Union's democracy support endeavours in the Western Balkans are a reflection of its developmental approach to democracy promotion: besides the narrow political parameters of democracy it also takes into consideration its social and economic dimensions. It posits

democratization as a deliberate and measured process, thus, it considers as the chief instrument of democracy support the indirect, economic and social development aspects of democratization. Naturally, the political dimensions of democracy promotion are also significant.

In the relationship contacts maintained with the countries of the Western Balkans democracy support achieved primacy in the context of membership perspective. Ruefully, this commitment, however, has been relegated to the back benches by the creeping national interests into the enlargement process, which is most readily embodied by the so-called enlargement fatigue (Hillion [2010]. Therefore, keeping up the appeal of EU membership perspective is essential in the eyes of the local political elites and the public to ensure the success of these democracy support initiatives. This is predicated on a number of prerequisites, such as solving the internal problems of the EU, becoming more accessible by its stakeholders, maintaining a meaningful economic presence by the EU and its member states in the countries of the Western Balkans, preserving the credibility of the enlargement process and ensuring that accession remains a viable option.

Besides its military component, **NATO** has supported and still supports democratic reforms in the countries of the Western Balkans with its instruments of partnership and enlargement policies. This kind of role of the Alliance has become more accentuated parallel to the emergence of the democratic identity of NATO since the end of the Cold War. In the Alliance's strategic vision for the region stability and, thereby, a stable security environment retains primacy. Accordingly, democracy promotion for the countries of the Western Balkans is a tool in the kit of instruments ensuring security. The intellectual underpinning of its democracy promotion is the theory of democratic peace by Doyle, as well as the concept of (democratic) security community.

At the same time, the democracy promotion activities undertaken by NATO can be interpreted in the context of a minimalist definition of democracy. These democracy support activities are limited in scope and the prescribed requirements are the most accentuated in the military and defence (e.g. civilian control) areas. In the relationships maintained with the countries of the Western Balkans, the combination of measured conditionality and practical co-operation in partnership and enlargement policies could foster the strengthening of democratic norms even in the case of Serbia, sceptical towards NATO integration. Through its enlargement policy, NATO is strengthening democracy, contributes to the maintenance and consolidation of democracy which is crucial in the case of the fragile and young Western Balkan democracies (Waterman [2002] p.26.). NATO's democracy fostering role through its enlargement policy is criticised by many, since the democratic credentials of some of its member states (cf. Greece and Turkey) could be called into question in the earlier history of the Alliance (Reiter [2001]. In my view, the

enumeration of historical examples from the Cold War period is not relevant in the context of evaluating the democracy promotion activities of the Alliance in the course of the past two decades.

The most important mechanisms of NATO's democracy promotion in the Western Balkans are democratic control (through its physical presence and missions), as well as democratic example and conditionality via its partnership and enlargement programs. Since conditionality is not as developed and circumscribed instrument as is in the case of the European Union, thus, democratic socialization namely, democratic influence through joint programs with the political, military, civil leaderships of the countries of the Western Balkans is also important. In view of its nature, NATO is designed and able to play a prominent role in the military and defence sectors, or more narrowly in the security sector reform.

Crucially, a weakness in its democracy support activities is the lack of a coherent set of requirements for accession to the Alliance which allows ample room for political decisions by NATO member states. This makes the outcome, timing and modalities of the enlargement process uncertain for the governments in the region.

In the case of the **OSCE**, the most elaborate theoretical foundation for its democracy promotion activities is the concept of security community as re-invoked by Adler and Barnett. The substantive concept of democracy in the organization is reflective of the comprehensive definition of security, since the Helsinki Final Act establishing the organization and the ensuing political declarations elaborately enumerate all the prerequisites for modern democracies; the norm of good governance, a wide scope of social and human rights, media freedom, civil-military relations, etc. are all contained therein. In the course of its practical operations the OSCE plays a vital role in supporting the electoral systems in the countries of the Western Balkans through its Office of Democratic Institutions and Human Rights. This strengthens the so-called minimalist concept of democracy in OSCE's relations with the Western Balkans.

Contrary to other international organizations scrutinized here, conditionality is not an issue in the organization's accession protocol, accordingly, its enlargement policy cannot be the crucial platform for its democracy promotion. Nevertheless, the OSCE performs a crucial role of gatekeeper vis-à-vis the countries of the Western Balkans insofar as other international organizations rely on the advice of the OSCE in their respective accession processes or in case of seeking closer ties in their partnership relations. The most important mechanism of its democracy promotion activities is internal socialisation, since it promotes the development and maintenance of the democracies of Western Balkan countries while already being its member states. The monitoring mechanisms established in the area of human rights also play an

important role in the democracy support of the organization, although the lack of accountability due to the incomplete nature of its legal foundation significantly hinders its measure of success.

Perhaps the motivation of the **Council of Europe** for democracy promotion in the Western Balkans is the most self-evident, since the entire existence of the organization is predicated on the protection of democratic norms. This is the reason why the theory of international relations declines to consider the motivations for democracy promotion by the CoE, yet when scrutinizing the theories enumerated in this present dissertation, it is apparent that its democracy support activities can be explained by and large in terms of the concept of normative power. The notion of democracy used by the CoE and reflected in its *acquis*, developed through international accords and agreements adopted by the CoE is overtly multi-layered and goes well beyond the minimalist concept of democracy postulated by Schumpeter. The main feature of the organization's activities is the support for local democracies namely, the promotion of democracy at the municipal level.

The main instruments of the democracy support activities of the CoE are the monitoring mechanisms developed and operated on the basis of the international accords and agreements adopted by the CoE, as well as the conditionality manifest in its enlargement policies. Beyond these, internal socialization and the mechanisms of democratic example are also at play in the case of countries already being member states while supporting the rule of law, human rights conditions and the promotion of democratic norms in the countries of the Western Balkans. Through advising the Venice Commission, the CoE also played a notable role in helping develop Constitutions in the region.

With the exception of Kosovo all Western Balkan countries are by now members of the CoE, thus they are part of the norm development activities of the organization and its manifold monitoring mechanisms are also applicable to them. In the context of the protection of human rights the Convention for the Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms as developed in the context of the CoE and to be ratified by all candidate countries must be emphasized which, by the establishment of the European Court of Human Rights and the introduction of the institution of individual applications has contributed to the promotion of human rights in a singular fashion. However, the democracy promotion of the CoE are weakened by the limited sanction toolkit of the organization.

We are attempting to sum up the comparative presentation of our research results in the following table. The table summarizes the democracy promotion mechanisms in the Western Balkans of the scrutinized regional international organizations and thus presents the external democracy promotion model composed by us.

Model of the external democracy promotion in the Western Balkans

Democracy promotion	EU	NATO	OSCE	CoE
explanatory theory	normative/civilian power	democratic peace, (democratic) security communities	security communities	normative power
logic	strategic, developmental, idealism	strategic interest and idealism	idealism and pragmatism	idealism
priority in the relations	yes, continuing from membership perspective	no, secondary to security interests	yes	yes
approach	developmental	political	political	developmental
definition of democracy	substantive	minimalist	substantive, but focus on the elements of the minimalist approach	substanive
main mechanisms	conditionality, example, democratic control	democratic control, conditionality, socialization, example	socialization, gate keeper for other organisations	socialization, conditionality, example
main tools	enlargement and association policy, civilian and military missions, financial support	partnership and enlargement policy, military mission, financial support	monitoring, missions, financial support	enlargement, monitoring and mentoring, financial support
main areas	holistic	defence and military	elections, rule of law, human rights	rule of law, human rights, local democracy
limits	enlargement fatigue, creeping national interests	no specific conditionality, effective only limited areas	lack of legal basis, lack of conditionality	lack of sanctions

In the course of our research we have faced numerous **dilemmas of democracy promotion**. Although we established upon commencing our research that it was nor our objective to pass qualitative judgement on democracy promotion, yet we have encountered its practical contradictions on many occasions. The democracy promotion activities of the scrutinized international organizations in the Western Balkans are facing numerous challenges which could be encapsulated in the context of the following questions. How can an international organization retain its appeal when it is facing its own manifold challenges (financial crisis, etc.) and perhaps itself exports democracy deficit? How can the appeal of enlargement and accession be maintained while the international commitment to the Western Balkan region must be continuously reasserted and is pushed to the backburner every now and then by more pressing tasks? How can an enlargement policy in support of democracy remain credible which enjoys diminished public support in the member states of international organizations and must be implemented through limited resources? How could a Western Balkan political leader remain committed whose perspective vis-à-vis the ultimate objective of euro-Atlantic integration remains elusive?

3.4. Conclusions of our research hypotheses

On the basis of our research our first hypothesis turned out to be partially conclusive.

> *In the relationships maintained by the international organizations with the region of the Western Balkans – in a novel interpretation of maintaining security – support for democratic transformation of the countries of the region and for the maintenance of democracy, in short, democracy promotion have assumed primary importance.*

The relationships between the scrutinized international organizations and the countries of the Western Balkans have undergone a long development. The Balkan crisis – together with the other realignments in the international system after the Cold War – has revealed the inadequacies in the direct crisis management capabilities of international organizations which have also generated internal changes in all four international organizations. The European Union has embarked on strengthening its military and civil crisis management capabilities, NATO has focused on establishing its internal unity, the OSCE has developed the non-military instrument of conflict management, while the CoE has established closer ties in its cooperation with other international organizations with a view to be able to participate in crisis management activities. These changes then fed back into the relationships of respective international organizations and the region re-emerging from the Balkan crisis.

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Other realignments in the international system have also affected the development of relationships between the euro-Atlantic international community and the Western Balkans. With the systemic changes in the countries of Central and Eastern Europe and, in general, the so-called third wave of democratization, democracy promotion as foreign policy objective and strategy has assumed a prominent feature in foreign policy discourses. This process was also further accentuated by the post-9/11 US foreign policy rhetoric which posited the fight against 'evil' in terms of the export and promotion of democracy. These parallel processes of the international system have resulted in the transformation and enlargement of the concept of security, further, have advanced the concept of value based democracy support and have affected the relationships maintained with the Western Balkans.

In line with the pan-European ethos, the OSCE and the Council of Europe admitted the states of the Western Balkans as their members relatively early, whereas the European Union and NATO have chosen to shape their relationships with the region in the context partnership and enlargement policies based on ever-stricter conditionality. With the promise of membership perspective, the EU has prescribed a detailed roadmap encompassing the social, political and economic requirements of democratic rule of law for the countries of the region, each of whom profess(ed) their desire to become a member of the Union.

The objective of democracy promotion has featured prominently in the relations of the scrutinized international organizations with the Western Balkans (be it member, candidate or partner country) which is accomplished via various (political, economic, military, civil, etc.) engagements and manifold co-operative programs. It is a Western Balkan feature of democracy promotion, however, that the scrutinized international organizations were forced to (have) assumed a prominent role in the state building efforts of the countries of the region.

Although democracy promotion is a stated objective of the relationships maintained by international organizations with the countries of the Western Balkans, in the case of NATO, however, this objective can be overruled by security considerations. The Alliance cannot be, however, criticized for this, since its existence as an international organization with a particular profile is predicated on guaranteeing the security of its member states. Nevertheless, it has to be emphasized that NATO has contributed significantly to the democratic development and stability of the region. Its activities are exemplary in the areas of defence and security sector reforms where in many cases it can induce more profound and successful changes than can, for example, the European Union.

Our second hypothesis has turned out to be conclusive.

The instruments of democracy promotion are by and large similar in the case of each scrutinized international organizations.

From our overview of the literature of democracy support it could be determined that the effect-mechanisms of democracy promotion can be classified and catalogued in many different ways. The effect-mechanisms identified on the basis of the typology espoused by Magen and Morlino (democratic control, conditionality, democratic socialization, democratic example) are operational in the case of each scrutinized international organization, although the frequency of their application varies with each organization. The mechanism of democratic example is operational in the case of each organization. Conditionality is operational in the case of those regional international organizations where membership is tied to specific conditions, thus in the case of the EU, NATO and CoE. This effect-mechanism is almost irrelevant in the context of the OSCE. Democratic control (military intervention, civil governance, special representative system) has been operational in the Western Balkans in the case of organizations possessing military and civilian mission capabilities namely, the EU and NATO, whereas other international organizations have not been in a position to employ it. Democratic socialization is strong in case the given Western Balkan country is either already a member of a respective organization or has established a strong and close partnership relation with a respective organization. The socialization effect is significant in the case of the OSCE and CoE, but it is also featured in the relations of the Western Balkans with NATO, as well as the EU.

In effect, the support instruments utilized across the Western Balkans can be derived from the democracy promotion mechanisms. Each international organization can exert influence on the development and maintenance of democracy in the countries of the region via (1) its enlargement, partnership and membership policies, (2) its physical presence and (3) financial support, therefore, the instruments of democracy support are the one and the same. The difference lies in the utilization factor of these instruments. It is the European Union that is best positioned to harvest the benefits of promotional strength of its enlargement policies, whereas the OSCE is lagging behind in this sense, since its membership requirements are not tied to any strict conditionality. NATO has no specific list of requirements in terms of accession for membership aspirants, while the CoE also determines the parameters of accession on a case by case basis, yet on the basis of multiyear experience there still exists an outline of a sort of 'minimum list of requirements'. All regional organizations are or has been able to utilize the instruments of partnership policy, since all of these organizations has established a partnership

arrangement with the countries of the region either until their assumption of membership or in eventual view of it.

All international organizations have established a physical presence in the region namely, they are maintaining military and/or civilian missions and/or representations in the countries of the Western Balkans, therefore, they are also utilizing this instrument of democracy promotion. Naturally, the scope of this presence determines the areas of democracy promotion and most certainly its effectiveness.

We have endeavoured in this dissertation to summarize the financial support offered to the Western Balkans by the four scrutinized international organizations. Ruefully, its volume cannot be determined in most cases, since the respective organizations employ thematic, not region-specific focus in devising their budgets. It could be discerned, however, that each international organization has offered smaller or bigger financial support to democracy development in the region, accordingly, financial support in the case of the EU, NATO, CoE and the OSCE can also be considered as an instrument of democracy support.

On the basis of our research results we deem our third hypothesis as conclusive.

> *The structural specificities of the scrutinized international organizations are reflected in their utilization of the instruments of democracy promotion.*

We have already surveyed and observed before that on the basis of our research results, the instruments for democracy promotion in the Western Balkans are the one and the same in the case of the EU, NATO, OSCE and the CoE, although their utilization is subject to variation. The reason for this varied instrument utilization, conversely, lies in the respective differences of the Western Balkan policies pursued by the respective international organizations reflective of their own specificities.

The European Union is expecting to welcome the states of the Western Balkans as its members, Croatia has been a member since 2013, therefore, it is in a position to utilize the possibilities offered by its enlargement and partnership policies out of the instruments of democracy promotion. After surveying the relationship of the organization and the Western Balkans, it has become apparent that the EU was in a position to conduct meaningful democracy support activities only after inducing institutional changes via military and civil activities. In view of the institutional specificities of the Union, the support for the region has proved to be the most significant in comparison to other scrutinized international organizations.

NATO, as primarily responsible regional international organization for the collective defence of NATO member states and security and stability of the euro-Atlantic region has been able to develop the strongest ties with the countries of the Western Balkans in comparison to other international organizations in the areas of security and defence co-operation. Through the enlargement and partnership process, the military mission and advisory groups of the Alliance, as well as through financial support the most significant area of democracy support has become defence reform and regional stability fitting into the profile of the Alliance.

With the exception of Kosovo, all states of the Western Balkans are already members in the OSCE and the CoE, therefore, for them the instruments available for member states are the most significant, thus, democratic development, human rights situation and the mechanisms controlling/monitoring the rule of law are the primary instruments for democracy promotion. Reviewing the relationship between the two organizations and the Western Balkans, however, it is also apparent the two organizations were also in the position of deploying other instruments for democracy promotion, as well. Through the conditionality of CoE membership it could also exert direct influence on the 'realignment' of the legal systems of the countries of the Western Balkans. In turn, the OSCE was in a position to take part in conflict management exercises via its mission to the Western Balkans.

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