

INTER-ETHNIC RECONCILIATION, RELIGIOUS TOLERANCE AND HUMAN SECURITY IN THE BALKANS

Proceedings of the Third ECPD
International Permanent Study Group
Meeting

Prizren, June 16-17, 2007

Editors:

Takehiro Togo/Jeffrey Levett/Negoslav P. Ostojić



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PREFACE

INTER-ETHNIC RECONCILIATION, RELIGIOUS TOLERANCE AND HUMAN SECURITY IN THE BALKANS

PROCEEDINGS OF THE THIRD ECPD INTERNATIONAL PERMANENT STUDY GROUP

The Third ECPD International Permanent Study Group (IPSG) meeting on Reconciliation and Human Security in the Western Balkans was held in Prizren (Kosovo) on 16–17 June 2007. The meeting was organized and held in accordance with the recommendations of the Second ECPD International conference and the decision made by the ECPD Council. Existence and activities of the ECPD, Regional Center for International Postgraduate Studies with Headquarters in Prizren, which would be also involved in organization of the meeting was another reason to choose Prizren as a venue of the IPSG meeting.¹

The Third IPSG meeting was a continuation of its work started one year ago. The **First** IPSG meeting was held in Sveti Stefan, Montenegro, on 16–17 June, 2006. It was a constitutive and working event, which took place just after the Republic of Montenegro became an independent state. The IPSG discussed its tasks and objectives, as well as its program of work for the upcoming period. Special attention was given to preparation of the Second ECPD International Conference which was to be held at the end of October of the same year. The **Second** IPSG meeting was organized and held in Belgrade, on 26 October, preceding just a day of the Second ECPD International Conference. Members of the IPSG discussed and finalized the Conference Agenda, suggesting that Reconciliation and Human Security should be main topics of the Conference as well as of the further IPSG work.

Prizren was chosen as the venue of the Third IPSG meeting due to very sensitive situation in Kosovo and its surroundings. The aim was that the IPSG members and the experts, with their statements, discussions and recommendations, contribute to the reconciliation and tolerance among the peoples in Western Balkans, especially in Kosovo, and – at the same time – that the participants, being at the very spot, become acquainted with situation at Kosovo which might be very useful for their future work. It was intended also to

¹ The Center was established on September 2006 by the AGREEMENT concluded between ECPD, via the ECPD Regional Institute for Development Studies in Skopje (Macedonia), to organize and carry out International postgraduate studies, research projects and consultative activities in accordance with the ECPD International Program of Knowledge System Transfer.

invite the representatives of Kosovo; Provisional Institutions of Self Government (PISG), local communities, religious and academia, and to give them opportunity to hear experiences and opinions of renowned scientists and experts almost from all communities over the world on the ways and means used and/or could be used in the promotion of peace and security through reconciliation and tolerance among the disputed peoples or states.

The IPSPG and experts meeting had 81 participants and eleven observers. The IPSPG members and experts came from all Balkan countries, European and several non-European countries, including Japan and the USA. Several international organization, particularly those present in Kosovo had their own representatives, too. The representatives from the Kosovo Provisional Government, local institutions, religious and academia attended the meeting and significantly contributed to its successful work. Among them there were well known public and scientific figures, academicians and professors from prestigious universities, experts in various fields of sciences, including, *inter alia*: Togo Takehiro, distinguished Japanese diplomat, professor of international relations and President of the ECPD Council; Man-cham Sir James, Founding and first President of the Republic of Seychelles; Nagai Tadashi, H.E. Ambassador of Japan to the Republic of Serbia and to the Republic of Montenegro; Maes Albert, H.E. Ambassador of EU, Professor, University of Brussels, Belgium; Wolfgang Wolte, H.E. Ambassador, Austrian Society for European Politics, Vienna, Austria; Bradley Jonathan, Professor and Dean, University of West England, UK; Bučkovski Vladimir, Former Prime Minister of the Macedonia, Professor of University St. Ciril and Methodius; Gjergji Dodë, President, Catholic Bishop of Kosovo; Hoxha Sylë, Deputy Minister of Justice, Government of Kosovo; Idrizi Sadik, Minister, Ministry of Health, PISG of Kosovo; Krasniqi Anxhelina, Deputy Minister, Ministry for Sport and Youth, PISG of Kosovo; Krasniqi Mark, Academician, President, Christian Democratic Party of Kosovo; Kadri Kryeziu, Deputy Minister, Ministry for Trade and Industry, PISG of Kosovo; Kuqi Blerim, Minister, Ministry of Interior Affairs, PISG of Kosovo; Kryeziu Eqrem, President, Municipality of Prizren, Kosovo; Milo Paskal, Academician, Former Minister of Foreign Affairs of Albania; Mirčev Dimitar, H.E. Ambassador to Holy See, Professor, University of Skopje, Macedonia; Kondo Tetsuo, Deputy Director, UNDP, Office in Kosovo; Richter Melita, Professor, University of Trieste, Italy; Sadria Ahmad, Deputy Mufti, Islamic Community, Prizren, Kosovo; Samandari-Hakim Christine, Communauté Internationale, Paris, France; Tërnavë Naim, President, Islamic Religious Community of Kosovo; Yakushik Valentin, Professor, University of “Kiev-Mohyla Academy”, Ukraine and others.

The presence of many high-ranking representatives of the Kosovo Provisional Institutions of the Self-Government was especially noted. The meeting was chaired by H.E. Prof. Takehiro TOGO, President of the ECPD Council and the President of the ECPD IPSG, and co-chaired by H.E. Sir James Mancham, President Global Peace Council and Founding and the First President of the Republic of Seychelles; H.E. Tadashi Nagai, Ambassador of Japan to Serbia and Montenegro; and Eqrem Kryeziu, Mayor of the City of Prizren. The opening and the Conference work were given comprehensive coverage by electronic and printed media.

Several invited distinguished persons were not able to attend the meeting, but responded with appreciation and expression of wishes for its successful outcome. H.E. Dr. Erhard Busek, Special Coordinator of the Stability Pact for South Eastern Europe, that he could not, said: “Nevertheless, i wish to point out that regional co-operation is of crucial importance for the Stability of South Eastern Europe. The re-establishment of many of these links between the countries of South Eastern Europe – cut by the conflicts of the 1990s - are important contribution to the overall development of the region and towards reconciliation in South Eastern Europe, the overall goals of the Stability Pact.

Therefore, the pact welcomes the organization of events such as yours in Prizren, as well as the efforts of the ECPD International Permanent Study Group aimed at achieving reconciliation in the Western Balkans”. Mr. Busek sent his best regards to the participants of the meeting.

The organization and the work of the Third IPSG meeting was supported and financially helped by Municipality of Prizren, and Prizren Business Club. The organizer (ECPD), the editors and the Editorial Board wish to thank the supporters for their generous help in the organization of this very important international meeting. We are especially grateful to H.E. Takehiro TOGO for his tremendous efforts geared to the organization and managing of the event. We also wish to thank the distinguished persons such as Sir James Mancham, H.E. Ambassador Tadashi Nagai and Prof. Wolfgang Wolte, Prof. Bradley Jonathan, Prof. Vladimir Bučkovski, Academician Paskal Milo, and, especially, numerous high representatives of the Kosovo Provisional Government and religious representatives who took part in the Conference contributed greatly to the successful work and promotion of the ECPD International Permanent Study Group. We are greatly indebted to all other participants who presented their papers and/or took part in the discussions and contributed toward achieving the tasks and objectives of the Meeting.

The Editors

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**EUROPEAN CENTER FOR PEACE AND DEVELOPMENT
UNIVERSITY FOR PEACE ESTABLISHED BY UNITED NATIONS**

ECPD INTERNATIONAL STUDY GROUP SESSION

**NATIONAL RECONCILIATION AND HUMAN SECURITY
IN WESTERN BALKANS
- Freedom from Fear, Freedom from Want -**

Prizren, June 16-17, 2007



JAPAN FOUNDATION



FRIENDSHIP EXCHANGE
COUNCIL (FEC)

INTRODUCTION

The ECPD International Permanent Study Group (IPSG) was organized in order to study and analyze inter-ethnic and inter-religious relations and their impact on peace and security in the Balkans, to identify the problems and propose recommendations for their solutions, as well as to prepare and propose the agenda for the ECPD International Conference dealing with the same subject matters. Its Third meeting was preceded by the First held at Sveti Stefan, Montenegro, on 16-17, 2006, and the Second, Belgrade, 26 October, the same year.

The decision to have the Third IPSG meeting in Prizren, Kosovo, and to devote it to **Reconciliation and Human Security** (*the Human Security meaning as Freedom from Fear and Freedom from Want/Poverty, Privation*) was made by the ECPD Council based on the estimates that Kosovo was (and remains to be) the most sensitive issue in the region where inter-ethnic and inter-confessional relations were highly strained threatening peace and security in the Western Balkans. Having in mind intellectual capacities of the IPSG it also was apprised that the IPSG with its statements and recommendations could contribute to lessening the tension and to improvement of the inter-ethnic and inter-religious reconciliation and human security in Kosovo and surrounding area.

It was decided also that the IPSG should be augmented/reinforced by a number of prominent experts on Kosovo and Western Balkans and to sum up the central and local officials of the provisional governance, representatives of all three religious denomination, Kosovo academia and major international organizations present in Kosovo.

On the basis of these decisions, a more comprehensive document entitled STRATEGIC APPROACH was made up and sent to the invited participants for their attention and comments. In that document the aims and the conduct of the meeting were more clearly spelled out. Particularly, it was mentioned that the meeting's work, in general, should be oriented towards the problems of reconciliation and human security in the Western Balkans at the whole, but problems in Kosovo, unavoidable, will be in

focus; discussions on its future status of Kosovo should be avoided, since it is under the authority of international organizations, Serbian and Kosovo governments. *In that respect, Takehiro TOGO, President of the ECPD Council and the President of the IPSG, issued a letter which was delivered to all participants, saying: "In the light of the present tense situation in the lead up to the finalization of the Status of Kosovo, there should be a keen interest and serious attention to be paid to the deliberation of the IPSG. We should not be led into a trap of supporting the claim of imminent independence of Kosovo. There is a serious challenge and difficulties, but the outcome of the IPSG through these difficult challenges must contribute to the importance of the Conference itself. The minimum requirements in deliberation should be carefully discussed"*.

The Meeting was chaired by H.E. Prof. Takehiro TOGO, President of the ECPD Council and the President of the IPSG, and co-chaired by Sir James Mancham, President, Global Peace Council; H.E. Tadashi NAGAI, Ambassador of Japan to Serbia and to Montenegro; Jeffrey Levett, Prof, National School of Public Health, Greece and Mr. Eqrem KRYEZIU, Mayor of Prizren.

Professor Togo in his opening remarks emphasized that the attention should be focused on the importance of the human security for reconciliation of the Balkan region, and the prospects for brighter future for the development of the region through cooperation should be stressed. "In any event, we must stress the necessity of avoiding the recurrences of violence and military conflict for the whole region, and this should be the bottom line of our discussions". Sir James Mancham emphasized that the IPSG had no intention of involving in discussions concerning the ultimate status of Kosovo which, IPSG felt was a matter already being considered by other players like the Security Council of the United Nations. The IPSG'S prime interest, he said, "is to dry up the water in which hate is swimming today", stressing up that geography alone makes it important that contestants are able to live together if there is going to be peace and stability in the region.

The suggestions, in general, were respected even there were a few speakers and/or discussants who tried to predict the future Kosovo status. However, the meeting managed wisely and with authority by H.E. Takehiro Togo strived to foster the process of reconciliation and human security for all, not only in Kosovo, in accordance with the AGENDA, which anticipated the opening ceremony and six working plenary session, i.e.:

- Human Security: Basic Preconditions for Sustainable Peace and Regional Stability;

- Social and Economic Development and Human Security;
- Contribution of International Organizations to Regional Reconciliation and Human Security;
- Religions and Religious Tolerance;
- Progress made in Reconciliation and Human Security in Countries of the Western Balkans; and
- Future Tasks of the IPSG – Discussions and Recommendations.

The Meeting was chaired by Takehiro Togo, while each plenary session was managed by a separate moderator or discussion leader. More than one half of the attendants (81 altogether) presented their speeches and/or took part in discussions. The speeches and discussions, in general, were in conformity with the aim and nature of the Meeting, even though there were some different views both on the causes of the problems of tearing up the peoples and states in the Western Balkans, and on the ways in which they could be resolved. **Takehiro Togo** in his Opening remarks reiterated the tasks and objectives of the Meeting explaining a little more the meaning and substance of the Human security, and in his Closing remarks elaborated program of work the of the IPSG as well as of the Conference. Čemailj Kurtiši in his brief statement expressed his believe that ethnic, religious and cultural diversities make a great richness of the region emphasizing that recently disturbed multi-ethnic harmonized life should be overcome. **H.E. Tadashi Nagai** reminded how great assistance The Government of Japan extended to the Community of Prizren and praised H.E. Takehiro Togo in his success to establish ECPD affiliation in this historical city. **Sir James R. Mancham**, co-chairing the Study Group Meeting, in his addressing this audience reiterated the statement issued to the effect that the Group had no intention of involving itself in discussions concerning the ultimate status of Kosovo which the group felt was a matter already being considered by other players like the U.N Security Council. In his traveling through Kosovo, Sir James Mancham encountered several NATO military groups from several Nations who were in Kosovo for peace keeping. He said that the difference between the NATO Group and the Study Group is that the latter was concerned an interested and committed to peace making and peace building rather than peace keeping. He said that if a proportion of the money being spent on peace keeping was provided for peace making and peace building the situation would be entirely different. Mr. Mancham said that very often outside observers had looked into the conflict on-going in Ireland and in the Middle East between Israel and Palestine and have asked themselves as to why such conflict persisted between people of faith, goodwill and

with a civilized background. He said the same remark can be made about Kosovo conflict. Unfortunately, in most cases the conflict continued because of human pride which often gave to it an emotional dimension. He said the Study Group's prime interest is to dry up the water in which hate is swimming today. He said that geography alone makes it imperative that the contestants are able to live together if there is going to be peace and stability in the region.

Based on his rich experiences in dealing with the problem of reconciliation in various part of the world, H.E. Wolfgang Wolte expressed his believe that the West Balkan issues could be resolved in the same or similar way. "Creation of the European Union history could have some inspiration and, even more, can provide a frame work in that direction".

Mr. Yves Bataille, referring to the Serbian-Albanians disputes in Kosovo expressed his critical observation on the ways and means the International community toys to resolve the problem. "Using military intervention was a great mistake and should the criticized".

Jeffrey Levett, deeply involved in health care improvement in the Balkans, primarily in Kosovo, feels that in the region there are a number of almost unresolved problems of both public health practice and health system function. "In addition to the existing threats, several new risks have emerged from the East increasing of illicit drugs, spread of infection diseases, are among these emerging threats". J. Levett mentioned also that "Kosovo is both Achilles heel and Pandora's box of Europe. Infant mortality is highest in Europe, the numbers of sick peoples as well as number of diseases are both increasing". **Valentin Yakushik** in his noble paper (He was not able to attended the Meeting but he sent his paper which was copied and distributed among participants) observed the current situation in Kosovo and reconsidered what should be legal (and moral) approach to final solution, as well as what might be the future of the other ethnic-territorial countries.

Paskal Milo elaborated recent achievements in building a democratic society in Albania and as far as the Kosovo issue is concerned, he believes that the Marti Ahtisaari plan should be a basis for Kosovo's future because it presents a guaranty of building a new democratic and prosperous society. **Bubanja Pavle**, recalling his life in Prizren, said that multi-ethnicity and multi-confessional must be renewed in this city. He thinks that women are more inclined to peace and the conformity than men and came out with an idea to build in the center of the city a monument of two women stretching their arms towards each other symbolizing forgiveness and living long-lasting in harmony. **Ramadan Marmullaku** evoked

also his memories living as an Albanian, in a multiethnic community and compared it with the current situation. He believes that Kosovo from his youth will never return again but hopes that it is possible to be build Kosovo as a multi-ethnic society based upon legal governance and the European values.

Yves-Rastimir Nedeljković, speaking on freedom from fears elaborated causes, conditions and sources of fear and how one could be liberated from fears. **Mila Alečković-Nikolić** in her statement said that the United States want to have free access to the region rich natural resources and to exploit them by cheap workforce was a real cause of the war in Kosovo. She fosters her hope that the UN, nevertheless, will revive and undertake a larger role in resolving the Kosovo problem. As a sociologist, she stressed up that “We made deference between political and psychological reconciliation among peoples”, saying that psychological reconciliation will be coming slowly in any case, while **Melita Richter**, speaking on current situation in the Western Balkan said that the pledging for the Western Balkans crisis solution, means at the same time pledging for peace and prosperity of the whole of Europe. She also mentioned several interethnic and interstate disputes which were successfully resolved and that some of them could be used as a model for solution the Kosovo problem. She particularly emphasized the South Tyrol case.

Kekäle Tauno in his brief presentation said the Western Balkans must be *better* than it is. He stressed up significance of education for reconciliation and human security and praised the ECPD for its efforts made in organizing such an international meeting which represents a valuable contribution to the efforts made by UN, EU, NGOs and other associations working to secure peace, democracy and prosperity in the Western Balkans. **Pasquale Baldocci**, taking into considerations reconciliation and integration said, *inter alia*, that a better and widespread knowledge of the history of the Balkan states, as an integral part of the European history, would undoubtedly help promoting a European political consciousness among the people, giving a strong impulse to their unavoidable integration in the European Union. A definitive reconciliation in peace, democracy and respect for human rights can only be achieved when all Balkan states are full members.

Regretting not being able to take part at the Meeting, **François Perez**, Program Coordinator of the Inter-religious Dialogue Program sent to the organizer (ECPD) a brief ‘History of the Inter-religious Aid in Kosovo’ with his consent to include it into ECPD PROCEEDINGS of the Prizren Meeting. The History clearly displays how much efforts is being made by

the Norwegian Church Aid and newly established Inter-religious Council to bring together leaders of all three religious denominations in Kosovo in order to speed up promotion of peace and tolerance in Kosovo.

According to most of the participants, especially representatives of Kosovo, the Meeting was very well organized and successful, both for further ECPD work on promotion reconciliation and human security and to promotion inter-ethnic and inter-religious reconciliation in Kosovo. In that respect a group of the ECPD members prepared the FINAL REPORT on the Prizren meeting which is also included into this Proceedings.

More detail about the above mentioned ideas and recommendations can be found in the papers presented in these Proceedings. However, the views expressed in these papers present solely the views of the authors and not necessarily the views of the European Center for Peace and Development as the organizer of the Meeting and the publisher of the Proceedings.

The Editors

LIST OF PARTICIPANTS

Togo, Takehiro*	President of the ECPD Council and Chairman of the Conference, Professor, Tokai University, Tokyo, Former Japanese Ambassador to the Russian Federation, Singapore and the Republic of Turkey
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Ahmeti, Habib	Director, Institute for the Protection of Cultural and Historical Monuments, Prizren, Kosovo
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Berisha, Uran	Philologist, Prishtina, Kosovo
Bradley, Jonathan*	Professor and Dean, University of West England, UK
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Fetaj, Besnik	Professor, Stulov University, Macedonia
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PRESS	
Alija, Refki	Journalist, Deutsche Welle
Aliu, Majlinda	Journalist, RTK, Kosovo
Balje, Mustafa	Journalist, RTK, Kosovo
Beqiraj, Ajeta	Journalist, Deutsche Welle
Minci, Fisnik	Journalist, Koha Ditore, Kosovo
Musliu, Fahri	Journalist, RTK Belgrade
Otašević, Aleksandra	Journalist, BETA, Serbia
Raković-Živković, Biljana	Journalist, Pravda Newspaper, Serbia
Susuri, Bashkim	Journalist, Koha Ditore, Kosovo
Tasić, Jelena	Journalist, Danas, Serbia
Thaqi, Qazim	Journalist, TV BESA, Prizren Kosovo Vision – KTV TV Prizreni Radio Helix

* Member of ECPD International Permanent Study Group

RECONCILIATION, ETHNIC AND RELIGIOUS TOLERANCE IN THE BALKANS
ECPD INTERNATIONAL PERMANENT STUDY GROUP AND EXPERT MEETING

RECONCILIATION AND HUMAN SECURITY IN WESTERN BALKANS

Freedom from Fear, Freedom from Want

Prizren, June 16–17, 2007

AGENDA

Saturday, June 16, 2007

09:00 Registration of Participants

09:30 – 10:30 **Opening ceremony:**
Introductory speeches:
Takehiro TOGO
Eqrem KRYEZIU
Blerim KUQI
Sir James MANCHAM
Tadashi NAGAI
Christine SAMANDARI-HAKIM
Matti JAKOBSSON
Albert MAES
Pasquale BALDOCCI
Message by *Erhard BUSEK*

10.30 – 10.45 Coffee break

10:30 – 11:45 **First working session**

***Human Security: Basic Precondition for Sustainable Peace
and Regional Stability***

Takehiro TOGO, Moderator

Speakers:

- *Wolfgang WOLTE*
- *Albert MAES*
- *Sadik IDRIZI*
- *Jeffrey LEVETT*

11.45 – 12.00 Coffee break

- 12.00 – 13:30 **Second Working session**
Social and Economic Development
- Jonathan BRADLEY*, Moderator
- Speakers:
- *Vladimir BUČKOVSKI*
 - *Tetsuo KONDO*
 - *Dimitar MIRČEV*
 - *Ljubiša ADAMOVIĆ*
 - *Esad RAHIĆ*
 - *Pavle BUBANJA*
- 14.00 – 15:30 Lunch
- 16.00 – 17.30 Open discussion
- *Wolfgang WOLTE*
 - *Qemal MORINA*
 - *Sir James MANCHAM*
 - *Christine SAMANDARI-HAKIM*
 - *Anxhelina KRASNIQI*
 - *Orhan KUBATI*
 - *Albert MAES*
 - *Paskal MILO*
 - *Slobodan LANG*
 - *Naim TĚRNAVA*
- 17.30 – 17.45 Coffee break
- 17.45 – 19.30 **Third Working Session**
***Contribution of international organizations
to Regional Reconciliation and Human Security***
- Wolfgang WOLTE*, Moderator
- Speakers:
- *Paskal MILO*
 - *Valentin YAKUSHIK*
 - *Tauno KEKÄLE*
 - *Argon SHPORTA*
 - *Sir James MANCHAM*
 - *Ramadan MARMULLAKU*
 - *Qemajl MORINA*
 - *Liman ASLLANI*
 - *Jeffrey LEVETT*
- 19:30 Dinner

Sunday, June 17, 2007

Opening of 2nd day of the Meeting by Chairman Takehiro Togo

09:00 – 11:15 **Fourth working session**
***Progress in Reconciliation and Tolerance in
Countries of the Western Balkans***

Sir James MANCHAM, Moderator

Speakers

- *Yves BATAILLE, Professor*
- *Matti JAKOBSSON*
- *Mila ALEČKOVIĆ-NIKOLIĆ*
- *Kadri KRYEZIU*
- *Pavle BUBANJA*
- *Ramadan MARMULLAKU*
- *Melita RICHTER*

11.30 – 13.00 Open Discussion

- *Paskal MILO*
- *Ali VEZAJ*
- *Slobodan LANG*
- *Kadri KRYEZIU*
- *Pasquale BALDOCCI*
- *Jeffrey LEVETT*
- *Pavle BUBANJA*

13.00 Conclusions by Chairman Takehiro Togo

13.15 – 14.30 Sightseeing – visiting historical monuments of Prizren (Turkish hamam, old bridge, Museum of Prizren League, St. Nicholas Orthodox Church, Sinan Pasha's Mosque)

14.45 – 16.00 Lunch

16.30 – 19.00 Visiting the Monastery of Dečani

21.00 Dinner

Working languages: English, Albanian and Serbian – simultaneous translation provided

ECPD INTERNATIONAL PERMANENT STUDY GROUP
AND EXPERTS MEETING ON
RECONCILIATION AND HUMAN SECURITY
IN THE BALKANS

STRATEGIC APPROACH

Introductory remarks

The European Center for Peace and Development (ECPD) of the University for Peace established by the United Nations, is an educational and research organization with Headquarters in Belgrade, Serbia, created and tasked “to organize and carry out the corresponding postgraduate studies, research activities and dissemination of knowledge, which contribute to the promotion of peace, development and international cooperation“. In its more than 20 years of existence and work, it has pursued these tasks and objectives vigorously by engaging in the organization of international postgraduate studies and advanced training, research projects, international scientific meetings and publishing.

In accordance with its founding documents (Agreement on Establishment and Statute), ECPD’s area of activity is so-called Helsinki Europe, that is ‘the countries – signatories of the Final Act of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe in Helsinki in 1975’, but it is ‘open to participants from other regions, too’. Following tremendous geo-political and politico-social change in the Euro-Asian region during the end of 1980s and in the very beginning of 1990s, ECPD activities were shifted towards so called transition countries or, more precisely, to the countries of South-Eastern Europe, that is the Balkan countries. In this respect and by decision of the ECPD Academic Council, a program entitled “**The BALKANS IN THE 21st CENTURY – Ways Leading to Peace and Stability in the Balkans**”, was launched under whose umbrella have emerged a number of research projects and/or educational programs, which are currently being implemented.

One of them is ‘**National/inter-ethnic reconciliation and inter-confessional tolerance in the Balkans**’ and specific activities have been undertaken, which so far have included two ECPD international Conferences (28–29 October 2005, 27–28 October 2006, both in Belgrade), the

establishment of an ECPD international permanent study group (SG), which has met on related matters in Montenegro (Sveti Stefan, 17 June, 2006) and Serbia (Belgrade 26 October, 2006). The SG suggested that Human Security in the Western Balkans should be a focus for impending activities. More than 80 participants attended the first Conference from all over the Balkans, European and a few non-European countries, the USA and Japan, with 20 observers from University of Trieste, Italy. The reports and papers presented at this conference were published in the PROCEEDINGS, which was widely distributed. The second conference was attended by around 100 participants and its proceedings are under preparation.

On the basis of SG and Conference suggestions, the ECPD Academic Council and the ECPD Executive Board have decided that the next Study Group meeting will be held in Kosovo, 16–17 June, 2007 and will be devoted to the issue of Human security in Kosovo: – Freedom from Fear, Freedom from Want/Poverty. In case the situation is unfavorable the meeting will be held in Ohrid with a correspondingly modified Agenda.

Joint Study group and experts meeting

The ECPD Study group and expert meeting will take place in Prizren, Kosovo, an old and historically important city (alternative venue is Ohrid, FYR of Macedonia). The decision to have the ECPD International Study group meeting in Kosovo and to devote the meeting to Human Rights and Human Security in Kosovo, was made upon the incontestable fact that Kosovo is a sensitive issue and where inter-ethnic and inter-confessional relations are highly stretched and seriously threaten a sustainable and durable peace. The suggested strategic approach opens up the possibilities for reaching freedom from fear and freedom from want that is freedom from poverty and deprivation in Kosovo. These are to be considered not only as specific to Kosovo but also as universal conditions for security and freedom of all peoples.

The meeting will be made up of the Study group, supplemented by a number of prominent experts on Kosovo and Western Balkans. The current social and other issues of Kosovo and its surroundings will be the focus of discussions.

The meeting will last two days and on each day there will be working sessions. Each session will be managed by a discussion leader or session moderator. Sessions could be plenary or separately split in accordance with the subject matters of the session. The first mode is preferable since there will be rather a lot of observers who probably would like to observe the work of the meeting as a whole.

Discussion leaders or session moderators and project directors make up the sub-committee, which is responsible for organization and conduct of the meeting.

Speakers at each session will kindly be asked kindly to present their statements preferably orally, using corresponding technical support, within about 10 minutes. Discussions will be limited to 3 or 5 minutes. Instead of presenting their own statements, moderators will rather summarize submitted reports and discussions and make a conclusion emphasizing actions to be undertaken. Sending the intended report in a written form to the organizer in advance would be highly appreciated.

It would be preferable if the session moderators select and recommend speakers for their own sessions. Official invitations to all participants will be issued by the organizer that is the ECPD.

Expected outcome

The ECPD International Permanent Study Group has held two meetings devoted to defining tasks and objectives of the Study Group and elaboration of the program of its work. At both meetings there were some very interesting speeches and discussions on reconciliation and tolerance.

It is expected that the Prizren meeting will come out with papers and discussions which scientifically and objectively portray considered issues and how they could be resolved. A separate book (proceedings or the like) of the submitted papers and discussions and corresponding conclusions and recommendations will be published. Such a book should serve as some kind of a guide for those responsible for building human security in Kosovo.

The upcoming meeting will also define actions which should be undertaken in order to contribute to solving identified problems. Research into the roots of inter-ethnic and inter-confessional disputes, and education for peace and tolerance might be, *inter alia*, activities of the ECPD International Study Group related to the issues of human security in Kosovo.

Financial aspects

The European Center for Peace and Development of the University for Peace established by the United Nations, as an international, intergovernmental, non-profit organization covers expenditures of its activities through contributions made by governments, intergovernmental and other international public and private organizations and foundations; by

way of sponsorship and consortia, as well as from revenue derived from publishing and information activities, tuition and registration fees.

The ECPD depends also on outside financial sources for the organization and holding of the Prizren meeting, as well as for follow-up activities. Therefore, all members of the Sub-committee are kindly asked to make additional efforts in trying to secure financial support of this very significant undertaking.

March 1, 2007

ECPD INTERNATIONAL PERMANENT STUDY GROUP AND EXPERTS MEETING

SHORT PRE-MEETING STATEMENT

What is referred to as the “end of state” of Kosovo, is not an issue that we can or should address. This Study Group of distinguished individuals is not an instrument of a particular side or any point of view. We are not here in Prizren to make or encourage political statements or to engage in related speculation. Our focus is on regional peace and common prosperity. Our concern as individual human beings is for all those who suffer, irrespective of their origins, gender, age, social status or religious denomination. We are for universal human rights!

The Study Group is an initiative of the European Center for Peace and Development (ECPD). We consider ourselves as both ambassadors of peace and goodwill as well as independent scholars striving to foster the process of reconciliation and to strengthen human security for all, not only in Kosovo but throughout the Balkan region.

Putting it differently, we are here to emphasize the need for human security for each individual and family and as a Study Group we are working towards finding more concrete approaches to assure that human security becomes a reality of life and living. Our headline is freedom from want and freedom from fear, for all. Our vision is that poverty be relegated to the past and that development and human security become an integral part of the future. We believe that the ECPD Prizren Center is an important educational and research tool that can contribute to this goal. This meeting both inaugurates and celebrates the first anniversary of the Center’s operation.

Our request is that you join with us in any and all ways possible to realize this vision and in doing so, to decrease population vulnerability making the quality of life of all Kosovo’s tomorrows, better than the day before.

H.E. *Takehiro Togo*, President Study Group of ECPD Council, Japan
Dr. *Jeffrey Levett*, Director of ECPD Regional Center Prizren, Greece
Sir *James Mancham*, President Global Peace Council

ECPD INTERNATIONAL PERMANENT STUDY GROUP
AND EXPERTS MEETING
ON RECONCILIATION AND HUMAN SECURITY IN WESTERN
BALKANS

OPENING REMARKS

H.E. TAKEHIRO TOGO, CHAIRMAN

Distinguished Guests, Ladies and Gentlemen,

It is my great honour to declare open the session of the International Permanent Study Group of ECPD in Prizren, Kosovo in order to prepare for the International Conference on “Reconciliation and Human Security” to be held in Belgrade, October 26 and 27.

ECPD, as an affiliate of the University for Peace established by the UN, has carried out many educational courses for master’s and doctor’s degrees on various subjects, as well as researches and international symposiums over more than twenty years since its establishment in 1985. Particular attention and efforts are dedicated to the peace and stability in the West Balkan Region. Last year, ECPD opened the Regional Centre for International Postgraduate Studies and Development Research in Prizren, and already two international educational courses for master’s degree have been inaugurated. In order to commemorate the opening of the Centre, and even more, due to the incontestable fact that Kosovo is a sensitive issue where inter-ethnic and inter-confessional relations are highly strained, while sustainable and durable peace is seriously threatened, we have decided to convene this session of the International Permanent Study Group here in Prizren this time. I would like to express my sincere gratitude for the full support and assistance for our activities in Kosovo, provided by UN Intermediary Administration in Kosovo (UNMIK), Provisionary Institutions of Self Government of Kosovo (PISG), Municipality of Prizren, as well as to the Business Association of Prizren.

ECPD launched the program entitled “The Balkans in the 21st Century – Ways Leading to Peace and Stability in the Balkans” and within this program, an ECPD International Symposium was convened in October 2005 in Belgrade, on “National, Inter-Ethnic Reconciliation and Religious Tolerance in the Western Balkans” which was attended by more than 100 participants from all over Balkans, European and a few non-European countries such as the USA and Japan. The Symposium was widely re-

ported in Europe and the USA and was a great success. It was decided to continue this activity, by holding a Conference every year, and an International Permanent Study Group was established to prepare for the Conferences. The first session of the Study Group was convened in Saint Stefan in Montenegro just after its independence. It was decided at the SG that the Conference should concentrate on the question of Human Security in the Balkans, and last year's Conference was conducted on "Reconciliation and Human Security" on October 27-28 in Belgrade.

The present session of the Study Group is expected to devote itself to the discussion in detail of the importance of the principles of human security in achieving reconciliation in each specific area in the individual countries, regions and entities in the Balkan Region, including Kosovo. We are also expected to prepare concrete scheme of identification of the problems and tasks to be carried out for the formulation of plans and projects through cooperation with governments, regional administrations, entities and other organizations to best meet the needs and requirements of individual cases and situations. The decision is that it will prepare a concrete basis for discussion in the coming Conference 2007 in Belgrade, so that the Conference will be able to formulate general framework and outline for the plans and projects indispensable for achieving reconciliation and human security in the Balkans.

Thus, this year's Conference will make a solid ground work for the concrete formulation of projects for reconciliation, and on the basis of it, the Conference in 2008 will produce concrete result by making recommendations for implementation of the plans and projects for reconciliation and human security. It also serves as the first year anniversary of the ECPD Center Prizren.

If this process is successfully implemented by the 2008 Conference, the last Conference in 2009 will be declaratory in character with participation of high officials from UN Human Security Commission, other UN organizations, EU and other international organizations to affirm the importance of the principles of human security to be applied to the Balkan region and appeal to the governments, regional administrations and entities and other organizations to make a priority in their policy decisions to implement the concrete result and conclusions arrived at 2007 and 2008 Conference.

This could really be a unique attempt in order to firmly establish principles of human security through 5 years of sustained efforts and deliberations, not only in the Balkans, but also throughout Europe, and it

may well offer a model to be applied to other conflict areas throughout the world.

Now, I should like to dwell on the principles of human security, about its history and its importance as one of the new paradigms of the post-Cold War world order, and how it is implemented by some of the governments of the world in their foreign policy, including Japan, Canada and others.

The concept was first introduced by UNDP in 1984 in its Report on Human Development, and the concept was further analyzed and elaborated in the Report of the UN Commission on Human Security of 2003.

By the end of the Cold War, East-West confrontation ended, and instead, in many countries, there were severe internal conflicts leading to civil wars, causing massive refugees, internally displaced peoples, and victims of genocide and ethnic cleansing. Through globalization, cross border traffic of peoples, goods, money and information had increased, causing new type of threat to human beings such as contagious diseases and international organized crimes, and widened the gap between rich and poor. There is a need for assuring Human Security in economy, food, health, environment, education and in many other areas, and they became greater sources of threat than inter-states conflicts.

Human Security focuses on people. Traditionally, the state would monopolize the rights and means to protect its citizens. But in the 21st century, both the challenges to security and its protectors have become more complex. The state remains to be the fundamental purveyor of security. Yet it often fails to fulfill its security obligations, and at times has become a source of threat to its own people. That is why attention must now shift from the security of the state to the security of the people – human security.

Human security complements state security, enhances human rights and strengthens human development. Protection and empowerment are two important approaches.

In order to protect people, their basic human rights and freedoms must be granted. This requires concerted efforts to develop national and international norms, processes and institutions, and through coordination of activities of states, international organizations and NGOs in partnership, and such activities must be preventive and not reactive.

Empowerment is explained in the following terms. People's ability to act on their own behalf and on behalf of others is the second key to human security. People empowered can demand respect for their dignity when it is violated. Supporting people's ability to act on their own behalf

means providing education and information so that they can scrutinize social arrangements and take collective action.

Such integrated approach on human security is much needed in the West Balkan Region, and our SG and Conference 2007 can take strong initiative to strengthen security and well beings of the people in the region.

The Government of Japan adopted the concept of human security as one of the main pillars of her foreign policy, as a new paradigm of new world order in the post – Cold War and globalized international community.

In 1999, Japan proposed to create the UN Human Security Fund, and at the UN Millennium Summit in 2000, proposed to establish the International Commission on Human Security.

The International Commission on Human Security was established in 2001 with Mrs. Sadako Ogata, UNHCR, and Amaty Seng, Rector of Trinity College, Cambridge, as co-chairpersons, and in 2003, they presented the above mentioned report in 2003.

After the establishment of UN Human Security Fund, Japan revised the basic policy of ODA (Official Development Aid) to adopt concept of human security as a second pillar, and stressed the importance of individual human security in order to deal with direct threat to people in conflicts and contagious diseases, and to this end, she would carry out ODA in order to empower regional societies through education, and give assistance to protection and empowerment of individuals, so that they can enjoy respectable life at all stages from conflict to restoration and development. Thus, peace building was highlighted as an integral component of ODA.

UN Human Security Fund is the largest of all the funds created under the UN, Japan contributed over \$ 200 million to this fund, and it is directed to secure subsistence, life and respectability of individuals by incorporating human security concept in all activities of UN organizations in tackling with threats such as poverty, environment, conflict, land mines, refugees, drugs and contagious diseases like AIDS. The bodies within the UN system can apply for individual projects and by January 2004, 96 projects at \$120 million were authorized and implemented.

This Fund is putting more priority in recent years on integrated projects which aim at total security of a community requiring a larger scale of funding up to \$ 10 million. Zambia Initiative approved in January 2004 is one such project. In Zambia, for decades in the past, refugees flooded from Angola, and their security and subsistence were at risk and at the same time, conflict with original inhabitants became imminent.

This project was implemented with UNHCR as chief coordinator, and donors other than Japan participated. It tried to achieve integration of the community through reconciliation and cohabitation of original inhabitants and refugees, by decreasing poverty in each community, and by building necessary infrastructure.

Canada and Nordic countries are also putting priority on human security in their foreign policies, and last year, Japan and EU had a high level talk and it was agreed that the concept of human security should be firmly established in Europe as a whole.

Now, we are conducting our meeting in a tense situation around the final status of Kosovo. The horrid human tragedy in the last decade of the last century in the West Balkan Region is far from being relegated to the history, but still very much alive and vivid in the minds of the people afflicted by the conflict. As repeatedly emphasized, reconciliation cannot be achieved in a short period of time, and patient efforts are required. Our endeavor in ECPD Conferences is just the case in point. At the same time, I hope that, through our efforts, the message can be transmitted to those who have so gravely suffered in the recent past that we are living in a totally different international environment. European integration is an undeniable reality, in spite of some difficulty on the way. All out efforts are being carried out through UN and other organization to devote efforts for peace building and post conflict solution of problems. There is an ocean of good will ready to help in the solution of difficult situation.

I sincerely hope that peace not war will be the order of the day, to which our Study Group in Prizren and Conference in October in Belgrade will be dedicated, and I shall count on the active contribution of all good-willed participants to this end.

Thank you for your attention.

WELCOME GREETINGS FROM THE ECPD INTERNATIONAL PERMANENT STUDY GROUP

Mr. Chairman, Honorable Ambassadors, Ministers, Delegates, Guests and all the Participants of the Third ECPD International Permanent Study Group Meeting, I would like to welcome you on behalf of the Prizren Municipality and the Mayor and hope for a successful outcome.

I am extremely glad that we were able to successfully realize this project and that today we have a permanent ECPD office in Prizren. I believe that Prizren is a peaceful town with tolerance and coexistence. Prizren is a multi-confessional and multiethnic town in Kosovo. The languages spoken in Kosovo are equally diverse, we can hear Albanian, Bosnian, Serbian and Turkish. We are profoundly happy that the ECPD has opened a branch in Prizren and I believe that in the following years we will see positive results.

Even though the capital of Kosovo is Priština, I personally believe and so do many others that Prizren is the most beautiful and most important town in Kosovo and for this reason Prizren is also called “Biser Kosovo” meaning the pearl of Kosovo.

I will briefly discuss “Reconciliation and Human Security in the Western Balkans”.

The Balkans are the crossroads of merging many European roads, as well as different interests and religions of 10 nations and various ethnic groups.

Unfortunately, the Balkan region has been at the center of many territorial disputes and bloodshed.

The Balkan region is beautiful and attractive. However, it is an “explosive” region where bloody conflicts occur. The exact definition of the “Balkans” is “honey and blood”.

Many people only look at the flaws rather than perceiving its richness. This region has so much to offer in terms of religion, faith, languages, tradition, and culture. This can only be signs of richness rather than signs of weaknesses. If God really wanted to, he would have created only

one ethnical group rather than many. But this was not the case. There has always been tolerance and respect towards different cultures, religions and nationalities. Religious holidays were always celebrated among the different religions. This is where arguments and squabbles first took place which later lead to the destruction of their homes and which resulted in the destruction of what took Centuries to build.

However, the world is a global village and we need to accelerate the tempo as well as the standard of living. Now is the time to think.

Too much blood has been spilt in the previous century especially in the former Yugoslavia. We hit rock bottom and we cannot go lower, we can only go up and look forward. We need to go back to our old morals and mutual respect of one another as well as constructing a sense of unity. Our main obstacles are economic integration and isolationism. Furthermore we cannot forget what happened in the past and more importantly we cannot allow our children and the future generations to forget, otherwise history will repeat itself. History can repeat if the younger generation are misinformed and misled which leads towards some form of fictional nationalism and hate. We all need to accept and admit our faults and errors, nor can we hide or defend war criminals, because war criminals remain criminals regardless of their religion. This is the only way we can look ahead and live together. I am not saying we have to love one another, but we need to have mutual respect in order to have a functioning society. Why is this so? Because there are no other alternatives, we need to be the generation that pushes things forwards. We cannot not allow the future to get ahead of us and this is why we need to stay in control of the situation, and by doing so we need to start acting today and not let things get out of hand. Tomorrow is too late! As we say in the Balkans “it is up to God’s will”. Let there be “Balkan honey and let’s hope that all blood has been split.

Our children deserve a better future, we can make this happen and I believe that this is what we want.

Thank you for your attention.

H.E. TADASHI NAGAI

AMBASSADOR OF JAPAN IN REPUBLIC OF SERBIA

GREETING SPEECH

Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen

On behalf of the Government of Japan, I would like to congratulate you upon the successful opening of the ECPD International Permanent Study Group and Experts Meeting, titled “Freedom from Fear, Freedom from Want” in Prizren, Kosovo.

I have participated in the conferences and study group meetings in Serbia since my arrival in 2005. In 2005, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Japan supported the International Symposium, on “National, Inter-Ethnic Reconciliation and Religious Tolerance in the Western Balkans”, which was held in Belgrade in October 2005.

It is not coincident that this meeting is being held in Prizren to discuss national reconciliation in diverse ethnics in the West Balkan Region. Several minorities live together here, ECPD established the Regional Center for International Postgraduate Studies and Development Research in Prizren last year thanks to the enormous effort by H.E. Takehiro Togo, President Study Group of ECPD Council, and other ECPD staff.

We have a close feeling for this city, because we contributed to the construction of an additional kindergarten building last year in the city. The Japanese Government has supported the citizens in Kosovo mainly through educational and medical assistance, summed up to 190 million euros.

I believe that it is the most important issue not only for the West Balkans but also international society, regardless of the final status of Kosovo, to provide all citizens in Kosovo with peaceful life without fear and want.

I wish you all the best for fruitful exchange of wisdom and insight on the agenda.

Thank you.

STEFFEN FELBRICH

UNMIK MINISTRY REPRESENTATIVE

GREETING SPEECH

I feel privileged to express my congratulations to the participants of the ECPD International Permanent Study Group Session in Prizren on behalf of UNMIK even though I was not able to attend personally this important conference focusing on reconciliation

The Regional Center for International Postgraduate Studies and Research in Kosovo was created in a highly consultative and comprehensive process of cooperation between the European Center for Peace and Development, PISG Ministry of Education, Science and Technology and UNMIK. I am confident that the establishment of the Regional Center for International Postgraduate Studies and Research in Prizren could bring enormous benefits to Kosovo. I would like to convey regards from the UNMIK PDSRSG who is acknowledging that “the presence of an ECPD Regional Center in Prizren represents an invaluable asset for Kosovo’s development”.

I especially appreciate the fact that the ECPD is providing enhanced study opportunities for people of all Kosovo communities thus directly contributing to reconciliation. The ECPD could also benefit from direct cooperation with the University of Prishtina and the University of Mitrovica, the two key higher education institutions of Kosovo.

UNMIK is fully supporting the ambitious plans of the ECPD to expand and increase Higher Education courses like Management in Science, Culture, and Education, Management in Health Care and Social Institution, Financial Management, Master Studies in European Law and International Business Law, Master Studies in Economic Diplomacy and other. UNMIK shares the view that these courses have a high importance for the civil service of Kosovo and particularly for Ministerial Officials.

I wish the ECPD colleagues success for the future endeavors. I would like to assure you that you can count on UNMIK’s continued support.

TETSUO KONDO

DEPUTY DIRECTOR OF UNDP MISSION IN KOSOVO

UNDP MISSION IN KOSOVO GREETINGS

While the process of determining Kosovo's future status is a still ongoing process and it is thus premature to judge or predict the concrete outcome of negotiations and its details, it is increasingly certain that Kosovo will attain some form of limited sovereignty and that the UN's leading political and peacekeeping presence (UNMIK) will be substituted by a smaller international civilian office (ICO) led by the European Union. As a result of Kosovo's still unresolved status, the United Nations Agencies operating in Kosovo are gathered around a common body called "The United Nations Kosovo Team" (UNKT), rather than the "UN Country Team". Accordingly, the UNDP Resident representative also acts as Resident Coordinator under the title of "Development Coordinator". The UNKT is an alignment of 14 UN agencies: UNDP, UNICEF, UNFPA, FAO, ILO, WHO, UNOPS, OHCHR, World Bank, UNHCR, UNAIDS, IMF, IOM, and UNIFEM.

The UNDP Kosovo office began its development activities in 1999 and since then has delivered more than USD 100 million of assistance to Kosovo. Although the Kosovo programme is formally part of the Country Programme for Serbia and Montenegro 2005-2009, its operational activities are planned and managed independently. UNDP's programme is organized around five key areas, or clusters of Policy, Economic Development and Employment, Democratic Governance, Security / Rule of Law and Returns and Reintegration.

POLICY

Much of UNDP work on Kosovo's policy advocacy is organised by the office's Policy, Programme Development and Coordination Unit (PPDCU) established in 2006 to provide reliable and effective policy research, information, co-ordination, and greater analytical capacity within UNDP Kosovo office, as well as implementing programmes targeting cross-cutting issues such as the MDGs and vulnerable groups.

ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT AND EMPLOYMENT

UNDP has prepared an Economic Revitalization in Kosovo Programme (ERIK) as an integrated and comprehensive framework, which includes both private sector development initiatives targeted to improve access to business development services, expand access to financial services into new and underserved markets, and strengthen the competitiveness of local industry, as well as development of young workers skill, given that most of unemployed people are young, unskilled, long-term jobless people.

DEMOCRATIC GOVERNANCE

The primary aim of the democratic governance programming is to promote efficient, transparent and accountable public administration, at both central and local government levels. The Capacity Building for European Integration (CBEI) project, through the financial backing of the European Union, provides international expertise in assisting the government in implementing European Partnership Action Plan.

SECURITY / RULE OF LAW

The principle project in this area has been the Internal Security Sector Review (ISSR) for Kosovo. As the final step in the ISSR process, a more comprehensive Security Sector Development Programme will be developed in 2007 taking into consideration the outcome of the Kosovo's status settlement, in particular the reform of Kosovo Protection Corps into the new Kosovo Security Force.

RETURNS AND REINTEGRATION

UNDP has been UNMIK's and the government's main implementing partner for the return of displaced people to Kosovo over the past several years, largely due to the lack of an implementation capacity among local institutions to undertake such work, and because the issue of return of refugees/IDPs has been a reserved competency held by UNMIK. UNDP's activities support more than 12,000 direct and indirect beneficiaries in 95 locations throughout Kosovo.

I hope that the Kosovo Status decision will mark a new époque of good governance, and facilitate a reduction in population vulnerability and the achievements relative to the Millennium Development Goals.

Thank you

ERHARD BUSEK

SPECIAL COORDINATOR

STABILITY PACT FOR SOUTH EASTERN EUROPE, BRUSSELS

MESSAGE TO THE PARTICIPANTS OF THE MEETING

Ladies and Gentlemen,

Thank you very much for your invitation to attend the International Permanent Study Group and Experts Meeting of the European Centre for Peace and Development on the topic of, "National Reconciliation and Human Security in Western Balkans", due to take place in Prizren 16-17 June 2007.

I am very sorry to inform you and the distinguished members of the Study Group that I am unable to attend this meeting due to pre-scheduled important commitments related to the process of the transformation of the Stability Pact.

Nevertheless, I wish to point out that regional co-operation is of crucial importance for the Stability of South Eastern Europe . The re-establishment of many of those links between the countries of South Eastern Europe - cut by the conflicts of the 1990s - are an important contribution to the overall development of the region and towards reconciliation in South Eastern Europe, the overall goals of the Stability Pact. The Pact therefore welcomes the organization of events such as yours in Prizren, as well as the efforts of the International Permanent Study Group and Experts Meeting of the European Centre for Peace and Development aimed at achieving reconciliation in the Western Balkans.

Please send my best regards to the participants of this meeting.

JEFFREY LEVETT

DIRECTOR, ECPD REGIONAL PROGRAMME, KOSOVO

INTRODUCTORY ADDRESS

In the absence of health, societal development, regional peace and well developed democracy and democratic government life's circumstances are compromised. Today the Balkan peoples face significant health problems from an absence of appropriate development, current conditions relating to hygiene, a repetitious past of infectious disease as well as the threat of disaster. Health and health systems in the Balkans lag behind equivalent European situations and have done so over the last 100 years. Now is the time to change.

Here in Kosovo, without health life suffers and will continue to do so while the health gap with Europe is wide and the difference growing. Without health, development is limited and where unemployment is high and health insurance limited we have an impossible situation. Without peace, life will suffer, development will continue to be stunted and only catastrophe can follow.

Here in Kosovo ethnic tensions can and do run high and violence can erupt. Consequently, the subject of human security is of paramount importance if the peoples of the Balkans are to live without want and fear. I will add that our venue here in Prizren serves to commemorate one year of activities of the ECPD Center of which I am the designated director. Kosovo requires considerable investment especially in human resources. The Centers program in health management is one step in the direction of capacity building.

It is good to see so many students that I already know and have worked with. I am happy that we have several important first citizens with us and who are supporting the work of the Center. I believe that this is your Center and though its educational reach it can grow and become extended to the whole geographical region of the Balkans within the context of the European Union. This Center provides what EU language calls added value. It adds value to what already exists and for Prizren it adds a postgraduate arm to already existing educational structures. This I think

is a most significant step. It is a step for Prizren, for Kosovo and a step with an international flavor.

Within the Europe of Regions it is necessary for all regions to develop their human resources. Consequently, this, your Center makes a brave attempt to aim to improve capacity of institutions by improving the training for human resources. Your Center requires your support dear students to ensure that it can function properly and produces the right kind of skills and values that you consider important to your future. The Municipality of Prizren and many of its dignitaries as well as political leaders have already lent their support to our activities and I thank you, as the Centers Director.

Just one further word about the ongoing meeting being held under the rubric of reconciliation and human security according to a concept and strategy elaborated by the UN, but made operational by experts from around the world. This gathering is supported by the Japanese authorities and I would like to thank HE Togo for making this possible and for his leadership with respect to the concept of human security. The topic is wide, my personal interests relate to health and I would like to see the underlying issues incorporated into the curriculum of the ECPD Prizren Center. With this conference we must make a mark and leave a legacy.

I am hopeful that here in Kosovo we can learn, that the new ECPD Center will leave a legacy and that its peoples will live with improving health as part of regional development.

ANXHELINA KRASNIQI

DEPUTY MINISTER OF CULTURE, YOUTH AND SPORTS – PISG OF KOSOVO

ETHNIC, RELIGIOUS, AND CULTURAL TOLERANCE IN THE REGION

Respected ladies and gentlemen, I have the honor on behalf of the Ministry of Culture, Youth and Sports, and in my personal name to greet you and welcome you to this scientific symposium and I wish you a successful work, and at the same time I'd like to thank the organizer for his engagement regarding the organization of this symposium with quite a chosen topic on the regional level.

Dear participants, to speak about inter-ethnic, religious and cultural tolerance in the region there is no doubt that Albanians take a deserving place. The Albanian tolerance is best explained by the fact of having one family, two brothers, one brother belonging to the Catholic confession the other to the Muslim confession, also marriages between the two confessions according to the tradition and many other issues. As for the cultural heritage tolerance nothing could explain it better than the fact of existence of these structures in the city of Prizren where we have a mosaic of cultural religious heritage, all next to one another. Therefore I am quite right to say that when we talk about inter-ethnic and religious tolerance, considering the fact that during the history, for centuries, the Albanians have been the ones that cultivated these values and if one day a Nobel Prize is to be awarded for religious cultural tolerance then this Prize would be awarded to the Albanian people.

VLADO BUČKOVSKI

FORMER PRIME MINISTER OF MACEDONIA

THE BALKAN PEOPLES IN THE PATH TO RECONCILIATION

Reconciliation is currently the main subject at matter among all ethnicities in the Balkans. Although it is very hard to find an adequate formula there is possibility to attain national reconciliation and democracy as well economic development in Kosovo and in the Balkans.

The main question is how to get out of this 10 year transition period which has been derailing the whole West Balkan region from its path towards NATO and the European Union integration. This process will be strenuous but once achieved, the standard of living will increase. The role of all the regional politicians who promote and have faith in the true values of reconciliation and democracy should be underlined, but there is also need to be aware of the fact that, if immediate measures are not taken, the situation could backfire leading the radicals to power. For further progress, the Balkans needs economic development and a new Marshall Plan specifically custom-made for the Balkans.

Macedonia went through difficult period which lasted until the crisis in 2001 and for that reason Kosovo could eventually apply Macedonian formula. At the same time, Macedonia is multi-confessional, multiethnic and multicultural and therefore it would be also difficult to apply its model in Kosovo.

Foreign presence in Kosovo is extremely important as well as positive coordination. Any calculation or possible outcome for the final status of Kosovo will determinate the future of this whole region.

There is a ground for optimism that the Balkans inhabitants have been on a righteous path towards reconciliation and a positive future.

REMINISCENCES OF MULTIETHNIC PRIZREN

Respected participants of the International Study Group of the ECPD,

In the not to distant past, an Albanian of Prizren would invite someone for lunch saying “Hajde, të hajm ‘buk’..”, while an Albanian in Tirana would say to his guest “Të shkojmë të drekojmë”. A Prizren Serb for the same purpose would use the expression “..Ajdemo da jedemo ‘leba” while an equivalent address in Belgrade would be “Idemo da ručamo”. In Ankara you would be invited for “Öğle yemeği”, but a Prizren Turk would say “Hade cideyz yema ekmek”. In English, the choice might be between: “Let’s go to lunch” – “Let’s take a bite to eat”, or even “Let’s break bread”, which is also biblical. If you break bread with an enemy he becomes a friend. Sharing bread builds friendship, relationships and understanding. One important link between people is hospitality. At the table here in Prizren there is a respected place for your activities and deliberations on the important subject of reconciliation and the security of the population of Kosovo and the Balkans. Prizren invites you to break bread and enjoy its hospitality.

“Bread” is the common denominator for the most important meal of the day. Traditionally it is the cheapest nutritional product. Although man does not, and should not live by bread alone, nevertheless, in this our region where poverty has affected its inhabitants over long periods of time, bread speaks for itself and remains a linguistic linkage between different ethnicities that have shared common problems. Before the First Balkan War, one Balkan rhyme from multicultural Thessalonica described the absence of equality or conversely, the presence of social polarization of the rich and poor or of the powerful and the weak. It said “Kimine bie bie! Kimine vie vie!” with the message that destiny [kimine-kismet] for some, is joy and more joy! For others there is nothing but woe and more woe! To reduce poverty and vulnerability and encourage reconciliation, we must ensure both bread and understanding, which takes us in the direction of tolerance and freedom from want and towards equity. Famine occurred in Prizren in 1916–17 with a 1000 people dying of hunger.

Many psychologists would agree that fear usually derives from the unknown. What will tomorrow bring? If that is assumed to be true, the logical cure would involve the development of a process of understanding. Understanding, per se, may be a cure or, but at least it is a good start or path in directing the reconciliation process. The message is clear that all in the Balkans should be involved in matters relating both to history of what has been and as a guide to the present, which demands of course appropriate development and sound nutrition for all. What is to come and how we can influence a peaceful process for Kosovo depends on education and development. This invokes strong advice from the Koran, which tells us “when people direct their affairs by consulting among themselves, they shall get their reward”. Your presence in Prizren as members of an international study group is an important component to address the current situation in the Balkans and to consider its future. It involves democratization of the person, which seemingly odd or strange also seems to be a solid step towards democratization of the social circles in any particular domain. Certainly, a prosperous Balkan region made up of democratic societies as part of a peaceful Europe justifies all efforts to this end.

Part of the process is education and here in Prizren we are fortunate to have a new organization led by such international figures as HE T. Togo, Japan and Professor Jeffrey Levett, Greece. As they have indicated, human security is a new concept, which in its broadest formulation is the equivalent of human well-being. To recall Professor Levett who said that if on the opposite alien bank fanaticism appears, then disaster is never far behind. We have to keep our feet on the friendly bank and keep clear of disaster. As a consequence of its programmes this new educational institution adds an additional educational level, postgraduate and international, to Prizren’s existing structures. Already one year old it can help to combat fanaticism and emphasize the wellbeing of the population. We should not forget that this town has a considerable history in the development of schools as well as schooling in Albanian, Serbian, and Turkish on a friendly bank. As an incoming student to the new institution, I wish it every success, confident that it can provide some small gateway to the world of Europe through its international perspective. Approximately 40 years ago the existing higher educational faculties amalgamated into the University of Pristina with academic instruction in Albanian and Serbo Croat. Now in Prizren we have a new and significant development in postgraduate education in the English language.

The Western Balkans require considerable development as well as closer ties to Europe. Its heavy burden of ethnic and religious intolerance

and armed conflict over the decades struggling the 20th and 21st centuries has had grave consequences, economic and social, and has stirred up animosity and fanaticism. However the conflict is not result of differences [religious, linguistic, symbols and national myths] but comes from a lack of respect of those differences. When driven by fanaticism mainly of a political nature disaster is the result. Your contribution as an outcome of a synergy of scholars together with regional experts can aid a critical analysis of the present situation in the region, which in turn can foster the rule of law. Your actions bring together important actors to provide a more pragmatic approach at these still troubled times.

Let us not delude ourselves however, that there is a great need and even a demand for serious efforts concentrated on understanding, on apologizing and eventually on the offering of forgiveness. This has to be transformed into a regional strategy of reconciliation. Instead of focusing on differences and particularities, perhaps it is high time to find ways in order to concentrate on common interests within the context of a united Europe. This means providing intellectual thought to identify the structures, which give rise to estrangement and in doing so transform them into softer elements of reconciliation. European states have pooled substantial power into their national ruling structures, when significant common interests were at stake. Indeed, they have come together under the supranational umbrella of the European Union as a means of reducing fear, hopeful that peace in Europe will prevail. Until the recent traumatic upsets in the Balkans, which threatened stability and safety, peace did prevail. Sustainable development is by all means the Alpha and Omega of human security. Inhabitants of Western Balkans should not be excluded from this general tendency. There is a universal need for human beings to improve the quality of their lives. Nowhere perhaps is the need greater than in Kosovo. Quoting from an article by Mr. Levett:

- Kosovo is a recent European example of the long ruinous passage of man-made disaster, which has pushed poverty to the surface and reinforced its paramount position. Disaster has fed feelings of despair...There are however, myths to be demystified and truths still to be told.

Consequently, one thing is certain, if we cultivate a higher quality of life, fear and want, can recede.

The town of Prizren has a particular and unique history through which major trade routes, linked the East with the West. 19th century industrialization contributed to the loss of its major trade routes. We want it now as a route to peace. Over the long period of Ottoman rule and from

about the middle of the 15th century until the early part of the 20th century, Prizren was an important administrative center. It was mainly an open market town and still is. Just a short time ago all street names were written in three languages, Turkish, Albanian and Serbian. Here in Prizren, Abdyl Frasheri urged the people to think and work for ourselves. His fate was to be hunted down in Elbasan and brought back to Prizren in chains by the Porte. However, Prizren remains an open city to all newcomers, regardless of origins or place of birth. This has always had both extreme impacts good and bad, but you cannot change a Prizrenian attitude to novice, fortunately...Prizren remains and will remain a beacon, a shining example of an open town for everyone including you dear international and distinguished guests. I encourage you to visit the museum relating to the Prizren League and see such monuments as the hamam, mosques and monasteries. Even today its uniqueness is referred to by scholars as an example to be followed in other municipalities. Kujtim Paçaku, editor of Roma service of radio “Yeni Donem”, publicist and writer stressed in an article:

- Thanks to the work of local and international institutions, great progress has been achieved in Kosovo in terms of security and freedom of movement. Prizren is the best example, where the security, freedom of movement, multi-ethnicity, the freedom of speech even in the Roma language is at a good level and the people from different communities socialize with each other.

In these changing times there are no special recommendations for our visitors. Nevertheless, there are certain (though unwritten) rules for newcomers in Prizren! They simply reflect the basic soul of the great visionaries of old Prizren. The late Gani Dugagjini and Rrustë Kabashi, two highly respected citizens of Prizren used to say:

- be a good member of your family, share the best and worst with your neighbors, provide help to those in need, love your town, and understand the needs of newcomers.

Prizren has had NGO's since the early 20th century, historically referred to as “vakifs” and are examples of some of its best attributes. Several vakifs operated for both public and private benefit in order to upkeep of mosques, maintain schools, feed the poor [imaret] or develop the hamam. The very first vakif was a religious charitable foundation set up in the 1530's. Now Prizren has in the ECPD a new international NGO: inter-governmental, non-profit and with diplomatic status. Consequently, we should encourage the introduction of new topics such as studies in diplomacy as already addressed by Professor Levett.

I may be aiming high, but I can say that I am positive that religious tolerance was for a long period of time a characteristic of Prizren and still is, at this present time. There is a belief in goodwill by the respective religious authorities, which will prevail in all of the foreseeable future as long as there is a good will, not only of Prizrenians but of all peoples in the Western Balkans.

Prizren presents a good example of good will and good faith within all communities, Muslims, Catholics, Orthodox, and others, a community of people believing in God! Historically, at what today may be referred to as the grassroots level, each religious denomination drew some kind of help from the others. It was not unusual for believers of one faith to seek healing help from the leaders of another. Let me quote Nexhat Ibrahim, publicist from Opoja of Prizren from his publication “Barriers and Perspectives of dialogue between Islam and Christianity”:

- “The West and Islam can live together, like the rich North and the poor South. There is no single nation that can be represented as a self-sufficient “isle”.

In western terms, we can quote that “no man is an island”. More importantly the message of Allah the Almighty (*El-Huxhurat*, 13) should be stressed:

- *O you people, indeed we created you from a man and a women, we made nations and tribes so you could get to know each other, and there is no doubt that the most honorable of you will be protected most by Allah....*

I am, personally, a believer in God and of the principles of equality, brotherhood, and devotion. I believe that goodwill, will prevail and I believe that I am not the only one.

H.E. ALBERT MAES

EU AMBASSADOR, PROFESSOR AT THE UNIVERSITY OF NAMUR, BELGIUM

OTHERS EXPERIENCES AS THE PATHWAYS TO RECONCILIATION IN THE BALKANS

It is for me a great honor and at the same time a pleasure to participate in this study group on reconciliation in the Western Balkans. As you know, I have represented the European Commission for nearly four years in Belgrade during the mid-1990s and I have always remained very interested in the region. So I have followed with great concern the events of the nineties with all their after-effects, both human as material. I am convinced of the necessity of not only finding a way out of the conflicts, but also of establishing the prerequisites for security and prosperity in the Western Balkans.

When I was a child, growing up in Belgium, I witnessed the launching of World War II and lived through the German occupation of Belgium. I was deeply affected by the gloomy daily life during these years and even more so, by the killings, the deportations, the concentration camps, the mass bombings, that destroyed so much of European life and culture and that left not only ruins but even more so hatred and mistrust among the nations.

At the end of my professional life, I was posted as the EC Ambassador to Israël. Again in the Middle East I was facing occupation, terrorism, destruction and the sacrifice of so many lives. And again I could see hatred and mistrust all over.

Of course the two situations were certainly not the same, but in my view there were many similarities and certainly in both cases the necessity to find a way to overcome hatred and mistrust in order to rebuild a society based on justice and order.

I would like here to point out how in Western Europe, after so many centuries of conflicts and wars, we have been able in the early fifties to find a way out, more precisely how we have been able to link our different nations into a political, economic and legal structure, strong enough to manage conflicts between them. It is not the place here to go into the details of this process which was neither simple nor easy and has gone

through many crises, but let me just state that, by doing so, Western Europe, first, later joined by Central and Eastern Europe has been able to establish permanent peace on the continent and has certainly considerably contributed to its economic and social development.

Today here in Prizren I am fully aware of the legacy of so many years of conflict and destruction in the Western Balkans and can only stress the importance of efforts to overcome this situation and to achieve both national and regional reconciliation. The final outcome lies certainly in the hands of the people concerned but initiatives like this study group are extremely important to develop good will and mutual understanding. Here the history of the European Union can give some inspiration and even more so can today provide a framework in which mutually acceptable compromises could be materialized.

As I also pointed out later in the discussions, the European experience shows that reconciliation and peace can only thrive under the rule of law. And that rule of law cannot be imposed by one state upon another, by one community upon another but it has on the contrary to be the result of “trust building” initiatives agreed upon by all and leading to agreed upon rules whose implementation has to be monitored by all parties concerned. A field where such an approach could today be most helpful for rebuilding trust would maybe be mutually accepted management of the problems related to the different minorities.

VALENTIN YAKUSHIK

PROFESSOR, UNIVERSITY OF "KIEV-MOHYLA ACADEMY", UKRAINE

STRAIGHTFORWARD QUESTIONS AT THE TIME OF DIFFICULT DECISIONS (KOSOVO AND METOHIJA ISSUE)

1. SYMBOLIC BACKGROUND

There are some important symbolic features that strike one's eye when directly observing today's "almost peaceful" life in Kosovo. In particular the following facts may easily be noticed:

(1) Now usually the region is officially called (by the UN, EU, NATO etc.) just Kosovo. Sometimes even a dual possible spelling (Kosovo / Kosova)¹ is mentioned by some Western and international organisations – certainly with the respect to a multicultural (predominantly bicultural) nature of this land; whereas Albanian nationalists use the spelling: Koso-va.² Meanwhile, all that in fact openly ignores the region's constitutional name within the legal framework of the still *de-jure* sovereign power – Serbia.

(2) Albanian red-and-black national flags are hoisted on the most of official buildings (with the exception of the predominantly Serb-populated areas), even though this banner is not in any way officially recognised by any supreme legitimate authority in this region. And certainly there are no Serbian flags (those of the still *de-jure* sovereign power) in those parts of the region that are populated by the Albanian majority.

(3) No organisers and perpetrators of massive atrocities against local Serbs (plunder and destruction of their property and, in fact, brutal ethnic cleansing) on the 17th of March, 2004 were found. And seemingly nobody among the international and local authorities is interested in bringing to justice protagonists of these events of prime importance. Silencing this and similar chapters of Kosovo criminal and political history is probably viewed as the best tool for appeasement.

¹ See e.g.: <http://web.amnesty.org/library/index/engneur700162004>.

² See e.g.: <http://www.albanian.com/main/countries/kosova/>; http://www.unpo.org/member_profile.php?id=32.

(4) Serbian language is no more studied at schools in the most of Kosovo (i.e. with the exception of Serb-populated areas).

(5) *Faits accomplis* (accomplished facts) policy is expected by the majority of local people to be implemented, and this approach is tacitly promoted by official representatives (in the region) of the international community.

2. WHAT IS (AND SHOULD BE) THE LEGAL (AND MORAL) STARTING POINT FOR THE FINAL SOLUTION?

The *faits accomplis* policy, or alternatively – a kind of policy of *rectification* and *moral commitment to the natural justice* both have a number of **important major dimensions**:

(1) Specifying the **type of a desired general status of the region**, and of its two major ethno-territorial components:

- (a) either a nominal (formal) independence; or some kind of a wide autonomy; or partition and possible absorption;
- (b) the type of cultural and political regime in the region: pluralistic multiculturalism, formal multiculturalism with an imposed particular cultural hegemony, uniculturalism with some elements of local cultural autonomy (in particular districts);
- (c) internal borderlines between the main communities, and the status of zones allocated to these communities.

(2) Making absolutely clear the **official interpretation of the recent history** (in particular, from 1999), including unequivocally defining those who are the responsible (guilty) and who are the victims – the relevant strata and particular groups of individuals.

(3) Defining what particular **inter-communal *de-facto* situation** (general co-relation of forces and especially as to the territory and property control, and the number of each ethnic community's legitimate present and potential residents) should be **the basis, the legal starting point for finding a fair solution** in relation to communities' and each individual person's issues:

- (a) either the pre-1999 situation (taking into account all those who lived in Kosovo and Metohija by 1999, and disregarding the present quite numerous new settlers);
- (b) or there should be some other date (and the *de-facto* situation) taken as a starting point, e.g. 1991, or 2004 (on the eve of mass campaign of intimidation, setting fire, plundering and expulsion

of Serbs from Kosovo), or 2007, e.g. the date of unilateral proclamation of independence of Kosovo by radical Albanian nationalists that is expected for November – December 2007.

(4) Defining **those (individuals and legal entities) who are entitled to the relevant property in the region, and those who have illegally seized other persons' and legal entities' property** and thus have to return that ownership to the legitimate owners or somehow reach fair (and mutually acceptable) arrangements with them.

(5) Reliable and safe **security arrangements**:

(a) on the level of the region – Kosovo and Metohija (taking into account its impact on Europe and the neighbouring regions in general);

(b) on the level of each community zone;

(c) on the grass-root (local and micro-) level, including particular sites of special historic and spiritual importance).

(6) Specifying and accepting the **forced, in fact mandatory concessions vis-à-vis vested geo-strategic interests** – conditions *sine qua non* – such as e.g. US (and possibly other NATO nations) military bases and other components of the system of “limited sovereignty” and “supervised independence”, either of Kosovo itself or (theoretically) of Serbia (in the utterly improbable case of preserving the whole of Kosovo and Metohija as its autonomous region).

3. COMMON FUTURE OR SEPARATE (DISSIMILAR) FUTURE FOR THE ETHNO-TERRITORIAL COMMUNITIES (ZONES)

The major question is if there should rather be one Kosovo or two Kosovos?

If case of **one Kosovo**, there are several possible concepts and the relevant possible functional models:

(a) A *de-facto* Albanian state “granting” certain cultural rights to ethnic minorities, and in particular to Serbs concentrated in some districts in which international forces would guarantee security and (relative) peace.

(b) An Albanian-dominated state with several quasi-autonomous districts with predominantly Serbian population and with an international control over the sacred places of Serbs and Christian Orthodox in general.

(c) A cantonal state of a Bosnia–Herzegovina type.

(d) A cantonal and micro-cantonal state of a probably still unknown type. Under such arrangements a very painful initial basic delimitation (splitting) on a micro-level is undertaken: creating initial (tentative) micro-enclaves and exclaves (irrespective of their space and location – even comprising a monastery/church, or a farm, or even one house etc.) on the basis of inter-community lines on the historic date chosen as a starting point for all calculations and delimitation. And afterwards such new state-building process moves to a stage of possible exchanges of the enclaves or buying them off (on the basis of mutual consent), and other forms of “payments” from one to another community “record-book” and forming the final “balance-sheet” that would define the boundaries of community zones, their major assets and budgets (including the sources for the re-payment of losses during the previous years and for the former, present or forthcoming vivid injustices and/or discomfort.

In the case of **two Kosovos**, there seem to be the following two major concepts of nation-building:

- (a) Delimitation of the boundaries between an independent Albanian Kosovo and the northern (Serbs populated) area which will independently decide on its future (including the option of joining Serbia *per se*), and deciding upon the status of Serbian, Christian Orthodox sacred places (e.g. recognising them as Serbian territory with the provision of security by the international police or military forces).
- (b) Creation of Albanian and Serbian cantons and micro-cantons, each one of those entitled to choose their future status (either joining the relevant new state, or the neighboring kin country).

In any case, it's quite difficult to avoid an extensive relocation of representatives of the major ethnic groups (including the return of refugees) to the allocated ethnic communities zones. (There is a “rich”, extensive experience of such policies during and after the Second World War, and after a number of other wars and ethnic conflicts.)

4. PRINCIPLES OF FAIRNESS, STABILITY AND SUSTAINABILITY, RELATIVE COMFORT TO ALL PARTIES INVOLVED

Currently we are observing attempts to implement a principle of punishing not only the tyrants and the regime, but the people who suffered under them, and who were induced into a historic trap (or may be even seduced) by those tyrants and the regime.

It is a well-known political principle widely implemented throughout the 20th century – leading to a forceful relocation of people, ethnic cleansing, change of traditional (historic) borderlines etc. For some historic reason Serbs became those who have written the relevant final chapter in that particular story of the 20th century and brought this story with them into the 21st century.

And it becomes quite obvious why now in the beginning of the 21st century especially the Japanese and now recently also the German diplomacy give some signs of perceiving the dangers of perpetuating such practices – of victimising and stigmatising particular ethnic groups representing the majority of the looser nation (looser at some particular moment, within a specific “chapter” of history, and most probably not forever, as Japanese, Germans and Italians have clearly proved).

The policy of implementation in Kosovo of principles of fairness, stability and sustainability, and guaranteeing relative comfort to all parties involved into the current crisis would provide for a setting of an important pattern. It will definitely has a positive effect on final settling of Georgia / Abkhazia / South Osetia, Azerbaijan / Nagorno-Karabakh, Moldova / Pridnestrovie (Transnistria) ethno-territorial conflicts. The comprehensive solutions would have to be based on adjusting the existing administrative and *de-facto* borders and the appreciation of the will of the people of the presently unrecognised, though *de-facto* independent, separatist states. And it definitely would provide for the real détente in relation between a number of nations.

In fact, the Balkans and some other war- and hatred-torn regions are facing the strategic choice between: (a) perpetuating the predominance of vested geo-strategic interests (concerned mostly with their own expansion, and not with the regional stability and sustainability) combined with the stubborn reluctance of unrealistic nationalist to take into account the basic values and interest of “the other side”; and (b) innovative approaches leading to a comprehensive compromise that definitely excludes the possibility of double standards and the *a priori* appointing the “guilty” and the “unlawfully suffering” nations.

MR. SC. KADRI KRYEZIU

DEPUTY MINISTER FOR TRADE AND INDUSTRY, PISG OF KOSOVO

BASIC FREEDOMS AND HUMAN RIGHTS OF NATIONAL MINORITIES IN KOSOVO

Basic freedoms and human rights are a special chapter of the democratic world, they are inseparable and inalienable and inviolable. Human freedom and rights are guaranteed by international agreements and by positive laws. We in Kosovo, in Prizren respectively have shown a special caution for minorities regarding their personal, political, economical and cultural rights.

Guaranteeing these rights is based on international conventions on human rights of the UN Charter such as: Universal Declaration on Human Rights, European Conventions on protection of basic human freedom and rights and its Protocols, Convention framework of the European Council on protection of national minorities, Convention of elimination of all forms of racial discrimination, etc.

The State of Kosovo has been especially caring to the national minorities not only verbally but also by law and sub-law acts, and the biggest guarantee was given to them by the Constitution of the Republic of Kosovo. Communities have their rights as an individual or as a community to preserve their identity, language, culture, tradition, religion, education in their language in public and private schools, to freely use their own alphabet, to register their personal names, to denominate streets in their language, to have their own media.

All communities that live in Prizren will enjoy these rights such as Bosniacs, Turks, Roma, Ashkali, Gorani, etc. Prizren is considered the calmest city of political pluralism, cultural pluralism, and ancient cultural traditions. The characteristic of Prizren is that it is the only city in Kosovo where minorities have established their political parties on central levels such the Turksih People's Party, Bosniac's Party called Vakati. The Party of United Roma in comparison to the other parties whose seats are in the capital of Pristine.

As a conclusion the majority people of Kosovo and in Prizren highly value human freedom and rights, not only as a noble and a gentle popu-

lation, but also by respecting these human rights. They consider them as a value and a standard in order to join the western civilization with intellectual, cultural human values, with mutual inter-human respect and international respect that create peace in our environment. This reflects the States that originate from minorities, in which the bridges are being created between countries and people which is a must for the world, and very important for the Balkans.



YVES BATAILLE

HISTORIEN DE GÉOPOLITOLOGUE, PARIS, FRANCE

DISCOURS ON THE KOSOVO SERBIAN-ALBANIAN RELATIONS

We have seen that even in the Seychelles, a tropical paradise, a conflict can erupt. President Mancham described to us his experience during the coup d'état in the Seychelles. Conflicts do not only occur in the Balkans but it can be said that Kosovo has a history of violence.

The conflict between Serbs and Albanians is not a recent dispute but rather a long-lasting dispute. Both cultures have credible and justified arguments, resulting in an encounter between two legitimate sides.

On one side, the Serbs argue that their settlements in Kosovo date back to the Middle Ages, the churches and shrines prove this. On the other hand the Albanians claim the land because of the sheer size of the Albanian population and high immigration.

This quarrel should have been solved during the Former Yugoslav era and between Europeans, instead it has resulted in a “Extra-European” intervention in order to resolve the conflict. Nothing has been done. Surely the USA were involved for other reasons than those mentioned in the media. The military intervention that occurred in 1999 was fighting for democracy and human rights. In reality it allowed NATO military expansion to Eastern Europe and the installation of military basis. Using military intervention was a great mistake and should be criticized. Having one more state in Europe is unreasonable. I belong to a country, France where diplomacy is absolute and not long ago we were against “state owned proliferation”. We need to avoid the balkanization of Europe, which is deteriorating by spreading on this continent.

In theory, the aim of this military intervention was to enable peace and to allow the refugees to return.

UN Resolution 1244 was not put into practice firstly because there is no Serbian military presence in Kosovo. Secondly, in the recent past, it was said that it was too early for Serbian refugees to return and today it is said to be too late. Resulting in the expulsion of 250 000 Serbs from Kosovo due to violence and insecurity.

In order for the 250 000 displaced persons to return safely, security norms need to be applied and installed. Unfortunately this is not the case, commuting within Kosovo for the Serbs and other minorities has become extremely dangerous at the risk of losing their lives. The only real possibility for the Serbs and other minorities is by military escort.

Regardless of the situation we all agree that both sides need to stay calm. I believe the answer to this problem has to be accepted by both sides. In the current situation Kosovo is in, a realistic approach could be based and inspired off the Italian “Alto Adige Model”. If Kosovo benefited from a large autonomy, the different communities could coexist by developing their language, culture and way of life without stepping on one another’s toes. If the solution of a possible autonomy is rejected and replaced by an optical illusion, meaning independence, then the possibility of another war could be at stake.

If the final decision made by the West is to make Northern Kosovo into a new country, surely the Serbian inhabitants will react. They do not want to be strangers in their own country. Mr. De Gaulle once said, “Quand on est minoritaire il faut etre majoritaire quelque part”. On this note I don’t see why Republika Srpska in Bosnia does not do the same by separating from Sarajevo?

The other viable solution would be a partition rather than losing the whole everything. In my country, France, there exists a department called Pyrenees Orientales, this enclave is under Spanish sovereignty. The Lllivia inhabitants live and travel freely between France and Spain. I know that Kosovo is not France or Switzerland, but this model proves that it can work

If the Albanians refuse partition or autonomy then this region could face another war. Kosovo will be seen by some as the imposed “new Israel” and by others it will be seen as the “new Palestine” to be set free. The current situation in Kosovo will lead to repercussions beyond the Balkan region and will propagate throughout Europe. If Kosovo is given independence, then other European countries could be affected by this outcome as other people of minority interest follow suit. We cannot allow Kosovo to set a geopolitical precedent in international jurisprudence.

Whoever decides upon the future status of Kosovo will have to take these key factors into account.

JEFFREY LEVETT

DIRECTOR, ECPD REGIONAL PROGRAMME, KOSOVO

PUBLIC HEALTH IN THE BALKANS: A VITAL CONTRIBUTION TO THE PROMOTION OF RECONCILIATION

The World Health Organization and the Council of Europe have called attention to the growth of population vulnerability and declining health status in the Balkans and in concert with the Stability Pact they have targeted specific improvements within a framework of social cohesion. With respect to health, they have set in motion a specific set of country programs that reflect either problems and/or country relative expertise, for example infectious disease control in Albania, mental health in BiH, nutrition in Serbia, emergency health services in FYROM and health informatics in Bulgaria. In the Dubrovnik Pledge the regional Ministers of Health affirmed their resolve to reduce population vulnerability while the Skopje Declaration on public health, peace and human rights which I penned for the Public Health Network of SEE [PH-SEE Network] highlighted a resolve to use public health in vulnerability reduction and the enhancement of human security. Prerequisites to the process of optimization are the cultivation of tolerance and reconciliation among the Balkan peoples, capacity building of institutions and related special studies in post-conflict development, health diplomacy and human security. Quite sensibly, the ECPD has also entered this arena through the good offices of the Japanese authorities.

The Balkan Region is unique in many ways and deserves much greater consideration by the international community: a major intercontinental crossroad, the historical and cultural birthplace of Europe, a dark continent, and an inconsistent and contradictory space. It is also a region rich in divergence and convergence, cultural heritage and history. Various forms of conflict have never been far removed from the surface. Such dark contrasts are a threat to Europe. However, where cultures, religions and national languages come together health is a common denominator for peace and development and public health is the lingua franca or universal language to a better future for its citizens. The search for lost health as well as the maintenance of good health is issues that easily cross cultural boundaries. This is the case in the Balkans. This is the case in Kosovo.

In the Balkans there are a number of unresolved problems relating to both public health practice and health system function. It is one area where developmental energy should be channeled within a framework of European family building. Problems include: significant marginalization on the fringes of Europe: regional population vulnerability with considerable polarization, internal conflict, extremely limited resources and asymmetrical European Union policy. To deal with Balkan complexity, it is necessary to develop strategies that build population well-being with local ingenuity and appropriate international assistance. The best future for the Balkans is within a single European space, without borders. Failing to manage the Balkan region, especially with respect to health can have serious consequences and for Europe.

It should not be forgotten that as urbanization got underway in 19th century Europe, cholera [an ancient disease] spread west from its breeding ground in South Asia about 1820 and as a result, the Balkans were hit. Greece was hit with cholera at the time of the Revolutionary War, 1821. Most recently with globalization under way, the Balkans was lucky not to have had to deal with a single case of SARS, which left China to spread around the world. Consequently, there is a great need to develop prevention and preparedness as well as training programs relating to public health and disaster management.

One aspect of this is the potential deployment of Cross Border Public Health Stations. Their efficient and effective operation together with improved informational systems for both monitoring of water pollution, food products, animals etc., and the raising of public awareness takes on even greater importance if the Balkan Peninsula and the Aegean Sea are to be upgraded as nodal regions for peace and development. However, additional efforts are necessary in order to help check and buffer disease spread in response to all emerging hazards which is a process beneficial to the health of all European Union citizens. Population vulnerability can increase the susceptibility to disease and creeping social disasters are possible, which can only be countered by adequate socio-economic development. Unemployment and poverty are serious issues in the Balkans and Kosovo presents a particular problem space within the region. Among other threats are the presence of landmines left over from the war and the alleged radioactive fallout. Certainly cancer is on the rise. Health hazards are present and the risks are significant. Dysfunctional health systems constitute a disaster in themselves a catastrophe can render a good health systems helpless.

Major improvements in European health status occurred throughout the 20th century. Gains were less evident in the Balkans in spite of the presence of a centrally controlled public health network for public health. Greece is the exception. As a result of public health interventions life expectancy rose dramatically between pre- and post WWII and infant mortality fell. At the beginning of the third millennium most of the countries in the region still need reform with health sectors demonstrating various degrees of dysfunction. The emerging disease profile is a complex blend of a repetitious past, diseases of development and the consequences of socioeconomic upheaval and several disasters. The opportunity to achieve “health for all” is still largely absent. The existing health data reveals growing disparity and polarization within the region with significantly higher vulnerability than in Europe. Overall, countries in the Balkans lag Europe in economic development and political stability unevenly so: low GNP, limited modernization, corruption, unemployment and poverty. At the same time any positive rates of change are in general less than in Europe.

While globalization is today creating opportunities the for wealth and prosperity, it is doing so at a cost of a world more polarized by differences in life’s circumstances and to a general background of chaos and turbulence as the operational context of complex contemporary society. Consequently, good Governance within democratic institutions should take a top priority. This should be the case in the Balkans where the historical backdrop is that of ethnic tension with uneasy coexistence, periodic economic transients with social disruptions, crumbling empires and new world orders. The contemporary status is emergent from the collapse of the Soviet empire, from so called economic transition, from ethnic cleansing as well as interventions from without. Transition has enlarged opportunity and societal polarization across the region and within each state. Discord is exacerbated by the relative weakness of state, bureaucratic structures and aggravated more or less by an inability or unwillingness to create and enforce rules within a democratic context. Rising insecurity with health disturbance or health divide contrasted with Europe are serious consequences. This dark contrast is a threat to European stability. Social, economic and political upheaval has resulted in a growing vulnerability for a large portion of the Balkan peoples over which hangs a prevailing and unsettling polarity.

Human security is a much discussed and relatively new concept, widely accepted and strongly disputed. In its broadest formulation it is equivalent to human well-being. A far better known term is human insecurity. Its antecedents can be traced back to the founding of the In-

ternational Committee of the Red Cross in Geneva in 1863 and to the UN Charter. The Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the Geneva Conventions created obligations for states to defend the security of peoples everywhere. However in the 20th century human security has been trampled on and people have died as a result of the actions of their own governments so that human security and national security have become mutually incompatible. Consequently, in many countries national security has become a threat to human security. Threats include physical violence, hunger, disease and pollution and can involve the denial of the most basic of human needs. Two points to bear in mind are that one endemic hunger and disease have a greater toll than armed conflict, terrorism and other forms of criminal violence and two during armed conflict civilians are at greater risk than military personnel. Human security is closely related both to human development and well-being. It can be defined as 'safety from such chronic threats as repression, oppression, hunger, disease, and protection from sudden and hurtful disruptions in the patterns of daily life'. [See Global Human Development Report 1994.] It can be best achieved by investing in the health, education and human capabilities of people. [For a comparative analysis of human development in South-East Europe, see Appendix 1 and Human Development Report for Europe and the CIS "Transition", UNDP/RBEC 1999, see also Levett J. *Health and Human Security*, ECPD International Conference on reconciliation and tolerance, 2006].

In addition to the existing threats to environmental and human security, several new risks have emerged from the east, which were insignificant a decade ago. The recent spread of infectious disease and the increasing use of illicit drugs are among these emerging threats. During the last decade and external to the Balkan border the level of mortality from different types of infectious diseases has almost doubled. Although many infectious diseases, especially among children, have been successfully mitigated, others such as HIV/AIDS, tuberculosis, diphtheria, and syphilis have increased. The number of substance abusers in medical institutions has multiplied several-fold. Consequently, there is growing pressure to ensure adequate cross border sanitary shielding since health problems on one side can mean serious problems on the other. Two examples of these negative effects include the break down of public health measures or the development of resistance to antibiotics by pathogens as in the case of TB. It should also be borne in mind that children from poor families have more illness than affluent ones and this disparity impairs education and contributes to polarization and human insecurity. Well-selected health

care spending and education of women may be the best aid from the international community.

Kosovo with a population of a little over 2 million is both the Achilles heel and Pandora's Box of Europe. In the aftermath of conflict, the prevailing anarchy led to many corruptive practices such as the spurious credentialing of health care professionals based on favouritism. Today the basic elements of a normal life are missing [sanitation, water]. Infant mortality is the highest in Europe but slowing down. Elderly people lack everything. The numbers of sick people as well as the number of diseases are both increasing. Acute diarrhoea is a latent problem, hepatitis a serious one, TB is on the rise and new diseases are creeping in such as tularaemia and brucellosis. Some positive outcomes include moderate gains in the reduction of the crude mortality rate, peri-natal and maternal mortality and life expectancy is edging upwards. Vaccine preventable diseases are coming under control. There are no polio cases and measles is now absent for the seventh year running. There is a need to invest in youth and women and to build institutional capacity. Fast and effective approaches to change on limited budgets are needed. Kosovo is a European example of the long ruinous passage of man-made disaster, which has pushed poverty to the surface and reinforced its paramount position. Politics, nationalism and UN sanctions can be blamed and what has ensued provides for discussion on the political determinants of health.

Just to remind ourselves the sideline aspect of cholera was the creation of an efficient and effective state bureaucracy circa 1850 to confront the public health consequences of urbanization. In the plethora of vested interests, it was the only way to disease containment. At the beginning of 20th century Schools and Institutes of Public Health belatedly took shape in Europe. In the Balkans many institutes took shape for example Skopje 1924, Tirana, 1928, Zagreb 1926. In Greece, circa 1927, a pandemic of dengue fever brought the country to its knees and was the reason d'être that created the Athens School. It should have occurred because of malaria, which it went on to eradicate. In 1987 it started to elaborate an uneasy policy for Balkan public health activities supported from Europe and by the Greek authorities and in 1992, it conducted the first Balkan Forum on Public Health with the support of ASPHER and WHO. Cross Border Public Health Stations, which are important to human security, are one of the last stones in an impressive edifice of the Athens School [See Levett J. Kyriopoulos J., Public health in the Balkan region, *European Journal of Public Health*, 2006]. The ... author wrote the Skopje ... it need for a contemporary SPH for Skopje. Just as William Farr shamed the British govern-

ment into action in the days of cholera it is time to shame governments in Europe into more appropriate actions to de-marginalize public health and bring it back into the mainstream of society where it belongs.

The ECPD is directing its attention to human security in the Balkans, which includes considerations of population health as a basis for societal development. Gas pipelines are necessary but pipelines for health are just as important. They should be expanded into an even better network for human security within the European region.



Prizren, panorama, 2007

SADIK IDRIZI

MINISTER OF HEALTH, PISG OF KOSOVO

BOSNIAKS IN THE BALKANS AND RECONCILIATION

It is high time for prosperity in the Balkans, and therefore for peace and reconciliation among the different ethnicities in former Yugoslavia.

That process should include the Bosniaks who are scattered throughout former Yugoslavia. However, all the ethnicities in the region have problems, but due to fact that Bosniaks are scattered through the Balkans, they live in different enclaves such as in Kosovo. They have hard problems with freedom of movement, because of inadequate documents. For example a Bosniak with a UNMIK passport living in Kosovo is forbidden to travel to Bosnia. There are also other handicaps in various sectors such as in health and education and they have reasons to feel that they are isolated in the quarantine.

It is vital that peace and reconciliation are established throughout the Balkans for reasons such as freedom of movement, health, education and of course economic development.

HAXHI AVDYLI

POSTGRADUATE STUDENT – HEALTH MANAGEMENT, ECPD PRIZREN

ENVIRONMENTAL ISSUES OF KOSOVO AND THE BALKANS

I am thankful for having this rare opportunity to participate in this ECPD Study Group event here in Prizren. I represent the students of the Prizren Center and more so those in the health management program, which I joined a year ago as a student, when it was first opened. Both the presence of international participants of the Study Group and the Center are good for my town of Prizren as well as for Kosovo. I hope that our international visitors will continue to return here and that you will decide to hold other meetings in Prizren. Your subject under discussion as I understand is reconciliation and human security. Health as a basic element in both human security and reconciliation is on your agenda. As a doctor and student in the Center I would like to bring to your attention the subject of environmental issues, which are both health and human security related. In future meetings, I would strongly recommend the possible discussions involving environmental issues of Kosovo and the Balkans.

Kosovo remains one of the highest air polluters in South East Europe with an estimated emission of five and a half tons of carbon dioxide compared with approximately four in FYROM, Croatia and Serbia and Montenegro combined. Rivers appear polluted by chemicals and bacteriological agents. In some areas where mining sites are found and industrial facilities exist the soil is heavily contaminated. Foodstuffs are contaminated by heavy metals and lead which is a serious problem. Indeed the data is quite alarming on lead poisoning in children. Air pollution is also growing rapidly as a result of increased road traffic. Electricity coverage although high with 99 percent of all households served by electricity, the power supply remains unreliable. Frequent power cuts are a major source of dissatisfaction and they have produced a need for wood burning stoves for cooking, which is a source of indoor air pollution and mass wood exploitation. If you have the opportunity to visit Prizren in winter, you will see emergency generators outside of many shops.

I ask myself, how the environmental and health situation in Kosovo looks like as we are speaking? My answer is that the population is insecure as well as highly exposed to health risks as a result of nationalistic tension, unemployment and a large level of income insecurity. Mental health must be carefully monitored in the future. Major existing health risks stem from environmental degradation and pollution as a result of outdated mining practices and industrial infrastructure that ignore issues of environmental impact, poor housing conditions and quality of basic infrastructure services as well as weak environmental management systems. Other important health risks include the threat of an accelerating HIV/AIDS epidemic and the prevalence of risky behaviors, especially in youth. Such health risks are not just a concern for the Albanian or Serbian population but go well beyond this. According to the Kosovo Early Warning Report, little concern is demonstrated for the environmental issues and environmental education and awareness must be improved, which is something that the Prizren Center could take on as a major activity in collaboration with the competent authorities.

Health-related lifestyle and behavior among youth have rapidly changed over the past few years but not always in the right direction or for the better. Youth is now better connected to the global world but simultaneously is living through a time of the disappearance of traditional values. There is a lack of opportunity for higher education and employment while the lack of information on health issues is conducive to the emergence of risky behaviors including unsafe sex, substance abuse, prostitution, and violence. The level of knowledge of youth on reproductive health, HIV/AIDS is limited.

Global warming and environmental destruction by human hands are very real and again I urge that you consider them in your activities here in Prizren relating to human security. The question is how to use these topics to mobilize people of goodwill from all communities and from all regions, to unite against ourselves, namely man, as the enemy and destroyer of nature and cosmopolitan man and men of multinationals working against all ethnic groups including here in Kosovo. Worldwide, they are destroying health and security. Consequently, the lack of awareness and information on environmental issues is a matter of concern as it may limit the scope available to reverse environmental degradation that prevents us from dealing with the contamination of basic goods of life and encouraging the authorities to undertake preventive measures. Health and environmental risk management can be one area where all communities can work together to contribute to a better future for the people of Kos-

ovo and rest of the Balkans. In this way we may leave behind wars and all nationalistic history and maybe the different sides will consider earth as there one and only home.

Finally, I would like to mention that the health management students in the Prizren Center will undertake a study in order to assess the vulnerability of our fellow citizens during the next academic year. The methodology is available and is currently being prepared in the Albanian language. This could be an agenda item for a future meeting of the Study Group.



Participants in the Study Group meeting in front of the City Hall, Prizren

PASKAL MILO

FORMER MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS OF ALBANIA

THE ROLE OF ALBANIANS IN RECONCILIATION OF ETHNIC AND RELIGIOUS TOLERANCE IN THE WESTERN BALKANS

It is my particular pleasure to participate at this forum, which I consider an important event not only regarding its significant topics, but moreover for the time being and the location we are today, it's a good prospective in those issues. Please Mr. Chairman allow me to extend my personal gratitude toward the ECPD for the idea.

I think that most of you agree that our region, which is one the cradles of European culture and civilization, has witnessed wars, destruction, and ethnic cleansing, not least over the past decade. Fear of the “*Other*” was always a step towards hatred and conflict. Now, a new era is drawing where dialogue, understanding and reconciliation are poised to replace the tribulations of history, where unity can be found in and nourished through the rich diversity and humanity of the peoples. Forgiveness will help rid the region from the biases and ignorance of the past.

I strongly believe that the region can turn itself, through its own strategies and effective means of dialogue and engagement, into a vibrant space where people can jointly rediscover the stimulating wealth of differences, cultural exchanges and interaction as well as their multiple identities.

The recognition of multiple identities of each individual is indeed a precondition for a constructive, practical and forward-looking dialogue apt to deepen and intensify the process of regional cooperation and stability.

The peoples of Western Balkans in today in general ought to know how to live together, cooperate and exchange their precious knowledge with a view to solidifying freedom and democracy and upholding human rights. Free societies can be created only upon the existence of free individuals, who are sovereign in choosing their political status and in following their own economic, social and cultural affiliation fully develop, whereby people can live together in harmony and in the pursuit of prosperity.

The dialogue represents a new paradigm of security, especially in a globalizing world with its manifold new challenges to individuals, communities and countries. Pursuing reconciliation and seeking security through dialogue requires a dynamic and pro-active civil society. It necessitates a mobilization of political leaders, parliamentarians, scholars and religious leaders, media and social activities as well as women and youth who all must play their roles and assume their responsibilities.

The challenge for Western Balkans countries lies in associating *cultural heritage* with development policies and demonstrating how much this powerful symbol of a people's identity can become a unifying factor for national and regional reconciliation. This may well serve as a foundation for a shared future.

The image of Albania and Albanians throughout time and historical facts has always shown illuminating values of the Albanian identity which is strongly linked with the inter-religious and interethnic tolerance. This image was one of these values that immediately attracted the well wishing attention of all those scholars and politicians.

The "Albania Case" is an exemplary reality of the religions coexistence throughout the long way of history. This ethno-distinguished character of the Albanians was evidenced more by the situation that was created through the factorization of the international terrorism as a general threat, which at the mean time is also an expression of intolerance at the higher level, gave a special importance to this ethno-distinguishable characteristic of the Albanians, which has been pointed out during the visit of President Bush in Albania some days before.

The religious and ethnic tolerance among the Albanians is not a quality developed during modern times and neither formed through education and schooling. It is a tradition that comes from the depth of the centuries, *the Albanian* is first of all the member of an ethnic community and then of a religious community.

Tolerance among the Albanians is not only religious, but also linguistic and in many cases ethnic. This tolerance consists in an ethno-typical character of the Albanians. It is not that other peoples have no tolerance, but perhaps this quality is connected also to the geopolitical position of the Albanian state.

At the crossroads of the two worlds, the Albanians have taken and given with both of them by also preserving its identifying core, by serving as a bridge where influences passed and by also absorbing from them.

The Albanian society is traditionally characterized by peaceful coexistence and tolerance. Minorities enjoy all the rights sanctioned by the

Constitution and the Framework Convention on the Rights of National Minorities of the Council of Europe, being fully integrated in the Albanian society. This level of respecting their rights and freedoms is highly appreciated in the observations made by international organizations like the OSCE and Council of Europe.

The fact that coexistence of three religions inside the Republic of Albania is an unusual tendency in a region where a religion is often connected to nationalism and in the name of belief there has been caused fratricide wars. Throughout the process of founding and later on of the disintegration of Yugoslavia the Albanians were not the aggressors, but the victims of the others.

Today we are the sole country in Europe and elsewhere which confines on the greatest part of the foreign borders with Albanian population. Albanians in the region has always used their presence and fortitude to found a civil coexistence among ethnicities, peoples and religions and the cases of Kosova, Macedonia and Montenegro are vivid examples of this policy.

Milošević's regime tried to present the peaceful Albanian resistance as a war of the Albanian Muslims against the Serb Christianity. The entire world witnessed the expulsion of a million of innocent citizens whose only guilt was opposing the criminal regime of Milošević and the aspiration to live free. All the Albanian citizens and religious beliefs in Kosova, Catholics and Muslims became victims of the Serbian terror by offering another example that the Serbian violence was not directed against a religious belief, but against an entire people of a different nationality.

Through the help of NATO and the democratic countries, especially through the active role of the United States of America and United Kingdom the humanitarian catastrophe, the genocide over an innocent people and the strategy of the further ethnic cleansing in the Balkans were prevented in 1999. The war of Kosova put an end to the Balkan wars of the 1990s which took the lives of more than one million innocent citizens.

The Albanians in Kosova together with the other ethnicities are jointly working for six years towards building a democratic, multiethnic and European society. There have been obstacles, difficulties and problems, some of whom were incited also by states that interested to have a lack of stability and coexistence in Kosova, but time is proving that the interest on the final status and European future of Kosova has to do with every citizen of Kosova, regardless of the religious belief and nationality.

In this context we strongly believe that the President Ahtisaari's packet is the only way towards the independent, democratic and multiethnic

state of Kosova. On his recommendation for a settlement (resolution) to the Security Council of the United Nations he clearly proclaimed *religious protection and freedom*. On his recommendations he emphasizes that under the *Settlement*, Kosova will have no official religion, this settlement provides for the autonomy and protection of all religious denominations, their property and their sites. The Serbian Orthodox Church in Kosova will be afforded additional security and certain other protections, rights, privileges and immunities, including guarantees against expropriation, full discretion in the management of its property, property reconstruction and access to its premises and will be free to receive donations and support from any institution, provided this occurs in a fully transparent manner. Its monasteries, churches and other religious and cultural sites of special significance to the Kosovar Serb community will be provided the necessary physical security. Kosova law enforcement agencies will have the main responsibility to provide such security. The International Military Presence will continue to provide security for the nine major Serbian religious and historic sites until a decision is made to transfer this responsibility to the Kosovo Police Service. Moreover, 45 protective zones will be established around the most prominent churches and monasteries, as well as historical monuments. Protective zones will prohibit or restrict certain activities that can have a damaging effect on the historical, cultural and natural environment around the sites or severely disturb the monastic way of life, but will not affect property ownership rights.

Furthermore in his packet President Ahtisaari propose certain measures to guarantee Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms and the Rights of Communities and their Members through adopting a list of measures for the new state of Kosova such upholding, promoting and protecting internationally recognized human rights and fundamental freedoms.

Under the expected Resolution of Security Council which will create a independent, multiethnic Kosova all persons will be entitled to these rights and freedoms without discrimination of any kind. All persons in Kosovo will be equal before the law, and are entitled, without discrimination, to equal protection of the law. The authorities in Kosova must guarantee the protection of the national or ethnic, cultural, linguistic and religious identity of all communities and their members. Members of Communities will have specific rights, in addition to their human rights and fundamental freedoms, including the right to freely express, foster and develop their identity and Community attributes.

The peaceful religious and ethnic pluralism has served as a unifying element among various peoples, families and groups in society. Besides that, the religious communities remain always faithful to their initial inspiration to the benefit of goodness and peace and also with a great dedication play an active role in overcoming social problems, in breeding and educating the youngsters, in strengthening the role of family, culture and European national identity.

Hopefully, in our region we have a perfect example which illustrates that fact: Thorough the political dialogue in Macedonia with the ethnic Albanians, in August 2001, a possible solution for resolving the problems relating with the rights and freedoms. In this respect, almost everybody welcomed the signing of Ohrid Agreement and legislative measures taken by Macedonian authorities and representatives of ethnic Albanians for its implementation, which ends the use of violence in pursuit of political aims. The multi-ethnic and multi-religious character of Macedonia's society is been preserved and today is been reflected in government and public life. The development of local self-government was essential for encouraging the participation of citizens in democratic life, and for promoting respect for the identity of communities, reflecting the principle of subsidiary in effect in the European Union.

The Global Agenda for Dialogue among Civilizations adopted, by the United Nations General Assembly in November 2001, sets forth a useful framework for action by States, international and regional organizations, civil society and the private sector. It also calls for interaction and dialogue among individuals and institutions in the spirit of inclusion and a collective desire to learn and to question assumptions. Such dialogue occurs at local, national, regional and international levels.

There are no superior or inferior civilizations. Neither are there superior or inferior races, languages and religions. We stress the equality of each cultural tradition and recognize the value of each civilizing experience as an invaluable and integral part of the commonly shared human experience. Cultural pluralism gives policy expression to the reality of cultural diversity. Indeed, diversity is not a threat.

Through their distinctive contribution Albanians represents also one of the unique cases of a country, where all the political factors of the society, including here the religious communities too, are strong supporters of the country's integration in the European Union and NATO. The Euro-Atlantic spirit knows no opposition and no objections, which demonstrate that our religious and social identity is and still remains a deeply European one.

We are conscious that values are not eternal, that they must be preserved and cultivated in the mentality of the citizens together with the democratic culture and continuous improvement of the legal framework. At the same time, we strive to transform the culture of dialogue among different religious and ethnic communities in the Western Balkans into a bridge of union and communication, of exchange and stronger connection among the peoples and countries of our region.



Participants in the Study Group meeting in front of the ECPD building in Prizren

FOR A NEW THOUGHT OF PEACE

It is after fifty years that I found myself in Prizren. I attended fifth grade and the Martyr Orthodox School of Prizren. I played football with my Albanian friends, and everything was nice for us. In my school I would hear only words of unity, peace and love – I heard no speech of hatred, disrespect and other evils of new terminology. Nor me nor my school friends. That is the way it was.

Here, in the premises of our respectable conference, stands a great multi-cultural, multi-ethnic and multi-confessional monument – Sinan Pasha's Mosque.

Why does this mosque represent a three-faced testimonial about the time and people who lived in this region? When the Monastery of St. Archangels was demolished, stavropygial monastery of Dušan the Great, an Islamic clerical building was constructed. The two peoples that lived there at the time – Serbs and Albanians – did not have a lot of luck to construct their mini-history of peace, reconciliation and tolerance. However, evil is not to be prevented by evil. Good is needed. If there had been some luck and a minimum of general human tolerance and unity – the result would be an exchange which would contribute to strengthening of each nation. Still, the Albanians of today are not to be blamed for the destruction done by previous generations. This is how I see the problem. Multiconfessionality must by all means instruct faith, unity, and love. If there are no these things, I think that the religion is betrayed and used as a curtain for evil of each kind.

I have come to Prizren convinced that reconciliation, as the first step towards peace, is *possible*. This possibility derives from the need for continuation of life in a way decent for a man and his autonomous ethics and understanding.

According to the elementary rules of formal logic, logic of Aristotelian type, it is not possible to convince anyone that reconciliation with distant nations is possible, while it is not possible with the ones near us?

Bridges of cooperation with the nations near us are a testimonial, or to put it differently, a pass to the bridges for cooperation with distant nations, people and states. I estimate that any other arguments are not proper to a “healthy reasoning”.

Respected friends, before world history full of wars, all the conceptions and concepts of peace have sunk. This is affirmed by world history as a history of wars.

The modern man mostly lives in an honest and hard-working way. He finds himself faced with very important issue regarding his existence – the wish to live authentically is a problem of each historical period, social system and culture.

The crucial problem of each époque and ours as well, is a great deal of egoism of Hobbes’ philosophical conception. The modern man thinks that a minor part of the world that he represents is the centre of the world, centre of the world, main gathering point. A missed love towards oneself has created a *sui generis* philosophy of small world – material and spiritual provincialism. The eschatonic man sees himself as a centre of the world. He thinks that the world is a small village if it does not open itself towards an eternal existence. Such a man is open towards everyone. He nourishes love for each human being. His point of view is quite different from the world of egoism. He rejoices for the thing that other people rejoice for, and he moans for what the others moan.

Not a small number of serious messengers of wisdom, world of wisdom, who think that the modern system of values is broken or in front of a collapse. Why do they think this way? My conviction is founded in the fact that the problem of discontinuity in the philosophy of human thought has conditioned a miserable state of the modern system of values. The great Chinese thinker Confucius said: “It is easy to work, it is difficult to work.” Therefore, there are much more workers than thinkers among the sons of God. Being inclined towards these characteristics almost represents a *locus* – place for construction of the wisest and the strongest personalities in history. Why there are no more, if only there were, so great and thoughtfully glorious personalities such as: Plato, Aristotle, Shakespeare, Dostoevsky, Herodotus, and Njegoš? There are many other tender branches on the big oak tree of the mankind.

ETHICS AND FORTRESSES

Sometimes, the way of thinking was so different. All nations in Europe and beyond, fortified their borders with expensive and solid fortresses.

War machines and great walls have prevailed against man! This is why Saint Nikolaj, the Serbian, noticed: the price of everything in this world has risen – only the price of man has become low! In all the peoples, it is hard to hear the word – *ethics*. This is why Aristotle said and greatly predicted that the ethical system of values will be tempted, maybe even destroyed... When he was asked what people forget most easily, he answered – doing good deeds.

CAN LYCURGUS BE OF HELP TO MODERN RULERS?

The issue of removing the man from the Earth is solved. The man can be removed from the Earth by applying satanosophy, poniology and politics of force. When his counsellors recommended the wise and great Spartan Lycurgus to foster the Spartan state by surrounding it by walls, he answered: “The greatest walls of Sparta are her sons.”

CAN A SERBIAN MOTHER AND AN ALBANIAN MOTHER BE A MODEL FOR RECONCILIATION OF THE TWO ETHNICITIES IN SERBIA

Can an idea of peace-building, not expressed till now, be elaborated today, here in Prizren, in front of this honorable scientific group? What is the message of this *peacebuilding idea*? To raise a monument of two mothers with their arms stretched towards each other in the sign of long-lasting forgiving, but not oblivion of the sins committed in the both directions! The stretched arms of the two mothers made in Kruševac, city awarded by the Medal of Peace and Messenger of Peace, should mean a great historical truth that mothers do not give birth to their children for wars. They give birth to the children of love. Forever. To be eternally remembered.

THOUGHT OF PEACE IN MOTHER TONGUE

The religious representatives of Islamic religion present at the Conference, expressed their deep understanding of this idea. By their personal congratulations and approval, they showed deep respect for the mentioned idea. Press representatives, as well.

What is a thought of peace in the mother tongue? Only a radically new thought of peace and its redefining can bring it to the right way of going ahead, in unity with other values: health, happiness, unity, love,

solidarity, development, but certainly not any more in terminological unity with the war and always related to the war. Reconciliation cannot be maintained if the concept of *tolerance* within mutually opposed conceptions. That would be an axiomatic conception, firm belief.

In big and so-called “small religions” and philosophies, the world peace can be understood through great ethical principle: the things that you do not wish that the other one does to you, do not do to the other one neither. There is another moral from the ethics of the Serbian people: Protect yourself from the others, but the others from yourself as well! The same idea exists in, for example, in Hinduism, Buddhism, Christianity, Taoism, Islam, Zen-Buddhism.

Apostle Paul says: “As much you can do, be in peace with other people”.

It is an extremely sorrowing fact that a man is more capable and more determined to lead things to perfection than himself! The more a civilisation is estimated, less the human values are appreciated. Thus, there is and there will be no peace, because there are no great and noble characters.

RELIGIOUS INFLUENCE ON NATIONAL RECONCILIATION AND HUMAN SECURITY

*“History is the engine and it depends
how the engineer will direct it”.*

(Alberto Moravia)

The Islam religion has lots of examples of religious tolerance starting from the Medina Chart which is the first Islamic Constitution by which the rights of those who are not Muslims have been very clearly sanctioned. There are no confirmed cases that Muslims have burnt libraries and other religious structures like it was the case with the burning of Islamic structures in Spain or elsewhere. The killing of people has been sanctioned by Qur’an saying that “he who kills an innocent man is as if though he has killed the whole humanity.”

When Jerusalem was occupied by Haliff Omar and Salahudin Ejub, the deeds that were not in accordance to the laws of war were forbidden. In a case of quarrel between two Arab tribes regarding a well that they were supplied with water from, the prophet Mohamed a.s. ordered the closing of that well.

I would not to talk about the past if Professor Pavle Bubanja from Niš wouldn’t have cited me who refers to the myths of the 13th century by mentioning the monastery of Tsar Dušan which was allegedly ruined by Ottomans and that its stones were used to build the Sinan Pasha Mosque.

The professor has the right to say this, but not based on folkloric history and authors who considered the Albanian people as people having tails.

If the Ottoman Empire would have been so wild and barbaric, who guarded the Serb monasteries and churches in Kosovo then?

But I will ask the gentleman to answer me where are the 200 mosques, masjids and turbeks, that existed in Belgrade only?

The professor says: “We should bring reconciliation from outside”. But we were here and you have seen the Constitution of 1974 and what

was the status of Kosovo? You, professor, ask for reconciliation. I agree, but this was not achieved with Serbs, not even for 400 years and now you want it to be reached in 8 years. I will mention the case of Krusha as a sui generis case. The Ahtisaari plan does not mention the denomination Muslim, nor Catholic, Mosque or Church, but it speaks a lot about the Serb orthodox churches, but we have accepted this due to the engagements of the International community.

Professor, you have caused damage and you must ask for forgiveness. You haven't done this before nor are you doing it now.

Do you see that we Albanians are very tolerant and if there was just one Serb in a meeting, for his sake we would speak Serbian. This cannot be denied.

Regarding Prizren I can say that it is like a carpet of many colors and there is room in it for all, but we would like to respect others and to be respected. You sir, may love your religion, but must also value the positive values of the other religion.

RAMADAN MARMULLAKU

FORMER AMBASSADOR OF YUGOSLAVIA, PROFESSOR

RECURS ON HIS YOUTH SPENT IN KOSOVO AND THE CURRENT KOSOVO SITUATION OBSERVATION

I accepted with great pleasure the kind invitation of the Center for Peace and Development from Belgrade to participate in the work of the study group on “National Reconciliation and Inter-ethnic and Inter-religious Tolerance in the Balkans”, held in Prizren on 16 and 17 this June, for two reasons:

a. When the United Nations established the University for Peace and Development with headquarters in Japan in the mid-1970s, I worked as a diplomat in the Yugoslav Mission to the United Nations in New York. As a leading non-aligned country at that time, Yugoslavia supported this idea wholeheartedly and was an active member of the group of the countries working on its realization.

b. The current Albanian-Serbian conflict in Kosovo has been lasting for a quarter of the century, so to say, which is not in the interest of any of the two peoples. Therefore, I looked at the meeting of the international study group of the European Center for Peace and Development in Prizren as an act of good will and civic initiative of a non-governmental organization, which would bring together individuals being prominent in cultural, political, religious and academic life, from both the Albanian and Serbian side, as well as the representatives of the international “environment”, who wish to contribute to the reconciliation of the two alienated peoples. This is a small step toward peace, but it also helps in building new relations according to the new principles, based on the European values – tolerance and mutual respect, as well as in the promotion of peace and joint life of the two peoples in Kosovo. As a Kosovo Albanian, who grew up in a village where the Albanians and Serbs lived as good neighbors and respected each other for decades, I am interested that the current situation is overcome, even if it means taking small steps.

Although the origins of the conflict in Kosovo are often treated and perceived in the historical context, what was also done at this meeting, I think that the latest conflicts in Kosovo have their origins in growth and

development, both political and economic, as well as in the cultural affirmation and strengthening of the national identity of the Albanian majority in a multicultural and multiethnic community, which was seeking itself and its place “under the sun”.

The wrong approach of the ruling party and its political elite to the settlement of the Kosovo crisis during the mid-1980s had tragic consequences. It led to wars and violence in the greater part of the territory of the former Yugoslavia, including Kosovo. In my opinion, those are the real origins of the conflict, without disregarding the historical context, which is often overemphasized and placed in the foreground.

The issue of tolerance and reconciliation, which I will speak about, can be approached from various aspects: political, religious and philosophical. A philosophical approach, which also includes ethics, helps us in seeking the answer to the question: what is tolerance? What meaning does it have and is tolerance possible or not? Since the notion of tolerance and the arguments that confirm it or negate it are not the aim in itself, we are prompted to confirm it or negate it. Thus, the postulates of tolerance are not confined to self-satisfying or neutral views and judgments. And that also confirms whether tolerance is possible or not. For this reason, in defining it, or looking for the appropriate definition, we often use negation: by saying something that is not tolerant and not that which should be said. This also prompts us to make predictions that are often gloomy and not encouraging. The reasons that preclude this are often social and psychological in nature. And the ideas – which are emphasized a number of times, as is now the case with the Albanian-Serbian relations in general and, in particular, when Kosovo is in question – remind us on an increasing scale and lead us to the absolute idea of classical German philosopher Friedrich Hegel. Thus, we come to the conclusion that tolerance is also an ideological construct, which is predetermined by the ruling elite. When speaking and writing about tolerance, Aristotle also held that political science should play a decisive role in it. And in this connection, let me quote Isidora Sekulić, a modern Serbian prose writer, who was also concerned with the feelings of insecurity, which is so characteristic of our time.

Let me quote her words about justice and eternity: “Eternity is mentioned where it is not appropriate. And the least appropriate is to find it in political and diplomatic plans and documents. Those officials and those functions have endemically an inner sense of concern and actions that are best solved when the solution is temporary. When it exerts influence at one moment and then vanishes without leaving many traces. A certain situation or view in politics and diplomacy becomes impossible and

false, not always because it is not true but because it was fixed too long. Politics and diplomacy look at the world and the people like this: a certain mentality, a certain crisis, a certain revolution, a certain balance. And then everything starts all over again. Hence politics and diplomacy always save something by providing assistance fast, as fast as possible. Political and diplomatic functions represent mostly the ideas and actions of critical moments. Even legal proposals and legal decisions are usually made at critical moments. Naturally, the decision about war is made at a critical moment. But, the decision about peace is also made at a critical moment. Peace conferences are concerned only about the critical state of the defeated and the winners, but what the consequences of the war will be like, that will be realized at some critical moment later on. In essence, the politics of a country or an epoch can be retained over a longer period, but when its implementation and interpretation are in question, it causes waves throughout the length and breadth... Today is not the same as yesterday nor will tomorrow be the same as today”, end quote. (Isidora Sekulić, “Šta ja vidim”, pocket edition, Jugoslovenska knjiga, pp. 250–251).

There is no doubt that many judgments and views of Isidora Sekulić can also be applied to the current relations and conflicts in Kosovo.

Kosovo of my childhood and my youth will never come back but I am convinced, as an observer and someone who is familiar with the situation in Kosovo, and this was also confirmed at the meeting, that it is possible to build again a multiethnic society in Kosovo, based on the rule of law and European values.

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FREEDOM FROM FEARS AS HUMAN SECURITY AND PEACE RESOURCE

1. Fear, anguish, turmoil and such feelings are warning signs for men, and represent biogenetic heritage of the animal world as a response to evident or possible threats and dangers of the surrounding environment.

There are numerous evidences that in the vegetable world we have analogous reactions to threats they are exposed to.

So, widest range of expressing and reacting to the fear can be considered as a universal and relevant factor of the living world as a whole.

2. Emotional, rational and spiritual fears in an impressions and reactions of human are, when danger is involved, increasing rapidly those threats which are received as negation of any important factor for man's security in life, survival as well as its development.

Those reactions were always a crucial test of human capability to face those dangers, often anticipated by the emotions of fear, or to let themselves go to various traps of hopeless surrender to evil.

The brave master his fears, – impertinent is obsessed by fury” – narrate many people's proverbs.

3. We have to mention here the necessity of evaluating ethical and spiritual values, as well as the very means to express man's confrontation to fear itself.

The common reasoning about this issue derives from a simple division to the “brave ones” – those that attack openly what threatens them with the alarmous fear, and “chickens”, that simply run from it...

However, evaluation of the way that men openly confront himself to the very source of fear is based on criteria of different logical, socio-cultural, mental and spiritual base of this confrontation.

Such ways of expressing **courage** and **heroism** rationally and humanistically stands on the relative liberation from fear itself, and can be

realized applying vigorously numerous principles of nobility and restrainedness.

But we should always make a difference towards irrational and arrogant **insolence**, obvious madness of **fanatical, evil “supermen”** that aggressively take whatever is necessary to get to their goals, emanating fears, like the Riders of the Apocalypse...

4. Rationally speaking, we are expecting that the level of man fears have to be equal to the intensity of the danger at hand.

However, this co-relation can't be solid as a “rock” since we are talking about subjective impressions, prejudices and such.

A very well known proverb, illustrates that “Fear has enormous eyes”, which interprets the possibility of overreacting in the anticipation of danger, but also the fact that fear makes us more cautious about the source of possible danger.

5. There are so many variations of the sources of (rationally or spiritually based or not) real potential human fears.

While some of those fears disappear, some are always present and maintained by circumstances of the life.

Baring this in mind, the question imposes itself – is there a possibility of man's “liberation from fear”?.

What this idea of freedom really represents, and how or where, man can achieve such freedom?

6. We have to consider a universal and usually forceful reaction of the living world to fears, which announce the crisis of survival.

However, in accordance with his reason, consciousness, conscience and actions a man maintains the “shrewdness of the mind”, limited by his nature of course, and overcome fears, building in this way the path of his own (relative) freedom.

What really specifies man's “freedom from fear” is result of real possibilities on the road of his efficient facing those fears, however those fears are well founded or not.

7. There are a many essential differences and discordances between the whole of the living world and the man as a “social being”.

Between them we have to worry about man's contradictions which create confrontations that could lead today not only to self-destruction of mankind, but of the whole living world.

A very important element of social behavior is the one that overcomes fears of conflicts, justifiable or not, by building trust between confronted parts.

This one is in the basis of the process of peace-making leading to humanistic fulfillment.

8. The archetype of mutual guarantee of trust based on morality and traditions through different cultures in the world is the “word of honor”, or many other similar expressions used in everyday life. In a sense of language ceremonial archetype for a final and highest word of honor, Albanians for instant, have to say (or “give”) the “Bessa”, as essential element of human mutual trust. It has to be of similar value the “final” word “i’ve said!” of some of tribe leaders of North America native Indians. People have to hold their words, – bulls are held by their horns”, the proverb is saying did its custom lose his validity, and if so, why?

Government in the name of nations signs in a very ceremonial manner mutual declarations of peace and respect.

How reliable and long-lasting are they really? Probably as much as the political, and economic background that put them in the leading position.

9. Fears that may obsess human groups can become a mass-paralysis, as well as panic that can transform into aggression of a hysterical inhuman avalanche.

Today’s political manipulations over masses, among other methods cunningly use a very well known principle of “reign with fear” (ab)using contemporary technology of mass propaganda spreading rumors, threatening repressions and many other means.

Facing this problem efficiently, systematically and in an organized manner, is a crucial condition for social security, peace and the free social and spiritual development of every man and human community as a whole.

10. Among primal expressions and reactions to the rudimental fears we can still find a very well known fear of – foreign, unknown, unfamiliar, even different – **xenophobia**.

The nature itself of this disorder is present from the beginning of human time till today in relationships of different and estranged social groups. In the irrationality of today, often hidden face of xenophobia is not just a source of fear, but a latent source of pure hatred.

As we see this kind of fear and hatred feeding on each other, they can grow uncontrollably. Depending on historical and cultural characteristics of conglomerates in societies (with “the little help” of the

manipulators on the inside as well as on the outside), this can grow to the extent of possible confrontations leading to mutual destruction!

To a certain extent we lived in South-Eastern Europe for centuries, till recently, always taking a vow – Never again! – . Visible wounds haven't healed yet, the invisible ones most probably never will. Everyday news both local and global medias give us information about xenophobia-based, “dirty” and hopelessly bloody wars destructing humankind with this crossroads of pure logic – way to synthesis, along with the nature itself, or the self-destruction, Babylon-like, of mankind...

Can we, without delay, and who do we need to turn to, in order to reach the harmony between us and Nature, through ultimate synthesis? How?

BLERIM KUQI

MINISTER OF INTERNAL AFFAIRS, PISG OF KOSOVO

BUILDING SECURITY FOR THE CITIZENS OF KOSOVO

Sincere thanks to the organizers who made it possible to have a communication channel, for sending a message regarding the efforts of the institutions of Kosovo in the aspect of human security.

Before I begin allow me to say that a contradictory phenomenon has occurred unfortunately not only in Kosovo but also in Western Balkans in the near past. While in other parts of Europe there were tendencies of unification, in the parts of Western Balkans there were tendencies of separation.

These tendencies were followed by bloody conflicts. There were many reasons, from national, economical and social, including the inability of states in transition to meet the needs of various communities, to provide collective security for communities, up to drastic violence of human rights which became more terrible by genocidal actions. So, there was a great deficit of human security in general.

Today people have understood that peace can be achieved if the individuals and consequently the communities percept that they live in a secure environment, which offers them real conditions for prosperity. Also the concept and the terminology of the security section has evolved. Lately a key role of a secure society is so-called human security which doesn't mean that we have to feel secure only physically, which is usually provided by army forcers and elements of the political section but also include the dimensions such as the economical and social sections as well the environment one as an integral part of every analysis concerning security.

As far as the efforts of the Ministry of Internal Affairs are concerned, one of the focal points is to establish and put in function the secure environment for the prosperity of the citizens in Kosovo. This can be proved also by the Declaration of the Mission of the Development Strategy of MIA which says: "Building, keeping and increasing the security for the citizens of Kosovo, in cooperation with them."

This purpose was the basis of drafting many Draft laws that constitute MIA, which can be also reflected in the ethnic composition of the staff. I say this because over 10% of the MIA staff and over 15% of the KPS staff consist of minority communities of Kosovo. In order to make the police more adjacent to the citizens, even in rural places and specific ethnic settlements we have supported the opening of police sub-stations and the establishment of Local councils of Public Security that would enable them to address more adequately the security needs of citizens.

So we are aware that without the participation of all the citizens a country cannot be considered secure and that by creating an environment where there is rule of law, should be not only acceptable but also supported by the citizens in order for the approved laws to be implemented and for the concept of the human security to be successfully realized.

At the end I want to assure you that the Ministry of Internal Affairs always base its decisions on the welfare of the citizens and I hope that this forum today is at least a small step in our challenge of increasing the quality of relations between ethnicities living in Kosovo.

THE ERA IN WHICH WE LIVE WILL BE THE ERA OF THE REVIVAL OF THE UNITED NATIONS OR IT WILL NOT EXIST

- The aim of this discussion is to call attention to the psychological, historical and political aspects of the Kosovo problem and the problem of the United Nations.

We will address several problems faced by present-day Serbia, which prevent reconciliation among the Balkan peoples: *How to achieve political universality in the world of American reductionistic hegemony, with permanent economic wars through the instrumentalisation of Islam?*

- How to understand the lack of ethnopsychological knowledge and ignorance in the political action, the position of the international community and Europe which was often maladjusted to Balkan reality? (a direct result of the unsuccessful psychological war in Kosovo)?
- What errors were made in the psychological action taken in the Balkans, from the perspective of the Serbian Diaspora?
- How to understand deliberate Confusion over the Regime and the People?
- What is the real cause, the real geopolitical context of war in Kosovo?
- Why the Western democracies excluded themselves from the Balkans conflict by obeying the orders of the Pentagon, despite the ideals of the United Nations?
- Who could now be a judge in the Balkans and the Kosovo region?
- How to Revive the Ideals of the United Nations and Reconciliation among the Balkan Peoples?

The question is how to achieve political universality in the world of American reductionistic hegemony, with permanent economic wars through the instrumentalisation of Islam? Can we talk about the in-

strumentalisation of Kosovo, the instrumentalisation of Albanians? What is the real cause, the real geopolitical context of the situation in Kosovo?

Since the time of the ancient Greeks it has been known that politics and morality are strictly separated and that they have different destinies. And it has been known since the ancient Greeks already that democracy and a “tyranny of the majority” are necessary until they become self-destructive.

To penetrate the Peninsula, establish new military bases, plunder the wealth of the soil, use qualified yet low-paid work force, build the bridge to the new “silk road” after destroying the bridges on the Danube, continue to stir up ethnic conflicts, weaken Eastern Europe economically so as to become even more dependent, get hold of the wealth of the Caspian Lake and Central Asia...

Will this big “economic project” of Zbigniew Brzezinski which is contrary to the peaceful policy pursued by the United Nations, be now facilitated?

Since the very beginning of the war in the Balkans and Kosovo, it was insisted on the effects of the conflict and not on its **causes**. Alas, to those who, in the wealth of their memory, have some knowledge about Kant’s theory, there is no need to explain why only the causes are important when one should speak about *guilt* and judge about it. Consequently, we know the main cause of a great part of that hypocritical war. According to General **Pierre-Marie Gallois**, that was the wish of the military-industrial complex of the world’s greatest power to penetrate the Peninsula; establish new military bases (like those in Grahovo in Bosnia, Krivolac in Macedonia and Bondstill in Kosovo); plunder the wealth of the region; exploit qualified yet low-paid work force; open the “bridge to the new Silk Road” by involving Turkey which is conveniently located between the Balkans and the Caucasus. And the last important aim – to take possession of the region rich in oil, gas or mines for one more century of life on Earth.

All those earthly characteristics of psychological action, cherishing an aggressive approach and reflecting a big gap in knowledge and general culture, brought about the disasters in Korea, Vietnam, Afghanistan, Cyprus, Somalia, the Great Lakes region in Africa, Nicaragua, Iraq and, recently, in Kosovo, **despite the good will of the United Nations**.

It is out of question that this wealth should not be exploited. But, this can only be done with the consent of those on whose territory it is

located and not by groups of the world's predators, at the will of American parasitic national-capitalism. **That is the real cause, the real geopolitical context of wars in the Balkans.** The rest is derived from the bribability, ambitions and inability of local leaders.

Unfortunately, massacres in almost all parts of the former Yugoslav territory, Albanian irredentism, killed or abducted soldiers and civilians on all sides are only the tragic Consequences of this main two-faced Cause.

There is only one question that is now posed to the world's democracies and the United Nations: is one American life worth more than one Iraqi, Jordanian, Syrian, Serbian or Albanian life?

How to understand the lack of ethnopsychological knowledge and ignorance in the political action, the position of the international community and Europe which was often maladjusted to Balkan reality?

The United Nations was conceived and formed on the basis of the advantages of experiencing various psychological mentalities. But NATO is not the United Nations.

Deliberate confusion over the regime and the people resulted in the hypocrisy of the so-called punishment of the Serbian regime by destroying the cities, civilian targets and hospitals. On the other side, confusion over the Albanian people and UCK leaders was also a fatal error.

Why the Western democracies excluded themselves from the Balkans conflict by obeying the orders of the Pentagon, despite the ideals of the United Nations?

It should be noted that since the arrival of the "forces of the international community", the American and other ones, in Kosovo, UN Resolution 1244 has not been implemented. Serbian churches and monasteries, were destroyed (more than 150), drugs, prostitution, arms trafficking, illegal trading of icons stolen from the churches (it is estimated that there are about 10,000 of them) and, finally, trading in human organs removed from the dead as well as from the living (hence such a great number of abducted Serbs – about one thousand).

American officers forgot the bombing of Serbia after bombing Iraq. In a way, the **United Nations were betrayed.** Like in some other countries, from which they are leaving after an armed conflict, the most powerful ones are now creating a schizophrenic climate in Serbia, dividing it into two parts: the good and bad. This is again a fatal error and psychological inability to understand the mentality of the other, at the moment when Serbia needs peace and the whole Balkan region – stability.

Who could now be a judge in the Balkans and the Kosovo region?

Neither the Serbs nor *Albanian civilians* have forgotten the bombings. The Vietnam syndrome could really occur, because in most cases the success of self-suppression, as we are reminded in the clinical world of virtual reality, can be only relative. That is the unavoidable destiny of every psychological illusion.

Apart from cassette bombs and bombs containing depleted uranium, the NATO forces also used phosphorus and napalm. By obeying the orders of the Pentagon, **despite the ideals of the United Nations**, the Western democracies excluded themselves in a way from the Balkan conflict (this error was not repeated in Iraq). Despite intellectuals, workers and students from our Serbian diaspora, who have been living in America and Western Europe for years, despite their wish to turn the page and begin the common Christian life again, despite the market and exchange needs, the feeling of bitterness will remain in their minds and in necessary co-operation in the future. Psychological suppression does not function in Balkan culture.

Disgust, which I have just mentioned, refers actually to the question of Sense: who can be trusted in this corrupt and contaminated world, which could not, or did not want to prevent the burning of the cities and destruction of schools and hospitals. Who could now be a judge in this region? Americans, Europeans, Russians? NATO or UNITED NATIONS?

How to Revive the Ideals of the United Nations and Reconciliation among the Balkan People? Can we imagine today the United Nations free of the USA domination in the new paradigm of multipolarity?

If we save the United Nations of the unilateral domination, than we'll be able to save every other part of the world.

Hoping that this is possible, one event is probably more than symbolic: in a NATO country, in Greece, on the square which is well known from all history textbooks, like in the empoisoned time of the **ancient Athenians**, the economic wars at the end of the 20th century (the problem of Kosovo is also in this category of the economic wars) were condemned loudly and fearlessly by the free, un-bribeable and morally straight world.

We predict what is now needed in the Balkans: the preservation of the civil peace and spiritual unity of our peoples; eradication of the corruption of the political classes; adequate channelling of the national sentiment; solving of the historical problem between Serbs and Albanians. Faced with the persistent hypocrisy of the political world, one should not

impatiently look for the justice of emotions, that is the weakness of the Balkan people.

BUT WE MUST MAKE THE DIFFERENCE BETWEEN POLITICAL AND PSYCHOLOGICAL RECONCILIATION. In our Serbian estimation the independent Kosovo would become the American military base and nothing else. The Albanians will become the *infanterie colonniale* for the future wars. Politically, the Serbs will fight for the Kosovo Serbian territory and for their monasteries. But, the psychological reconciliation among the peoples will come slowly in any case.

We need the United Nations with Russians and not the NATO in the Balkans. There won't be any solution for Kosovo if we make the confusion between NATO and United Nations.

Let us quote Malraux that the era in which we live will be the era of the revival of the United Nations or it will not exist.

Le siècle où nous vivons sera celui des Nation Unies, ou il ne sera pas (André Malraux).

MELITA RICHTER

PROFESSOR, UNIVERSITY OF TRIESTE, ITALY

LESSONS LEARNED AND THE KOSOVO PROBLEM RESOLUTION

As expressed in the Short Statement which accompanied the meeting in Prizren, the objective of the members of the Study Group of ECPD is to emphasize the need of human security for individuals irrespectively of ethnic origins, gender, age, social status or religious denomination. The main focus of the Group at this Conference is on regional peace and prosperity. This meeting not only engages discussions and support on solving the conflict in this region of the Balkans but also for peace and prosperity within Europe. Therefore it is crucial that during this meeting there is an exchange of ideas amongst the participants present today.

During WW2, we saw that even in the worst crisis, society could turn from a completely devastated and destroyed Europe towards reconciliation and the establishment of new European values. This was clearly seen in the relationship that France and Germany had after the war.

In this stream of thought I am going to try and illustrate another solution that dealt with a post war period. The example is the border region agreement, Alto Adige and Sud Tyrol.

In 1946, Italy and Austria accepted a compromise solution, the Gruber - De Gasperi Agreement, named after the Austrian Minister of Foreign Affairs and the Italian Prime Minister (and former member of the Austro-Hungarian parliament before WWI). The German-speaking people were granted special rights. However, instead of setting up a separate province for the German- and Ladin-speaking population, De Gasperi diluted minority self-government by granting an "Autonomy Statute" to a single Trentino-Alto Adige/Südtirol region (originally called in German Trentino-Tiroler Etschland) in which Italian speakers were in the majority.

The Alto Adige Model could never be introduced to Kosovo, but we could say that there are similarities between the two regions. The similarities involve history, civilization, and the geopolitical location, but the main similarity is that the conflict is happening on one territory between two different ethnic backgrounds with surrounding national borders.

At the end of the WW2, the territory of Alto Adige was scared by fascism and its colonial policy. An example of forced policy decision-making was the forced implementation of the Italian language, modifying family names, as well as police brutality and forced labor camps in Bozen.

The war left behind a dark picture, maybe as dark as the current conflict in Kosovo. But as in every conflict an agreement was established. Nothing was solved with the agreement, but it created a framework of transnational dimension and established the domain of European roles.

The agreement consists of one page of a very simple text divided in three parts dealing with the following

1. Recognition of the special status of the region.

The right to study in the ones own mother tongue.

All administrative bodies, institutions, and toponomy need to be bilingual

2. Self-Government.

3. Permanent consultation between Italian and Austrian governments, particularly on:

- The right of free circulation of people in Tyrol and the trans-frontier cooperation,
- The acknowledgment of the degrees and the university diplomas.

As said before, nothing was solved by the arrangement, but the process was open and it gave time and space to both political elites to create and cultivate the public opinion in the transitional sense. Ambassador Wolfgang Wolte was discussing the Marshall Plan that was declared somewhat 60 years ago and stated that, “You need political leaders who are strong enough. The promotion of the exceptional political platform started from top leaders”. In relation to this saying, De Gasperi was the strong political figure of this region. I believe that one of the main problems in Kosovo is the lack of strong political leaders, both on the Serbian an Albanian side. It is very difficult finding leaders who are want to tackle the real political problems and who are willing to compromise.

Regardless of the final status of Kosovo, nothing will be solved immediately. In either case, Kosovo will neither be a “final state” nor “the end” but the beginning of new process. This process means searching for shared solutions inside the society. Such solutions are based on the concept of trust. As ambassador Albert Maes underlined in his discussion, trust is crucial for the interethnic dialogue, “you need it even if you have affirmed role of law”.

Whatever the final outcome may be, Kosovo will need to set an agenda. The future status of Kosovo will need to include the following:

- For the peaceful development and prosperity, Kosovo needs to have good relations with neighbors.
- Freedom of movement for people and goods of the region and the abolishment of visas for EU and for neighbor-states.
- Recognition of multiple cultural roots and plural identity of Kosovo.
- Respect for the symbolic, cultural and religious representation of the other.
- Recognition and the effective guarantee of the citizens rights, the right to return, and not to be expelled from their homes.
- Recognition and guarantee of the minority rights according to international parameters.
- Impulses to the initiatives of civil societies for reconciliation of different ethnic entities.
- Economic assistance.
- A real need in urban development. The citizens of the decisions should become more glorified that that the ethnic belonging and quantitative conformation.
- The institution of the commission for Truth and Reconciliation whose task would be to deal with questions of disappeared persons and justice for all victims.

Prizren is historically a multiethnic and multicultural city. Its geographical location best describes the diversity of this region. My advice for the future generations is to keep discussing and believing in a diverse society. Communication is the best tool. But today we live in a Kosovo where words are easily said, but actions and living conditions are rather different. We cannot speak of a multicultural Kosovo when people live in ethnic enclaves, where schools and education are different depending on the ethnic identity. Children only go to school with other children who have to same ethnic background. Historic and religious monuments have been destroyed as result monuments are now under foreign military protection. Multiculturalism can only be reached if people live equally free, where people get the same opportunities, rights and freedom of movement. The current situation in Kosovo shows that we are far from these goals and this should be discussed.

Academic Paskal Milo rightfully mentioned that history books in schools have been modified and some historical facts have been erased. The educational system is wrongfully interpreting history and as a result increasing ethnic tensions. Misinforming young students about the history of their land and ethnicities could be very dangerous for the years to come.

Another ongoing conflict that is worth mentioning in relation to the Kosovo problem is the conflict between the Israelis and Palestinians. Mr. Dan Bar-On who is a Israeli historian and his Palestinian college worked together on creating a report. The study was based on 300 Palestinians and 300 Israelis. The project started in 2000 and was especially aimed at gathering life stories of Jews and Arabs who lived in the same neighborhood prior to the 1948 war. The information was published in a book called “Shared History Booklet” it included personal experiences and peoples interpretations of the period dating back to 1917, to the Declaration of Balfour, the war in 1948, and the First and Second Intifada.

In Prof. Dan Bar-On book, the accounts given by the Palestinian families were totally different to those given by the Israeli families. The narration given by the two opposing sides is contradictory and relative. In this context it can be said that it is unrealistic to have “one history” and “one truth”. The book was handed out to various students, both Jews and Arabs. On the left page it was written in Hebrew and on the right page in Arabic. The students were not asked to agree or disagree with the other side but rather to see how people lived in their everyday life. It was intended to open their minds and see things maybe in a different perspective. Hatred is indoctrinated at a young age and therefore it is crucial to receive a good, fair and unbiased education. Such projects are important for a good upbringing and maybe we should take into consideration similar teaching methods.

I remember the days of old Yugoslavia when I was walking through the streets of Prizren and witnessing multiculturalism and multiethnicity hand in hand. The present situation in Kosovo is rather different. For people living outside of Kosovo like ourselves it is hard to really grasp the sentiments and grudges that people hold. What really matters is the moral of the people living in Kosovo and how willing they are to collaborate and communicate with one another. Academics like Mr. Hasan Hoti who is the Director in charge of Management and Education of the Municipality of Prizren also believes that dialogue is the only solution.

Positive change can only happen if people are ready and willing.

CARINA KEKÄLE

EDUCATIONAL DIRECTOR, SWEDISH NATIONAL INSTITUTE, FINLAND

EDUCATION AND RECONCILIATION

I am not going to touch the topic of the final status of Kosovo. I am sure there will be one. The only small requirement I personally have for the final situation for all the West Balkans is that it must be *better* than the current situation, *better for the people that live here*; otherwise the developments are futile and unfortunate. While we today gather in Prizren, a city of so many beautiful bridges, I would like to point out the fact that at least for broader and more dangerous rivers the bridges are built from both sides at the same time. Co-operation and will to compromise are thus necessary. And, to quote Forrest Gump, “that is all I have to say about that”.

The international institution that I am mostly acquainted with, and that according to my opinion also has a very high relevance in the situation of the West Balkans, is the University for Peace. An university has two main tasks: to *search for universal truths*, as the name “university” implies, and to *give the highest education* based on the latest research. I will explain the potential relevance of this for the region, and for peace and development, briefly.

While there in many areas are no real, absolute “truths” such as there are in mathematical sciences, the search for universality is still very relevant. It teaches the systematic thought of finding whether something is a random, single event or a systematic pattern. I have been walking the streets of Prizren the best part of the day yesterday, and people have clearly been able to see that I am a foreigner, even it is maybe more difficult for them to guess from where I come. Nevertheless, nobody of the maybe 100 or 1000 persons I have met or walked by have shown any hostility or fear towards me, no bad words, no suspicious faces, no moving to the other edge of the sidewalk when I walked past. There seems to be a systematic pattern of tolerance and acceptance towards me among the locals. Then, if somebody suddenly would harm or pester me, that would be an anomaly and not a typical feature of the people. This is what “universal”

truths mean to me: to differentiate between the typical and the deviating. A country is not completely bad if one politician states something stupid in public, and the citizens of a town should not be punished or isolated if one person commits a crime. This is the level of “universality” that the human sciences can teach, statistical probability thinking on the face of objective evidence, and it should in its own way increase tolerance between groups of people.

The highest education means a way of thinking critically. Partly this has to do with making a distinction between a pattern and an anomaly, partly this has to do with taking nothing as granted. Matters do not have to be as they are only because they have been so for a long time; everything can be changed, and a critical thinker can maybe see more possibilities and directions than an uncritical thinker. University education also suggests some patterns and methods for solutions that have worked elsewhere. Amartya Sen, in his book “Development as Freedom”, explains how basic development creates better individual possibilities and individual freedom that again can create wealth and more possibilities for the whole nation. Even if he does not necessarily mean that university education would automatically lead to this positive “development”, I believe that a critical way of thinking and a toolbox of methods and good practices would lead to more opportunities for improvement, development, freedom and peace.

It is quite unnecessary for foreigners to speculate on the future and attempt to build a country; the local people must in the long run be the ones who develop their own direction according to their own cultural traits and political will. For this reason, I believe in the idea of University for Peace. I hope that everybody gathered here will support the idea of bringing people from all nations, all religions and all courtiers together to raise the educational level and exchange ideas among representatives of the local people through the University of Peace, and thus we for our build the wealth, health and tolerance so that tomorrow for West Balkans is better than the yesterday.

ORHAN KUBATI

PROFESSOR AT UNIVERSITY OF PRISHTINA

OPEN ONE SCHOOL AND YOU WILL CLOSE TWO PRISION

Respected Mr. Takehiro, respected chair members, dear ladies and gentlemen.

It is my pleasure to take part at this very important and respected conference.

I saw it necessary to start this statement with the words of great Albanian illuminists who raise the problem of spreading education and knowledge on the level of significant problems of liberation and emancipation of a nation. A philosopher was very right to have said: "Open one school and you will close two prisons."

The people of Kosovo in the past have had many obstacles in education, but this population did not lose hope and every possibility created in the past it used it in the best way to get educated.

Not wanting to go back to the politics of the past, I think that it is necessary to remember the unseen apartheid of the last decade of the 20th century, then a fascist system closed by force the State education institutions of all levels for the population of Kosovo, mainly for the Albanian population. They were forced to leave the institutions that they themselves built, not only this but they also usurped the funds of the taxpayers of Kosovo. An entire decade the population had to self-organize itself, by self-financing and with the support of Kosovo Diaspora in very difficult conditions continued education in all levels.

Kosovars are aware that the shortest road to integration into the EU is the appropriate education. Equal education regardless of nationality, religion or race is in the benefit of all, because by being equal we will contribute to the economic development and social welfare of the population of Kosovo.

Human-intellectual resources of the population dominated by young people and natural resources of Kosovo with the support of international community and with the penetration of the foreign capital in the free and

secure market of Kosovo would guarantee a contemporary economical development and at the same time the Kosovar youth would avoid negative influences, because the high unemployment rate of young people presents a big danger in their taking a right orientation.

World globalization lays down very meaningful tasks but now the fate of the Kosovar youth that is being educated in freedom on European principles and values such as the Bologna Convention signed by University of Prishtina, the material and educational and scientific support of western economically developed countries and USA, the population of Kosovo is confirming its road into European integration by showing great interest to join the non-governmental European and world institutions such as: educational, cultural, artistic, health and sport associations.

In these aims not only education, sport and health...but also the small Kosovo business is having various and great difficulties by the European Union.

From the reality of the Kosovo's youth and my own experience as a leader of health and economical institutions, I can say that the EU has ghettoized the population of Kosovo in report to Europe, only Kosovars do not enjoy the freedom of movement throughout Europe.

I am aware that this forum doesn't have the power of the lawgiver but, dear ladies and gentlemen taking part in this meeting of the ECPD, respecting highly all of your present here, I demand and ask you to use your influence in the European and world decision-making circles to alleviate the free movement of the people of Kosovo to Europe.

This population with its ancient history from the times of George Castriota Scanderbeg and the times of the Illyrians has proved its European pertaining.

At the end, once again I express my satisfaction of taking part at this meeting and I am prepared to support concretely the ECPD program.

PASQUALE BALDOCCI

AMBASSADOR, PROFESSOR OF FACULTY FOR DIPLOMACY, GORIZIA, ITALY

OBSERVATIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS ON RECONCILIATION AND HUMAN SECURITY ISSUES

The meeting “National Reconciliation and Human Security”, organized by the European Center for Peace and Development and held in Prizren on June 16 and 17, represents a most valuable contribution to the efforts of the United Nations, the European Union, NGOs and other associations to secure peace, development and prosperity in the Western Balkans through a first, essential step of achieving a long lasting a positive settlement of the Kosovo crisis.

The lively, large and sometimes emotional debates between officers of the local administration, diplomats, University teachers, scholars and researchers, religious leaders, journalists, businessmen and representatives of international organizations have underlined the deep and sincere concern of the European civil society for the future status of Kosovo, a fundamental issue in the development of the Balkans in peace, security and stability.

A concrete path towards disengagement, cooperation, consolidation of a multi-ethnic society based on freedom, democracy and equal opportunities should not be limited to the political field, but must imply a complex and elaborate frame of economical, social and cultural innovations appealing to an active and responsible involvement of the civil society, the role of which is the most reliable guaranty to the implementation of any program of ethnical reconciliation on a firm and durable basis. In particular, human security largely depends on joint efforts to promote a full participation of all ethnical groups in promoting economical growth, monetary stability, education at all levels, health, agriculture, industry, environment, energy resourcing in order to eliminate poverty, social and political discrimination, underdevelopment and underemployment in general. The active and well equipped ECPD Center in Prizren, where I delivered a lecture on the European Union, provides a series of concrete opportunities to lay the foundations of a new inter-ethnic community in Kosovo, unavoidable to reach a stable settlement.

As well as in other areas of the European Union, differences in ethnicity, culture, religion and language are not a hindrance but a relevant asset in the Balkans in creating a new multi-national culture in the XXI century Europe. Consequently, the primary role of inter-ethnic cultural relations should not be underestimated and profitable results can be obtained at Universities and school levels. Furthermore, a constructive and open-minded use of media would not fail in performing this fundamental goal.

A better and widespread knowledge of the history of the Balkan states, as an integral part of European history would undoubtedly help promoting a European political consciousness among the people, giving a strong impulse to their unavoidable integration in the European Union. A definitive reconciliation in peace, democracy and respect of human rights can only be achieved when all Balkan states are full EU members.

The next months could be decisive in approaching a settlement of the crisis. The Contact Group has suggested around of negotiations held by a troika formed by the European Union, the United States and Russia. A report on the issue of this initiative will be submitted to the Secretary General of the United Nations not later than December 10. Meanwhile, the Contact Group will convene on September 27 in New York a meeting to evaluate the outcoming of the negotiations. Consequently, the ECPD conference in Belgrade on October 26 and 27 will be in a position to examine and analyze this attempt to overcome the deadlock of the Ahtisaari plan.

FRANÇOIS PEREZ

PROGRAM COORDINATOR OF THE INTER-RELIGIOUS DIALOGUE PROGRAM,
NORWEGIAN CHURCH AID¹

HISTORY OF THE INTER-RELIGIOUS DIALOGUE IN KOSOVO

1. ESTABLISHING THE INTER-RELIGIOUS COUNCIL OF KOSOVO

Greater direct inter-religious cooperation between religious representatives of the Islamic Community, the Serbian Orthodox Church (SOC) and the Catholic Church, the largest religious communities in Kosovo, began with the Conference of Religious Leaders in Vienna on March 18, 1999, shortly before the NATO bombing and the armed conflict in Kosovo. It was an eleventh hour attempt by religious leaders to prevent bloodshed and the horrors of war looming over the entire region. At the conference in Vienna, Bishop Artemije of Raska and Prizren, on behalf of the Serbian Orthodox Church, Mufti Cemajl Morina (Islamic Community of Kosovo) and the late Roman Catholic Bishop Marko Sopi sent a powerful appeal for respect for the rights of all communities in Kosovo, condemning violence, interethnic hatred and the destruction of religious sites. This conference was organized by Rabbi Arthur Schneier from the United States of America and his organization *The Appeal of Consciousness* under the sponsorship of the Government of the Republic of Austria.

After the armed conflict in Kosovo, which ended in June 1999 by UN Security Council Resolution 1244 and the arrival of NATO peacekeeping forces, cooperation among the religious representatives continued. On April 13, 2000, on the occasion of a visit by representatives of the Inter-religious Council of Bosnia-Herzegovina to Kosovo, the Inter-religious Council of Kosovo was officially formed. The founding of the Council was marked by the signing of a declaration on tolerance by Bishop Artemije, Mufti Rexhep Boja and Roman Catholic Bishop Marko Sopi. The ceremo-

¹ François Perez was not able to attend the Meeting but he sent to the organizer (ECPD) summarized "History of the Inter-religious Dialogue in Kosovo" approving it to be published in the ECPD publication related to the Kosovo meeting. Additional information on the Norwegian Church Aid could be found on NCA website: www.nca.no



From the Inter-religious conference in Vienna, March 16-18, 1999 (from left to right: Mufti Camajl Morina, Bishop Artemije, late Bishop Marko Sopi)

nial signing took place in the presence of then UNMIK chief Dr. Bernard Kouchner. The restoration of inter-religious dialogue and forming of this Council was especially contributed to by the organization World Conference of Religions for Peace headed by Mr. William Wendley, who had been working on establishing communications among the religious representatives in Kosovo and Metohija prior to the war. In the joint declaration all three sides most sharply condemned violence against innocent civilians during and after the war, committing themselves to work together on the building of a democratic society and respect for the rights of all citizens. They also expressed the desire to work together on the restoration and protection of all religious sites in Kosovo and Metohija.

After the formation of the Inter-religious Council of Kosovo several meetings of religious representatives from Kosovo and Metohija took place with the aim of furthering cooperation and support for interethnic reconciliation and tolerance. Gatherings were held in **Amman, Jordan (May 2000)** and **Oslo, Norway (September 2001)**.

2. MEETING IN OSLO

The meeting of Kosovo religious leaders in Oslo (September 2001) was organized and sponsored by NCA. The outcome of the meeting was the endorsement of a plan of action to promote dialogue and the process of reconciliation among the inhabitants of Kosovo. The implementation of the plan was to be overseen by the Kosovo Inter-Religious Council, primarily through its Working Committee. The signing of the agreement was shown on local TV as well as in local newspapers in Pristina and Belgrade.

There was a great deal of optimism after the meeting in Oslo. Repeatedly the leaders stated that it was the best meeting they have had together. As a follow-up of Oslo a seminar was held in Ohrid (FYR Macedonia) in May 2002 to train key personal from each religious community in how to arrange dialogue meetings focusing on peace and reconciliation in their respective communities. The seminar was somehow amputated because some participants had problems with their UNMIK passports. Some Kosovo Albanian religious leaders used this situation and withdrew their representatives. The situation illustrated some of the tension between the partners.

3. DIALOGUE MEETINGS

At this period, meetings continued, at the local level, between the representatives of the working groups of the Inter-religious Council until 2003 thanks to joint efforts of WCRP and Norwegian Church Aid (NCA) which opened a permanent office in Pristina in April 2001 and decided to joint their efforts to help to facilitate the dialogue. Two advisers of each religious leader were chosen to form a Working Committee. The religious leaders gave their blessing to these meetings. UN, OSCE and specially KFOR gave their contribution to the dialogue significantly.

A number of other dialogue meetings took place later in 2002 in each community gathering between 20 to 200 participants, men and women. The meetings focused on two main questions:

- Is it possible to have a dialogue in Kosovo?
- How would one like Kosovo to develop?

There were no representatives from other religious communities attending the meetings because the aim was to prepare dialogue with each of the communities. The dialogue meetings were therefore called “pre-dialogue”.

In February 2003, the last meeting of the Working Committee was held. The meeting was heated with accusations that nothing had been achieved after the *Plan of action* signed in Oslo. The participants concluded that they no longer wanted to meet unless their senior leaders could meet in Kosovo. The Serbian Orthodox Church particularly objected to some irresponsible statements from the Catholic side that her monasteries in Kosovo were in fact “Catholic monasteries”. Beside other disagreements the dialogue was marred by lack of leadership and insufficient commitment by the religious leaders to actively work on implementation of agreed principles.

4. MARCH 2004 VIOLENCE

The religious communities and their leaders failed to issue a joint condemnation against the March 2004 violence in which 30 Serbian Orthodox churches were damaged or destroyed. Each community undertook certain steps to condemn the violence, but as often before, it was a case of too little, too late. In Kosovo, the senior religious leaders continued to accuse each other for not doing enough in the aftermath of the violence, which made the rift between the communities in summer and autumn 2004 even deeper. The Provisional Institutions of Self Government of Kosovo allocated 3,7 millions euros to start the work. However, with the withdrawal of Bishop Artemije and of the representative of the Serbian Institute for protection of cultural monuments from Belgrade, the work of the Committee for Reconstruction was suspended and only partial works on one or two monasteries were completed by the end of 2004 (by SOC itself).

5. RECOMMENDATIONS OF THE ECRL MEETING IN LEUVEN (BELGIUM)

The lack of progress in the reconstruction of religious buildings was discussed in the European Council for Religious Leaders (ECRL), chaired by Bishop Staalsett, in Leuven in November 2004. A special session of the ECRL was devoted to Kosovo with the participation of some representatives of the Serbian Orthodox Church, the Islamic Community and the Catholic Church, and UNMIK. The Serbian Orthodox Church was represented among others by Bishop Irinej (Bulovic) and Bishop Atanasije (Jevtic), a member of the Holy Synod’s committee for Kosovo. Bishop Ar-

temije cancelled his participation at last minute and his auxiliary bishop Teodosije could not attend the meeting without support of his Diocesan Bishop. The Catholic Church was represented by Bishop Mark Sopi and the Islamic Community by Mufti Naim Ternava. A statement on Kosovo was issued at the end of the meeting, and the Serbian Orthodox Church indicated its willingness to reconsider participation in the implementation committee. The participants in the meeting endorsed the following recommendations:

- Kosovo has a profound need for concrete inter-religious efforts which demonstrate commitment to reconciliation
- To work together for the establishment of a new environment of dialogue, mutual trust and sincere cooperation
- To create all necessary conditions and an atmosphere to enable the safe return of refugees
- To rebuild Islamic and Christian religious sites would give hope for a common future

6. RELIGIOUS DIALOGUE AT A STANDSTILL

Immediately after the meeting in Leuven, on 30 November 2004, NCA called a Working Committee to follow-up upon the recommendations made. Unfortunately only representatives of the Islamic Community and the Catholic Church responded positively and met to discuss how these communities could help to facilitate the return of refugees and the reconstruction of destroyed religious sites. The Serbian Orthodox side failed to join these discussions due to growing misunderstandings between the Synod of Bishops and Bishop Artemije on several issues. At a meeting held on 2 December 2004, Bishop Artemije reiterated to NCA his personal stand not participate to the dialogue with other religious communities arguing that it had produced no concrete results.

7. NEW POSITIVE DEVELOPMENTS

The improvement of the political climate during the first months of 2005 lead the Serbian Orthodox Church to demonstrate greater engagement and dialogue despite the unconstructive stand of its local representative.

On March 2005 Patriarch Pavle in the name of the Synod of Bishops signed a Memorandum of understanding with Kosovo Ministry of Culture regarding the reconstruction of Serbian Orthodox holy sites destroyed during the March riots.

A delegation appointed by the Synod of Bishops of the SOC visited the USA from March 25 to April 16, 2005, and met with UN and US officials. During its trip and on its return the delegation emphasized the commitment of the SOC in inter-faith dialogue and suggested that an inter-confessional conference be organized in Kosovo, in the Pec Patriarchate Monastery, which is the spiritual center of the Serbian Orthodox Church. At a joint meeting on 18 April, the Synod and the Assembly of Bishops endorsed the proposals and appointed Bishop Teodosije as the official representative of the SOC for the resumption of dialogue with other religious communities and in the commission for the reconstruction of Serbian Orthodox religious sites in Kosovo.

Upon the initiative of French General de Kermabon, KFOR Commander, senior leaders of the three majority religious communities, Mufti Ternava, Bishop Theodosije and Bishop Sopi, met in HQ KFOR on 16 June 2005 and 9 August 2005 for a common lunch. Prime minister Bajram Kosumi and Principal Deputy SRSB Larry Rossin attended the meeting.

All participants agreed that tolerance is a common value and emphasized the need of dialogue between the communities, and agreed that such meetings have to take place in the near future on a regular basis to ease a better mutual understanding and a confidence building process.

8. AN ENCOURAGING SIGNAL: SENIOR RELIGIOUS LEADERS OF KOSOVO AGREE IN TIRANA TO HOLD AN INTERFAITH CONFERENCE ON PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE AND DIALOGUE

An additional encouraging signal came from the 2nd annual Conference of the South East Europe Inter-religious Network (SEEN) held in Tirana in November 2005. It gathered more than 50 senior religious leaders from the Western Balkans including the senior leaders from Kosovo. In its final communiqué the conference stated to stand in solidarity in supporting the religious leaders of Kosovo as they move forward in inter-religious dialogue and cooperation and supporting their joint initiative to convene in Kosovo early in 2006. During the conference the three senior leaders of Kosovo confirmed their willingness to participate to the interfaith conference to be held in 2006 in the Pec Patriarchate Monastery at the invitation of the Serbian Orthodox Church in organization with Norwegian Church Aid.

It was agreed that the goal of the Conference would be to provide an opportunity for the leaders and senior representatives of the Churches,

Orthodox and Catholic, and of the Islamic community of Kosovo to discuss key issues shared by the three communities and to identify desired joint initiatives to promote peace, mutual respect, common life and cooperation through an institutionalized form of dialogue and concrete project activities.

Initially to be held on 30 and 31st January 2006, the conference had been postponed due to the sudden deaths in January of Catholic Bishop Mark Sopi and President Rugova. Finally the Interfaith conference was scheduled for 2-3 May 2006 at Pec Patriarchate Monastery.

9. THE INTERFAITH CONFERENCE ON PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE AND DIALOGUE FINALLY TAKE PLACE

The following statement was adopted by the Conference:

“On May 2–3, 2006 the leaders and senior representatives of the Serbian Orthodox Church, the Roman Catholic Church, the Islamic Community of Kosovo, the Protestant Evangelical Church and the Jewish Community gathered at the historical Pec Patriarchate Monastery for an Interfaith Conference on Peaceful Coexistence and Dialogue.

The Conference was held at the initiative of religious representatives in Kosovo, hosted by the Serbian Orthodox Church, and organized and sponsored by Norwegian Church Aid.

On behalf of his Holiness Patriarch Pavle, the Conference was opened by his Eminence Metropolitan Amfilohije of Montenegro and the Littoral. The opening ceremony was attended by representatives of the International Community, local authorities and other dignitaries.

Gratitude is herein expressed to those who helped facilitate this Conference, notably: The sisterhood of the Pec Patriarchate Monastery, the brotherhood of Decani Monastery, the staff of the Kosovo and Metohija Office of the Serbian Orthodox Church, the international moderators, KFOR, and in particular the Italian contingent at the Pec Patriarchate, UNMIK and local municipal authorities.

The goal of the Conference was to provide an opportunity for the respective leaders of the religious communities to discuss key issues and values shared by their communities, and to identify desired joint initiatives to promote reconciliation and peace, mutual respect and acceptance, common life and cooperation through an institutionalized form of dialogue and concrete project activities.

Therefore, we, the religious leaders, are convinced that hatred and war represent defeat and tragedy for all, while reconciliation and forgiveness lead to freedom for all and for everyone. A person who hates is never free. True freedom exists in serving God by serving every human person regardless of their faith, nationality and every other adherence.

Faith in the God of peace, justice and love deem it unworthy only to tolerate one another as a “necessary evil”. Neither is it enough as persons and communities to merely co-exist one *next* to the other. Rather, we are invited by our faith and conscience to live one *with* the other. Ultimately, we desire and pray that we be enabled to live one *for* the other. In so doing, we respect the identity and dignity of every person and every community by accepting the principle of unity in diversity.

In coming to terms with the past we acknowledge that all communities have suffered. We express sorrow for one another’s suffering, praying that this suffering will no longer be a stumbling block. We must move towards an open future with interaction and profound responsibility for each other before God.

We condemn the destruction of all churches, mosques, cemeteries and other religious sites, and we rejoice in the restoration process, which is now under way and we anticipate its completion. We appeal to the wider community to join us in our endeavour to rebuild not only our religious sites, but also to rebuild our lives, our hearts and our minds.

As religious leaders and representatives, we commit ourselves to the following:

- To hold regular meetings between religious communities at the level of senior religious leaders, between the advisors in the Working Committee and at the municipal level;
- To intensify inter-religious dialogue and cooperation;
- To call upon all to contribute towards the betterment of life and prosperity in order to help facilitate the return process of all displaced persons;
- To promote exchange between religious communities, such as: visits to religious sites, exchange of lectures between theological faculties, as well as enabling the Seminary of St. Cyril and Methodius to resume its place in Prizren;
- To invite the media to communicate our shared inter-ethnic and inter-religious values;
- To facilitate communication and exchange of information between the religious communities: For instance, the compilation of a common address book;

- To continue engaging as responsible religious leaders in the drafting process on the Law on Religion; and
- To establish a seminar at the Nansen Academy in Lillehammer, Norway in order to strengthen the local religious leaders in their commitment to peace and reconciliation.

In conclusion, we state that Kosovo is our common home and we commit ourselves to preserving it as a common inheritance for future generations.

The next conference will be hosted by the Islamic Community of Kosovo, in Pristina during this present year, 2006”.

10. FOLLOW-UP OF THE CONFERENCE MET SET-BACKS

The follow-up of the conference met a number of setbacks. The first meeting of the working committee scheduled for 14 June 2006 and supposed to be hosted by the Islamic community in Pristina could not take place. The monk appointed by the Conference to represent the SOC in the working committee had decided in the meantime to leave monastic life. To overcome this, NCA received recommendation to seek approval from the Synod for his replacement. The Synod approved the appointment of a new representative but Bishop Artemije refused to give his blessing arguing that the Conference was held without its consent and accordingly he did not feel obliged by its decisions. The result was that the working committee could not meet to prepare the next conference to be hosted by the Islamic community in Pristina in November 2006.

At this session of 9 October 2006 the Synod decided to appoint the delegation consisting of Bishop Irinej Bulovic (head of delegation), Metropolitan Amfilohi and Bishop Teodosije provided the latter received blessing from Bishop Artemije, to represent the SOC at the conference scheduled by the Islamic Community on 14-15 November 2006 in Pristina.

At the same time, the Synod made known that the dates proposed by the Islamic Community were not suitable for the SOC delegation and that NCA should contact Bishop Irinej Bulovic about proposal for new dates.

End of April 2007 was then suggested by Bishop Irinej Bulovic but this date was finally never confirmed.

At the meeting held in Belgrade on 6 June 2007, Metropolitan Amfiloje, newly elected member of the Synod, confirmed the willingness of the SOC to pursue the dialogue with other religious communities. Depending upon the development of the political situation the Metropoli-

tan stated that the conference could take place in September or during autumn.

At another meeting held in Belgrade on 7 September 2007 the Metropolitan reiterated the willingness of the SOC to pursue the dialogue but recognized that he saw no chance to do it currently because of the recurrent opposition of Bishop Artemije.

In this constellation there is very little chance that an Interfaith Conference with participation of the three majority religious communities will be made possible before the end of 2007. Much will depend now of the political developments related to the status issue.



*Chairmanship of the Study Group Meeting, from the right to the left:
H.E. Ambassador Tadashi Nagai, Christine Samandari-Hakim, H.E. Ambassador Takehiro Togo,
H.E. Sir James Mancham and Kuqi Blerim*

CHAIRMAN'S CLOSING REMARKS

H.E. TAKEHIRO TOGO

Distinguished Guests, Ladies and Gentlemen,

ECPD International Permanent Study Group on National Reconciliation, Ethnic and Religious Tolerance has completed its work in Prizren, Kosovo. The meeting was held at the time when the future of the status of Kosovo is under scrutiny, and the general atmosphere was fraught with political imminence. But the deliberation at the sessions of the Study Group were carried out with overall spirit of understanding and shared responsibility, in spite of occasional expression of heightened emotions.

I am grateful for the participation of many representatives of UNMIK, OSCE, Provisionary Institutions of Self Government of Kosovo, Municipality of Prizren, Business Association of Prizren, leaders of the Religious world, guests and observers. Their active participation in the discussions added important weight to our sessions.

It was stressed that differences of ethnicity, culture and languages in the Balkans are not hindrance but valuable asset which should be given full recognition in the process of reconciliation in the West Balkan Region. Reconciliation cannot be realized in a short period of time and still requires a long and patient process. In view of integration of Europe to which sooner or later all the West Balkan countries and entities will be joining, and of the fact that there is goodwill to assist the solution of difficult problems still pending in the Region through UN and other international organizations, all out efforts should be continued so that all peoples of the Balkan Region should regain a respectable place in the world through cooperation and common sense of fraternity in a new setting.

It was agreed that, in the process of reconciliation, concept of human security can play an important role, and that in every country and region of the West Balkan Region, it should be firmly established in all spheres of life for the sake of ensuring human rights and human development of individuals, which will be the basis of stability and security in all states, leading to general peace and stability not only in the Balkans but also in

Europe as a whole. Protection of people and their basic human rights and freedom requires coordinated efforts of states, international organizations and NGOs in partnership.

For this purpose, the Study Group discussed various aspects of human security and agreed to work out necessary framework to prepare for the next Conference on October 26 and 27, in Belgrade, for preparing concrete plans and projects for ensuring human security in cooperation with UN organizations and other relevant organizations. This year's Conference will make a solid ground work for the concrete formulation of projects for reconciliation, and on the basis of it, the Conference in 2008 will produce concrete result by making recommendations for implementation of the plans and projects for reconciliation in the Balkans.

It was agreed that the Conference 2007 will be devoted to a detailed discussion of the importance of the principles implicit in human security as an instrument for the achievement of reconciliation in each individual country or specific area and in the Balkan region as a whole, so that a concrete scheme is prepared to better identify problems and tasks to be carried out for the formulation of plans and projects through collaboration with governments, regional administration and all other legitimate organizations, in order to meet the needs and special requirements for the individual cases and situations.

A special emphasis is placed on Kosovo. However, in the light of the present sensitive situation in the lead in to the finalization of the status of Kosovo, the IPSG considers that this vitally important issue to both Kosovo and Serbia is beyond the scope of its mandate in its deliberations and discussion in Prizren. This way endorsed without stopping the free flow of opinions and statements by local experts and non-members of IPSG. The position of the IPSG has been outlined in a short statement distributed to all participants, which was commented on by participants and generally adopted. Views from different sides were noted. There were also a numbers significant contributions by local experts and officers including Kosovo Ministers of Health, Culture, Sport, Education, lawyers and spokespersons of religious affiliations, as well as academic interventions that called attention to the need to emphasize the development a critical acumen in educational institutions in which there is a reflection on current knowledge, scientific opinion and the search for universal truth. Solutions were addressed in an analytical fashion with consideration of history and future directions; with respect to an examination of the real cause of the Balkan conflict and not just the symptoms; maladjustment of the thinking of the international community to Balkan reality; the approach of a small

European nation to education of young people with a link to the Balkans. These are serious challenges and present significant difficulties and each aspect has to be addressed at the appropriate level. Regional cooperation is a crucial element for stability, which implies that inter-country links cut by conflicts must be re-established.

Our attention has been focused on the importance of human security and the prospects of a brighter future for regional development through cooperation stressing the fundamental necessity to avoid violence and military conflict in the region. Specific proposals for the upcoming conference include:

Continue analyzing the underlying ideas and concepts implicit in human development for application in the Western Balkans and to support the related platform of the UN.

Outline a more focused agenda within both the health and educational sectors that reflect the health status of the populations and the specific educational needs after conflict as they relate to socio-economic development and tease out specific projects. Education opens the road to tolerance, equal opportunity and social development. Health improvement opens road to vulnerability reduction and human well being. Both make contributions to human security and the mitigation of fear and want.

Use of media in the promotion of reconciliation and peace.

Concentrate on the development of leadership training within the network of ECPD Regional Centers with significant field experience that fosters skills acquisitions and interrogational communication.

Maintain a focus on Kosovo by using all activities to promote the agenda of the ECPD and consider holding cultural heritage activity in Prizren.

Direct and transfer the dialogue from theoretical to practical, focus on policy issues that might include a review of reconciliation legislation and improvement of social preparedness to crisis management by for example, ensuring the standardization of humanitarian practice and facilities.

Examine more deeply the contributions of international organizations to regional reconciliation and human security, what they have done and what they intend to do, including a review of all decisions.

Investment in multicultural society and the examination of civilizations within the Balkan states.

It is a historical fact that it is much easier to enter the arena of conflict but much more difficult to leave the conflict field. The IPSG has approached the problem in the post conflict phase of Balkan strife. ECPD is

now engaged in peace building and the “war” for the hearts of the peoples of the Balkans in a way to reconstruction, rehabilitation of linkages and promotion of peace and development. We hope for the reconciliation of nations, ethnic groups and ideas.

The study group will further discuss various aspects of human security and agree to work upon the necessary framework to prepare for the next conference in October in Belgrade, for preparing concrete plans and projects for securing human security in cooperation with UN organizations and other relevant organizations. This year’s Conference will make solid ground for the concrete formation of projects for reconciliation, and on the basis of it, the Conference in 2008 will produce concrete results by making recommendations for the implementation of the plans and projects for reconciliation.

Lastly, I would like to express our heartfelt gratitude for the Municipality of Prizren for having provided this wonderful setting for our meeting of IPSTG, and also for assistance and support accorded by UNMIK, Provisionary Institutions of Self-Government of Kosovo and Business Association of Prizren. My appreciation goes also to efficient interpreters who made our meeting a success.

Thank you all for your dedicated contributions!

ECPD INTERNATIONAL PERMANENT STUDY GROUP
AND EXPERTS MEETING
ON NATIONAL RECONCILIATION AND HUMAN SECURITY IN
WESTERN BALKANS

FINAL REPORT

The International Permanent **Study Group** for national reconciliation and human security in the Western Balkans is an initiative of the European Center of Peace and Development, Belgrade [ECPD] established by the University of Peace of the United Nations. The Group considers itself as both an ambassador of peace and goodwill as well as a collection of independent scholars striving to foster the process of reconciliation and to strengthen human security for all, not only in Kosovo but throughout the Balkan region.

A century or so ago many places were about the same as they had been a century before. Today, few places are what they were a decade or so ago. Kosovo is certainly not one of them. The collapse of the Soviet bloc, the disintegration of the former Yugoslavia, ethnic tensions and war have all intervened to make it a different place. Today, few places are in close contact with their past; Kosovo is! So the question is how more different can it become? While independence for Kosovo may look more certain as an option, it still remains to be seen how much can be negotiated or compromised between Serbia and Kosovo, without opening of Pandora's box that can threaten both local human security and act as a domino effect on other places. Should the differences between Serbs and Albanians widen this may give rise to an ungovernable situation in Kosovo. Ahtisaari's plan for a supervised independence of Kosovo has received a green light from the Albanian side and an unacceptable thumbs down, from Belgrade. Russia's position is giving some breathing space and leeway for Serbia to rally support from the few as yet 'undecided' votes of UN Security Council members. It means that something new and concrete must be placed on the table acceptable to the international community, which will certainly challenge Serbian negotiating skills. A solution to the "end state" of Kosovo should not be imposed, but should result from substantial negotiations that respect international law, as guaranteed by the UN and relevant Security Council resolutions. The solution must promote regional stability and security, and be compatible with the principles of the European Union.

The International Permanent **Study Group** [IPSG] of the European Center for Peace and Development [ECPD] has just completed its initial work in Prizren, Kosovo at a time when the process of the disintegration of the former Yugoslavia is edging towards closure by a pending solution on the final status of Kosovo, and at a time when the atmosphere and mood are fraught with political expectations. The deliberations during the several sessions of the Study Group meeting [SG] were carried out in an overall spirit of understanding, a sense of shared responsibility and in the hope that a common vision will prevail.

The active participation of representatives of UNMIK [UN Mission in Kosovo], Provisionary Institutions of Self Government of Kosovo, Municipality Administration, Business Association of Prizren, and religious leaders in discussion, added important weight to the sessions. They stressed that differences in ethnicity, culture and languages in the Balkans are a valuable asset, not a hindrance in the process of reconciliation of the Western Balkan Region should be given full recognition. Reconciliation cannot be realized in a short space of time. It requires a long and patient process. Given the anticipation of integration with Europe, which sooner or later all Balkan countries and entities will attain, there exists considerable goodwill to assist in the still pending solution of this difficult problem through the UN and other international organizations. All efforts should continue so that all peoples of the Balkan Region will regain a respectable place in the world through corporation and the common sense of fraternity in a new setting.

It was agreed that in the process of reconciliation, the concept of human security can play an important role, in every country and throughout the Balkan region. It should be firmly established in all spheres of life as a means of securing human rights and human development of individuals, which is the only basis of security, and peace and stability, not only in the Balkans but also in Europe as a whole. To protect people, and their basic human rights and freedoms requires a coordinated partnership of effort, of states, international organizations and NGOs.

The overall purpose of this meeting of the IPSG was to prepare for the Belgrade Conference 2007 on **reconciliation and human security** and to celebrate one year of activity of the **ECPD Prizren Center** established in cooperation with the Municipality of Prizren and the United Nations Mission in Kosovo [UNMIK]. A parallel aim is to help develop further the relationship between this Center and the University of Peace of the UN. The agenda is to produce a clear outline of work for the Belgrade Conference, 2007 as well as a preliminary outline for Conference, 2008, which

will lead to concrete proposals for reconciliation and human security in the Western Balkans. The Belgrade Conference will be sponsored by the Japanese authorities. It is agreed that the Conference 2007 will be devoted to a detailed discussion of the importance of the principles implicit in human security as an instrument for the achievement of reconciliation in each individual country or specific area and in the Balkan region as a whole, so that a concrete scheme can be prepared to better identify all issues in the problem space and the tasks to be carried out for the formulation of plans and projects through collaboration with governments, regional administrations and all other legitimate organizations. It is necessary to meet the needs and special requirements for individual cases and situations such as Bosnia Herzegovina. A special emphasis will be placed on Kosovo. However, in light of the present sensitive situation in the lead in to the finalization of the “end state” or status of Kosovo, the SG considers that this vitally important issue i.e. end state to both Kosovo and Serbia falls outside the current scope of its deliberations and discussions in Prizren. This was endorsed by all standing members of the SG without however, attempting in any way to impede the free flow of opinion and statements by local experts and nonmembers of the SG. The consensus is that Kosovo must be multiethnic and that security for all must be ensured with all inhabitants enjoying the same rights. Cultural and religious monuments must be protected and the EU must assume a more substantial role in the process for determining Kosovo’s end state.

The position of the SG has been outlined in a distributed short statement [see annex], which was commented on by a number of participants and generally adopted by the representative body. Views from both sides of the fence were noted. There were also a number of significant contributions by local experts and officers including Kosovo Ministers [Health, Culture, Sport, Education], by lawyers and by spokespersons of religious affiliations. Academic interventions were made that emphasized the need for the development of a critical acumen in educational institutions in which there is a reflection on current knowledge, scientific opinion and the search for universal truths. However, in order to overcome past wounds and present suspicions political will is paramount in order to transform Kosovo from a symbol of hatred into a symbol of harmonious coexistence, into a creative mode rather than destructive pathological one. Solutions were addressed in an analytical fashion as well as in the form of future scenarios with a consideration of history and future directions, concern for cause of the Balkan conflict, not just the symptoms and with an emphasis of the “maladjusted” thinking of the international

community to Balkan reality. There was one approach of a small European nation [Finland] to education of young people as an integral part of the solution and it was noted that one of its universities is already engaged in the ECPD Prizren Center. These issues constitute serious challenges while presenting significant difficulties and each aspect or dimension needs to be addressed at the appropriate level. Regional cooperation is a crucial element for stability, which implies that inter county links cut by conflict must be re-established and further cultivated, this is one of the aims of the SG.

Attention was focused on the importance of human security and the prospect of a brighter future for regional development through cooperation while it was stressed that the fundamental necessity is to avoid further violence and military conflict in the region. Specific proposals for the upcoming conference include:

- Continue analyzing the underlying ideas and concepts implicit in human development for application in the Western Balkans and to support the related platform of the UN.
- Outline a more focused agenda within both the health and educational sectors that reflect the health status of populations and the specific educational needs after conflict as they relate to socio economic development. Education opens roads to tolerance, equal opportunity and social development. Health improvement opens roads to vulnerability reduction and human well-being. Through health and education the culture that maintains underdevelopment can be eased aside and citizen choice improved. Health improvement and educational opportunity are means to break the cycle of poverty and to invest in long-term dignity gains that consequently pull people away from marginal existence. Both make contributions to human security and to the mitigation of fear and want. Specific projects must be teased out.
- Use of media in the promotion of reconciliation and peace.
- Concentrate on the development of leadership training within the network of ECPD Regional Centers with significant field experience that foster skills acquisition and interregional communication.
- Maintain a focus on Kosovo by using specific activities to promote the agenda of the ECPD and consider holding a cultural heritage activity in Prizren. More specifically, kick-start a <Kosovo Initiative> based on health and educational considerations for development.

- Direct and transfer the dialogue from a theoretical basis to a practical dimension, focus on policy issues that might include a review of reconciliation legislation and improvement of societal preparedness to crisis management by for example, ensuring the standardization of humanitarian practice and facilities.
- Examine more deeply the contributions of international organizations to regional reconciliation and human security what they have done and what they intend to do including a review of all declarations.
- Invest in a multicultural society and examine the contributions of civilizations within the Balkan region.

It is a historical fact that it is much easier to enter the arena of conflict but much more difficult to leave the conflict field. The SG has entered the problem space in the post conflict phase of Balkan strife and the ECPD is now engaged in peace building and a “war” for the hearts of politicians and people of the Balkans in such a way as to reconstruct, reestablish linkages and promote sustainable peace and appropriate development. We hope for the reconciliation of nations and ethnic groups as well as the spread of democratic notions and use of scientific ideas. The Study Group will further discuss various aspects of human security and use the aforementioned deliberations and proposals to work out a framework and to prepare for the next Belgrade Conference [October 2007]. It will now prepare concrete projects and plans for securing human security in the Western Balkans and in corporation with UN organizations and other relevant organizations. The Belgrade Conference, 2007 will make solid ground breaking for the concrete formulation of projects for reconciliation, and on that basis prepare for the generation of concrete results by making recommendations for implementation of the projects and plans for reconciliation and reporting on available outcomes in the following Conference, 2008. The aim of the final Conference, 2009 will be one of declaration and a summarizing of the efforts of the SG of the ECPD together with a current status analysis of all initiatives of the UN in human security, a culture for peace, a society for all ages and the millennium development goals and bring together all international and Balkan actors in the common cause of Balkan development.

Prizren
June 18, 2007

ANEX I

POST SCRIPT COMMENTARY

JEFFREY LEVETT AND SLAVICA TATOMIR [POSTGRADUATE
STUDENT ECPD, BELGRADE]

Today, in the Balkans threats to human security are significant and complex: political, societal, economical, environmental; from within and from without. Recent examples of environmental threat include events in Albania, Croatia, Greece, Kosovo and Serbia when forest wild fires in the summer, 2007, destroyed human lives, livestock, and wildlife. They placed an additional burden on an already over burdened environment. Another is a creeping disaster effecting population health. The contemporary pattern of health in the Balkans results from a repetitious past of infectious disease, growth of chronic disease and the consequences of several socio-economic upheavals emergent on the disintegration of Yugoslavia. Future threats in Kosovo can come from various external and internal hot spots including from sanitation left unchecked [2008 is the Year of Sanitation!] and from ecological degradation. No greater service can be rendered to insure stability, prosperity and peace, than to decrease suffering and vulnerability by improving health. It can be accomplished in accordance with the canons of all religions, the provisions of medicine and public health and the availability of modern biomedical technology.

Consequently, we would like to make a few points and add to what has already been said by the distinguished speakers at a time when Kosovo is on the verge of proclaiming independence. We do so as citizens of the Balkans and in postscript to the Prizren meeting making no claim to expertise on the geopolitical issues of Kosovo. Our fields relate to public health, management and refugee policy respectively.

Since sources of conflict are still present, the Balkan road is long to arrive at reduced inequity, tolerance and reconciliation. Therefore there is a need for great initiative to upgrade the quality of life and as a stimulant to matters of human security. Human security is a relatively new concept while its antonym, insecurity is more comprehensible. Its broadest formulation is equivalent to human well-being and any step towards its improvement is a step towards conflict curtailment, poverty reduction and achievable sustainable economic growth.

One historical point is that any declaration of independence always causes an uncomfortable and nervous transient, great or small, with short-term or long-term effects. The trajectory to a new status shakes itself down on short or long time constants before arriving at a new steady state equilibrium, while in due time it will move on to another dynamic steady state equilibrium. Kosovo is a case in point with long-term time constants. For example one past shift took decades to work itself though, namely the demographic shift which according to some experts is a primary cause. Now another one is in process, which relates to refugees.

Declarations of independence that changed or reshaped the world include the American Declaration of Independence and those of colonies around the world that severed ties with a number of European powers. This reminds us of U Thant's three D's still alive today, namely, disarmament [nuclear], decolonisation and development. Growth of nationalism together with decolonisation introduced a still ongoing global shock wave. Kosovo we believe is not a unique case but like all cases it does have a degree of uniqueness. Like all such complex cases there is a degree of similarity. Kosovo is we believe a European issue and should be resolved within the context of Europe, not that the latter is getting things right in the Balkans, not that it has always treated the Balkans fairly. The Kosovo issue is still critical and complex.

Our second point is a reflection on failure within the complex problem space as well as in the process leading to the recent declaration of independence. The failure status has been at least bipolar namely, that there are many regional fault lines with respect to reconciliation and tolerance as well as a slow mindedness on the part of the European Union to bring down borders and barriers by making one sweeping decision to make the region an integral part of the European family. A few years ago the Dubrovnik Pledge of the regional Ministers of Health demonstrated some resolve to reduce population vulnerability in all countries while the Skopje Declaration on public health, peace and human rights highlighted a resolve to use public health in all efforts at vulnerability reduction. The Pledge is still yet unfulfilled, while the Skopje Declaration, [penned by JL] has left a very small wake in its passage; no transient except in the mind of a few. It underscored that we are dealing with a set of complex issues and interrelated phenomena for which we have no generally accepted definitions [e.g. development / quality of life] or for which the definition is narrow [e.g. poverty on one-two euro a day] or for which correlations between entities are either weak or not conclusively established [depriva-

tion and violence / poverty and vulnerability] or for which given concepts may be diametrically polarized [armed struggle and terrorism].

Another point is drawn from the poem in Italian of the **Willy Brandt Foundation**, which has deliberated on such issues relating to Kosovo and the region of legitimacy and legality, regional militarism and its build up , targeted donations off target, the status of Serbia, whether Kosovo is a sui generis situation, more complex than Cyprus and the exclusion of compromise. The first stanza of the anonymous poem entitled **The world's future** certainly rings true: "Our times horizon now obscure, while all around conflict, disaster, turmoil broil, social, natural and manmade, its character global, pervasive and self-destructive, and menace now confronts us all. [And we would add] **Grande minaccia: ipocrisia organizzata e vulnerabilita della popolazione.**

Our perspective adds just a little stone to the deliberations saying that until the division resulting from polarisation of the population is held in check, much of what is being discussed today and almost everywhere will be debated tomorrow and for many tomorrows. Until we reduce population vulnerability through education and development the tension between "the have's" and "the have not's", or even more stratified, those with nothing, those with little and those with much, social justice and reconciliation will remain scarce commodities and a creeping disaster will slowly emerge. To change the state of being has meant for centuries either revolt with suppression or praying in suffering. Now we need education and development. It seems to us that in the event of an escalation [take-off] of a creeping disaster the developed world will not be excluded from its worst effects.

Yes new refugee trails, unemployment, physical and legal security, individual and social security, national and international security, militarism, legitimacy versus legality, corruption and the need for improved communication have all been touched upon but we may still miss the train or loose the target. While globalization is creating opportunity for gains in wealth and prosperity, it is also precipitating polarization and disparity in life's circumstances. The operational context of complex contemporary society is a juxtaposition of striving for better governance to a background of chaos, turbulence and increasing disasters. In the absence of good governance the dominant remainder adds up to population vulnerability with large negative effects on human security, which is an obstacle to the reconciliation process. What we are trying to say is that we also dealing with a set of vicious circles.

Kosovo has the worst health status in Europe and most probably the health divide between the Balkans and Europe is growing. The poor conditions of living and life are exacerbated by weakness of states and aggra-

vated by a limited capacity to enforce the rule of law within a democratic context. Rising insecurity with growing health disturbance compared with Europe are serious outcomes and this dark divide is both a threat to the region as well as to European stability.

The Japanese who are sponsoring projects on reconciliation and human security in the Balkans under an umbrella programme entitled **The Future of the Balkans** of the European Center for Peace and Development [ECPD], Belgrade is praiseworthy. Takehiro Togo related human security to the freedoms from fear and want in Prizren, while he closely pursues the concept of human development and well-being as promulgated by the United Nations. It implies safety from chronic threats of repression, oppression, hunger, disease, as well as protection from sudden and hurtful disruptions in the pattern of daily life, of which in Kosovo and Serbia there are many. Both are in need of considerable educational development: societal governance, systems management, European affairs, diplomatic studies.

Population vulnerability reduction in both Kosovo and Serbia is a powerful long term card to dampen future shock waves in the hands of democratic leaders. To reduce inconsistencies and contradictions and promote Balkan-wide development Europe must play a larger and more proactive role. Most important in the process is the principle of good faith, namely, that the truth can be revealed, if scholars and experts of goodwill continue to explore, search and research the reality of Kosovo, which is part of the agenda of both the ECPD and the WBF. While it is necessary to answer questions about tragic events, humanitarian disaster and point to problem space solutions, we would add that the “language of health” is perhaps the best cross-border, cross-culture lingua franca for the Balkan region. Activities relating to health [wealth promoting] can serve peace and socio-economic development in Kosovo and in the Balkans and public health perceived as a neutral instrument can be a useful tool in the hands of foreign policy makers as an operational means to foster good international relations.

Our final comment: It is of great importance that Serbia is not a total loser as a result of the independence that has divided the world, for in this event real or perceived, regional destabilization is possible. Here the international community can learn from Greek mythology where the punishing gods never left man totally abandoned to his fate. Even out of Pandora’s box there remained a small butterfly which flew on its wings of hope. It is equally important that stability in Kosovo must be improved by more contact and communication between Pristina and Belgrade.

ANEX II QUESTIONNAIRE

[RELATING TO THE HEALTH AND VULNERABILITY OF THE PEOPLES OF KOSOVO]¹

Content

INTRODUCTION: Scope and Purpose of the **Kosovo Report**

PART I. Background Information

PART II. Access to Health: Poverty and Vulnerable Groups

PART III. Participation of Vulnerable and Marginalized Groups in Decisions Related to Health

PART IV. Methodologies in the Health Sector: from Data Collection to Policy Development

CONCLUDING REMARKS

BIBLIOGRAPHY

INTRODUCTION: SCOPE AND PURPOSE OF THE KOSOVO [K] REPORT

The objective of the K report is to give an internal review of the problems related to access of the underprivileged groups to health services in Kosovo. The survey will provide a comparative analysis and serve as a tool for the K Report.

In preparing the report you are invited to:

- Take stock of current thinking and activities;
- To identify obstacles, opportunities and critical gaps in knowledge for action;
- To identify ideas and recommendations to be carried forward and to specify the responsible actors.

¹ This Questionnaire was used to generate reports for the countries in the Balkan region leading up to the Dubrovnik Pledge and activities within the framework of the Stability Pact for SEE. It was constructed by Piotr Mierzewski of the Council of Europe [CoE] and reviewed by Jeffrey Levett temporary consultant to WHO and CoE and slightly modified for use in Kosovo, which was not part of the original project. The Q has been modified by PM and JL.

N.B In answering the Questionnaire, the document “Concept note” (SEER-Health-2001, Council of Europe Web Site), 2) addendum I is recommended as a particularly useful source of documentation. The essential sections of the document consist of recommendations for appropriate policy actions. Wherever possible, use it as the starting point for description and further elaboration and evolution. You are invited to draw conclusions about the applicability and feasibility of the recommendations in your local context.

PART I : BACKGROUND INFORMATION

This section is intended to give general information about the situation in K with relation to health. In answering the following questions it might be helpful to refer to the conclusions of the WHO study “Neighbors in the Balkans: initiating a dialogue for health”.

1. Briefly comment on the most recent development related to access to health care in the following areas:

- 1.1 The legal system
- 1.2 The socio-economic situation and relevant demographic trends
- 1.3 Recent crises/disasters
- 1.4 The cultural value-system (for example: individualism vs. solidarity; market vs. public services)
- 1.5 Other areas specific to K.

2. Describe recent developments (in the last two years) in (a) the organization of public health / health care and (b) important developments in the health policies concerning the following areas:

- a. Organization and financing of care services (at the national, regional and local level).
- b. Institutions for policy review, policy analysis and policy development.
- c. Research activities on poverty, social exclusion and inequities in relation to health.

3. Highlight current weaknesses in providing health care and identify the reasons behind these weaknesses.

4. Using the most recent statistical data available for K, please provide actual figures of as many as possible of the following indicators (please cite the source of the data and year of publication).

Indicators for Monitoring Equity :

4.1 Health Status

Infant mortality rate
Under 5-year child mortality rate
Prevalence of child stunting
Maternal mortality ratio
Life expectancy at birth
Incidence/prevalence of infectious
Diseases

4.2 Health Care Resources Allocation

Per capita distribution of qualified personnel
Per capita distribution of service facilities at primary, secondary, tertiary and quaternary levels
Per capita distribution of total health expenditures on personnel, facilities and supplies

4.3 Health determinants

Prevalence and level of poverty and social exclusion
Educational level
Adequate sanitation and safe water coverage

4.4 Health Care utilization

Immunization coverage
Antenatal care coverage
% of birth with a qualified attendant
Use of contraception

4.5 Disease conditions and health implement

Life expectancy at birth
Death rate
Maternal monetary ratio
Under 5-year child mortality rate

4.6 Health care system

Access to care
Total fertility rate
DPT immunization coverage
Expenditure on health (% GNP)

4.7 Socio-cultural characteristics

Adult literacy

Expenditure on education (% GNP)

Births to women under 20

Tobacco consumption

4.8 Environmental determinants

GNP per capita

Access to safe water

Access to adequate sanitation

Population growth rate

Energy consumption per capita

4.9 Food and nutrition

Daily caloric supply per capita

Food production per capita

4.10. Is it possible to show to geographical and socio-economic distribution of these indicators?

4.11 In your opinion, which of the data are specifically available for vulnerable and marginalized groups?

PART II: ACCESS TO HEALTH: POVERTY AND MARGINAL GROUPS

This section asks specific questions regarding the access to health services by vulnerable groups, starting with official definitions of poverty and marginalized groups and assessing the degree to which these categories are directly targeted by health care policies.

Poverty

1. What is the official statistical definition of “Poverty” and “Poverty level” in K?

2. According to the above definition, how many people are considered as living under the level of poverty?

3. What is the number of people considered as living under the median of the average income?

4. What is the proportion of people not in poverty, but at risk of falling into poverty in the near future? In case of no available data, give a rough estimate and please describe these groups.²

² Newspaper articles would be useful

B. Vulnerable and marginal groups

1. What is the official definition of “vulnerable and marginalized groups” (i.e what is the legal status of vulnerable and marginalized persons) in your country? Do you use other definitions in policy documents?

2. What is the percentage of the population defined (legal and/or. Informal definition) as vulnerable and marginalized groups?

3. What is the proportion of people at present not belonging to vulnerable and marginalized groups, but at risk of falling into these categories in the near future?

In case of no available data, give a rough estimate.

4. Apart from the legal definition, which of the following categories do you consider as vulnerable groups and persons in marginal situations in your country? Please rank them in order of importance (1=most important)

Displaced people

Immigrants

Refugees

Ethnic minorities

Unemployment

Working poor

Homeless

The elderly

Women

Children

Drug-users

HIV-AIDS patients

Other (please specify. _____)

5. In your opinion, are there any notable discrepancies between the formal legal situation and the reality of vulnerable groups in relation to their access to health care? Please describe the differences.

6. Does your country have any specific forms of health care for one of more of the above groups of your population? Please describe.

A. Responses to health inequalities

1. Describe the major policy responses to health care inequalities in your country and any problems or difficulties encountered in implementing these measures, and their possible solutions.

2. Please outline future (planned) health strategies for vulnerable groups.

3. Briefly comment on the existing relationship between the population health status and socio-economic determinations such as housing, employment social protection, education, and environment in your country.

PART III: PARTICIPATION OF VULNERABLE AND MARGINALIZED GROUPS IN DECISIONS RELATED TO HEALTH

This section looks at the several ways in which vulnerable and marginalized persons can actively participate in decision-making related to health, and the extent to which policies respond to problems of unequal access to health care in K.

1. Through which of the following mechanisms do vulnerable and marginalized persons participate in decision related to health in K?

- a. Citizen/patient access to information
- b. Consultation
- c. Partnership
- d. Delegation power
- e. Citizen / patient monitoring
- f. Other: Please specify (_____)

2. Based on your previous answer, briefly describe how this participation works.

3. Describe present problems and obstacles in the participation in health care decisions by vulnerable groups with regards to:

- a. Availability of information
- b. Financial problems
- c. Access to the media
- d. Contact with public administration
- e. Relations with NGOs
- f. Other. Please specify (_____)

PART VV: METHODOLOGIES IN THE HEALTH SECTOR: FROM DATA COLLECTION TO POLICY DEVELOPMENT

This section addresses the issue of data collection, its techniques, and resources available for data analysis. The goal is to understand the level and degree of existing analysis and the development of specific policies in K.

A. Indicators, data collection, and statistical reporting systems

Briefly comment on the existing data collection techniques and methodologies for data analysis used in the field of health in K (for example: accessibility of data; the institutional infrastructure for data collection, the most common methodologies, the time span between collection and publication data)

Are you satisfied with the number and definition of current indicators related to the health sectors? Which particular types of indicators would you like to see included in official statistical surveys in the future?

What is the level of compatibility of your indicators and minimal Data Sales with agreed European standards?

Is data from different geographic and social distributions available? Is it available in a disaggregated form (by gender, income, educational level, etc)?

With the current statistical data available, is it possible to access both absolute levels and the socio-economic distribution?

With the current statistical data available, is it possible to link information on health with social and economic indicators?

Are time trends estimates regularly modified?

Briefly highlight the main problems in the various phases concerning both data gathering and data analysis.

B. From data collection to policy development

What is the quality of the statistical data collection system (validity and reliability), its relevance for early detection of emerging problems and relevance for informing policy development in the health sector of K?

How could the relationship between the collection and analysis of statistical data and the elaboration of policy intervention be improved? Briefly comment on the techniques most commonly used in the formulation of policy analysis policy development and related problems.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

Summarize the findings regarding access to health in Kosovo with specific emphasis on vulnerable groups in comparative perspectives both within your region and in the broader European framework.

Comment on the current methodologies and practices for identifying problems of access to health care and discuss the feasibility of an integrated regional approach to this issues.

Provide examples of publications, reports or strategic documents recently published or produced in K addressing issues of poverty reduction, the condition of vulnerable and marginalized groups, and social inequity.

The table below has been devised to illustrate the questions of different national health system concerning four major health goals. Can you give your assessment of health in K in terms of these four goals?

Component for assessment	Average Level	Distribution
<i>Goals :</i>		
<i>Health Improvement</i>		
<i>Responsiveness to expectations</i>		
<i>Fairness / Equity</i>		

BIBLIOGRAPHY

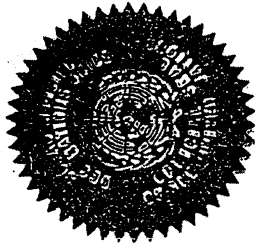
Please include a brief list of basic background documents (legislation, policy documents, research projects etc.) and inventory of sources (international organizations, NGO`s, research institutions and studies, opinion polls “gray literature) for the health sector in Kosovo³.

³ Request information from the Ministry of Health and the Institute of Public Health



In recognition of
a significant contribution to
the programme and objectives of
the International Year of Peace,
proclaimed by the United Nations General Assembly,
the Secretary-General designates

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as a
Peace Messenger

Javier Cuéllar

Javier Pérez de Cuéllar

15 September 1987