

FUTURE OF THE WORLD BETWEEN GLOBALIZATION AND REGIONALIZATION

Proceedings of the Eleventh ECPD
International Conference

Belgrade, October 24–25, 2015

Editors:

Negoslav P. Ostojić / Johan Galtung



EUROPEAN CENTER FOR PEACE AND DEVELOPMENT
UNIVERSITY FOR PEACE EST. BY THE UNITED NATIONS

Published by: **European Center for Peace and Development (ECPD)**
University for Peace established by the United Nations
Terazije 41, 11000 Beograd; phone: (+381 11) 3246-041
fax: 3240-673 • e-mail: office@ecpd.org.rs • www.ecpdorg.net

For the Publisher: **Negoslav P. Ostojić**, ECPD Executive Director

Editorial Board: **Ljubiša Adamovic / Jonathan Bradley / Akio Kawato /
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Editors: **Negoslav P. Ostojić / Johan Galtung**

Design: **Nataša Ostojić-Ilić**
Copy editing: **Vera Gligorijević / Irena Vuksanovic**
Circulation: 1 000 in English
ISBN 978-86-7236-102-5

Printed by: **graficom|uno**

Belgrade, 2016.

CIP – Каталогизacija у публикацији
Народна библиотека Србије, Београд

316.485(497)(082)
327(497)(082)
364.2::316.37(497)(082)
327(4-672EU)(082)

INTERNATIONAL Conference Reconciliation, Tolerance and Human Security
and Human Security in the Balkans (10 ; 2014 ; Beograd) New Balkans and Europe :
peace development Integration : Proceedings of the Tenth ECPD International Confer-
ence Reconciliation, Tolerance and Human Security in the Balkans, Belgrade, October
24-25, 2014 / Editors: Negoslav P. Ostojić, Jonathan Bradley, Akio Kawato. - Belgrade :
European Center for Peace and Development (ECPD) of the University for Peace est.
by the United Nations, 2015 (Belgrade : Graficom Uno). – XIX, 310 str. : graf. prikazi,
tabele ; 25 cm

"The Tenth ECPD International Conference on 'National and Inter-Ethnic Reconcilia-
tion, Inter-Religious Tolerance and Human Security in the Balkans'" --> Introduction.
– Tiraž 1.000. – Napomene i bibliografske reference uz tekst. – Bibliografija uz pojedine
radove.

ISBN 978-86-7236-092-9

a) Помирење – Балканске државе – Зборници b) Људска безбедност – Балканске
државе – Зборници c) Међународни односи – Балканске државе – Зборници d)
Међународни односи – Европска Унија – Зборници

COBISS.SR-ID 216695820

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INTRODUCTION

THE FUTURE OF THE WORLD BETWEEN GLOBALIZATION AND REGIONALIZATION

PROCEEDINGS OF THE ELEVENTH ECPD INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE
BELGRADE, OCTOBER 24–25, 2015

The Eleventh ECPD International Conference was preceded by ten annual conferences bearing the same title: **Inter-national/Interethnic Reconciliation, Religious Tolerance and Human Security in the Balkans**. Most of them were devoted to some specific topics corresponding to the current situation in the Balkans and beyond. Each conference was attended by more than one hundred participants, including, scholars and public figures from almost all over the world.

Based on the Conclusions adopted at the Tenth ECPD International Conference and the decision of the ECPD Academic Council, the Eleventh ECPD International Conference was devoted to the global topic **“The Future of the World Between Globalization and Regionalization”**. Within this broad topic numerous global, regional and local issues and, in particular, relations between the East and the West in the light of the latest Euro-Asian developments, as well as unfavorable events in the Middle East, were widely deliberated. At the end of the Conference the appropriate Conclusions were adopted and included in these Proceedings.

The 11th ECPD International Conference, held in Belgrade on October 24–25, 2015, was attended by more than 100 participants – prominent scientists, politicians, diplomats and high-ranking officials of international, regional and national institutions from Europe, the United States, Canada, Japan and other countries. Among the participants there were, inter alia, several former heads of state and/or their deputies, representatives of national academies of sciences and arts – seven members and one president, high-ranking officials of important international organizations, including H.E. Professor Dr Federico Mayor, former General Director of UNESCO, H.E. Dr Erhard Busek, former Special Coordinator of the Stability Pact for South-Eastern Europe and others, professors from numerous prestigious European, American and Asian universities, researchers and directors of respected national and international research institutes, including Professor Dr Don Wallace, President of the Executive Board of

the International Law Institute, Washington, D.C., Academician Professor Dr Boris Smelev, Director of the Institute for Balkan Studies, Russian Academy of Sciences and Arts, heads and/or representatives of diplomatic missions in Serbia – the ECPD host country; as for the neighboring states, three ambassadors and twelve charge d'affairs, counsellors and secretaries also attended this Conference. Numerous journalists from almost all major news agencies from the region followed and widely reported on the work of the Conference.

The Conference was chaired by H.E. Professor Dr Akio Kawato, a distinguished Japanese diplomat and the current President of the ECPD Council, and co-chaired by Dr Erhard Busek, former Vice-Chancellor of Austria, a.d, delivered their keynote speeches, while the majority of other participants presented their papers and took part in discussions. The Conference adopted the Conclusions, which have been included in these Proceedings.

Most of the presented papers and speeches have been included in the Proceedings of the Conference and arranged in the following thematic order.

- Opening Address, Keynote Speeches, Conclusions
- Globalization Through Political, Economic, Cultural and Technological Development
- Regionalization Between Globalization and Pragmatism
- The Balkans as a European Region – Problems and Perspectives

PRESENTED CONCLUSIONS, PAPERS, SPEECHES

1. Opening Address, Keynote Speeches, Conclusions

In his opening address, **H.E. Professor Dr Akio Kawato**, in his capacity as President of the ECPD Council, welcomed the attendees and referred briefly to the ECPD activities relating to the reconciliation, tolerance and human security in the Balkans. Thereafter, he introduced the main topics of the Conference, which will open a new cycle of ECPD activities relating to the organization and conduct of annual ECPD international conferences. Professor Kawato expressed his opinion that the Conference would be very successful and would adopt the appropriate conclusions.

In his keynote speech on the future of the world between globalization and regionalization, **H.E. Prof. Dr Erhard Busek** briefly analyzed the current international situation stressing that we are, quite clearly, moving towards a globalized world, while the tendency towards a more regional

identity is also underway. Among other unfavorable developments in the world, Dr Busek particularly emphasized a growing disparity between rich and poor, which might lead to social conflicts. Dr Busek also said that the refugee development and other open conflicts would lead us closer to a new world war with unpredictable end.

The Conference ended with adoption of the **Conclusions**, which briefly summarized its two-day work. Based on the presented papers, speeches and discussions, the Conclusions reiterated, inter alia, that the timing of the Conference coincided with an extremely complex situation in the world, political instability and unpredictability in relations between the great powers, continuation of the global economic crisis and threat of a new cold war. The proposals for the ECPD future work, “not to be limited by frontiers”, were also put forward in the Conclusions.

2. Globalization Through Political, Economic, Cultural and Technological Development

The Eleventh ECPD International Conference was held in a very complex international environment – a continuation of the financial and economic crisis, which was followed by instability in shaping a new economic order, increasing tensions between Russia and the USA (EU, NATO), armed conflicts and mass migration in the Middle East, threat of a new cold (or even hot) war, etc. Therefore, it was natural that the Conference paid considerable attention to the impact of globalization on the world’s policy and economy as well as on other global aspects.

In his paper on worldwide economic integration and political (geopolitical) disintegration, **Professor Dr Marjan Svetličič** reconsidered these two opposite processes. According to him, economic integration and political disintegration are “two sides of the same coin”. Professor Svetličič based his theory on these opposite processes in his study of the contemporary trends in the global economy and regional disintegration processes (the Balkan case). According to **Dr Nikola Popovski**, globalization became an increasingly interdependent and irreversible process. Regional/sub-regional organization, development and cooperation are important and do not pose an obstacle to further economic and trade globalization. It seems, however, that globalization is slowly but surely swallowing regionalization.

At the very beginning of his paper, **H.E. Professor Dr Akio Kawato** pointed out that the world lost control and is now in a state of flux. He also indicated the main aspects that were creating such a flux and explained the causes of the new world chaos. Today, according to Dr Kawa-

to, the people from the former socialist and developing countries tend to blame so-called globalization for their economic backwardness, but it is not necessarily the same when highly developed and emerging economies are in question.

In their joint paper “Nature Integration and Disintegration as One Basic Principle”, **Professor Dr Timi Ecimovic** and **Professor Dr Raoul Weiler** emphasize that today, in the era of globalization, our civilization – to be able to reach new frontiers – needs the transformation of its body and mind. It could be achieved, inter alia, through a new approach to reformed and updated education. In his paper, **Professor Igor Kondrashin** also appeals for universal education. He holds that it is of utmost importance to reform the global humanity into a uniform community with common worldviews, similar values and responsibilities. The formation of members of such a community can only be reached by means of universal education. In her paper, **Professor Dr Bojana Beric** also made a critical observation on education all over the world. “We keep talking about peace, but we keep making wars”, Professor Beric said and added: “We all need to act and change this pattern”.

In his paper, **Dr Neritan Kurteshi** considers the development of monetary theory as being closely related to monetary policy, which is separately conducted by each individual country. He thinks that a properly conducted economic policy represents a great contribution to a dynamic economic growth. In his paper, **H.E. Ambassador Wolfgang Wolte** considers the social dimension of globalization and presents a brief summary of international measures being already taken or envisaged for the future in the field of social security.

3. Regionalization Between Globalization and Pragmatism

The theme running through a number of speeches, papers and open discussions was the observation that regionalization should not be considered as something opposite to globalization. Both are the processes directed by contemporary innovations, economic, technological and cultural advancement.

In his paper “Regionalization in the European Union”, **Professor Dr Reinhard Priebe** tried to clarify what regionalization would mean in the context of the EU-Treaties and the current reality of its integration. He also clarified that meaning through the considerations of regionalizations within EU member states, the impact of regional/sub-regional elements in the EU’s decision making and other factors. Professor Priebe also suggested a model of regionalization for the Western Balkan states.

In his paper, **Professor Dr Silvo Devetak** considers the Organization for Security and Cooperation of Europe as the promoter of a dialogue in the process of creating the stability and development of the European space. Professor Devetak thinks that the promotion of a dialogue and intensification of the mentioned process are necessary, since Europe is “encircled” by a very explosive and dangerous situation, while its integrity is jeopardized by a massive refugee flux.

In his paper, **Professor Dr Jovan Manasijevski** analyzes the EU-Russia relations in the context of continued transformation of the international order. He makes various suggestions designed to help overcoming the current tensions and renew the already established EU-Russia strategic partnership and cooperation.

In his paper, **H.E. Professor Dr Akio Kawato** presented “The ASEAN Way” – the way leading the South East Asian states towards development and prosperity. According to Dr Kawato, The ASEAN way could serve as a model for the regional organization and conduct of the Balkan countries under some circumstances. In his paper, **Dr Toshko Krastev** emphasized the need and importance of Euro-Asian cooperation in higher education, while **Professor Dr Christo Kaftandjiev** presented his views on the meaning and significance of glocalization (the connection of globalization and localization) for peaceful marketing and advertizing communications. While speaking about European identity, **H.E. Professor Dr Pasquale Baldocci** gave a brief survey of the European Union’s progressive development, especially in the second half of the 20th century. However, according to Professor Baldocci, a full European political identity is still missing.

In his paper, **Dr Jozef Kunic** considered the spillover of the globalization effect on regional and sub-regional dimensions. As far as the Balkan states are concerned, the major issue in 2015, according to Dr Kunic, was the refugee problem. Speaking about sustainability, **Professor Dr Arthur Lyon Dahl** expressed his opinion about the importance of the UN document: the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development Goals – an Agenda of the People, by the People and for the People.

4. The Balkans as a European Region – Problems and Perspectives

The fact that the Balkans is in the focus of ECPD activities has been evidenced, inter alia, by numerous editions, studies and conferences, involving scholars and public figures from almost all parts of the world. This Conference also paid special attention to the Balkans, its problems and the paths leading towards building a stable peace and sustainable development.

In his paper, **Professor Dr Yoji Koyama** explained the current situation in the Balkan countries, especially in the Western Balkans, emphasizing the importance of economic integration, competition and cooperation among them and beyond. Answering his own question “Has the Balkans the capacity for globalization?”, **Professor Dr Dimitar Mircev** confirms that the Balkans, due to its numerous internal difficulties, does not have any chance to achieve a better position and voice in international and global processes. However, it could be in the position to play a more active role in the world’s integration processes and affairs provided that it has been integrated into a common area.

Professor Dr Tihomir Domazet presented a brief study on the Balkan economies in which he analyzed the reasons for South East Europe (SEE) lagging in development and pointed out the way to overcoming such a situation. In accordance with Professor Domazet’s theory, the Keynesian economic school of thought could be a basis for a new paradigm for the idea. **Professor Dr Nano Ruzin** reconsidered the way of building populism through iconography. “Behind every populism lies iconography”, says Professor Ruzin in analyzing the use of iconography in building populism in Macedonia, that is, the Macedonian model of populism and authoritarianism. According to **Professor Dr Miodrag Vukovic**, the threats coming from terrorist organizations, especially from the Islamic State of Iraq and the Levant (ISIL), are the key topics not only in Montenegro, but also in the region as a whole. Professor Vukovic also reconsidered the sources and causes of their emergence and activities in the region and pointed to the ways and means of countering them.

In his paper, **Professor Dr Jove Kekenovski** reconsidered the problems faced by Macedonia due to the refugee crisis. The lack of coordination, lack of principles and unpreparedness of the European Union to cope with this new crisis characterize the whole migration situation. **Mr Toshiyo Abe** presented the paper on the activities of the Japan International Cooperation Agency (JICA) in strengthening human security in the Balkans. According to Mr Abe, the JICA will continue to support and deliver assistance to the Balkan countries in the same subject matter.

More details about the above expressed views, suggestions and recommendations can be found in the papers included in these Proceedings. However, the views expressed in these papers are solely the views of the authors and are not necessarily shared by the European Center for Peace and development (ECPD) as the organizer of the Conference and the publisher of the Proceedings.

Editors

Negoslav P. Ostojić / Johan Galtung

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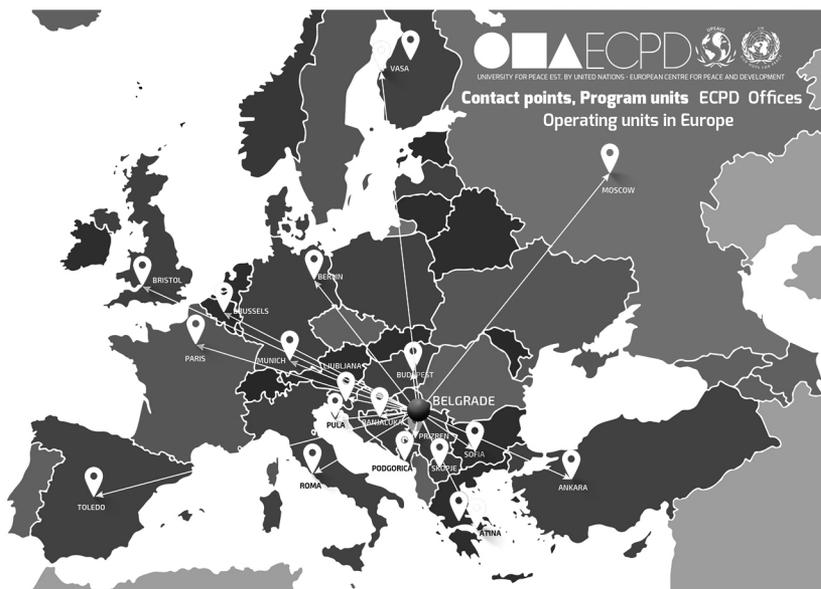
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ECPD International Conference
FUTURE OF THE WORLD BETWEEN GLOBALIZATION AND REGIONALIZATION
 Belgrade, City Hall, 24-25 October, 2015

I | OPENING ADDRESS,
KEYNOTE SPEECHES,
CONCLUSIONS

OPENING ADDRESS

Dear participants, honorable guests, ladies and gentlemen,

It is my honor to open the Eleventh ECPD International Conference on the Future of the World between Globalization and Regionalization, organized by the European Center for Peace and Development (ECPD) of the UN University for Peace.

This 11th ECPD International Conference has been preceded by ten annual conferences all of them devoted to the reconciliation, tolerance and human security in the Balkans. Each one was attended by more than 100 participants – prominent scientific and public figures from almost all over the world. Ten Proceedings of those conferences and other relevant materials have been published and widely distributed. These conferences and other relevant activities, provided a valuable basis for further research and analysis.

This Conference is devoted to a much broader scope of reconsiderations – to the “**Future of the World Between Globalization and Regionalization**”. The decision of the ECPD Academic Council to devote this conference to globalization and regionalization, has been made on the basis of the ECPD estimate of unfavorable development situation in numerous regions as well as in the world as a whole. Such a situation is characterized, inter alia, by the global financial and economic crisis, slow economic recovery of the European Union, Russian–American tensions leading the world to a new cold war, and an unprecedented mass migration that might lead the European Union in an unpredicted and undesirable direction.

This Conference will open a new cycle of ECPD activities in a wider international scope, providing a conceptual space for discussions not only about global issues, but also about regional, local and national ones. Looking through the Conference Agenda and composition of the participants, I am sure that the Conference will cast a new view on the current global and regional state, and suggest the ways of overcoming unfavorable

events. In that order, it will focus on the issues related to globalization and regionalization, addressing particularly the relations between East and West in the light of the latest Euro-Asian developments, Middle East-European issues, etc.

It is also expected that the Conference will adopt conclusions and recommendations to be widely distributed to the heads of state or government, ministers of foreign affairs in the region, as well as to high-ranking officials in the United Nations and European Union.



FUTURE OF THE WORLD BETWEEN GLOBALIZATION AND REGIONALIZATION

Globalization and regionalism are the countervailing powers of our time. It is quite clear that we are moving toward a globalized world, if it might be convenient or not but it is also true that the tendency towards more regional identity is happening. For example, we have had a disintegration process in Europe since 1989, because 24 new states are on the map between the Russian Federation and the European Union. On the other side, there is a global tendency concerning culture and civilization, and telecommunications and new technology are also bringing us nearer together. We have an integration tendency not only in Europe, but also global challenges like world trade, crime fighting and so on. On the other side, a lot of regional instruments are taking place to keep the problems existing, especially in volatile regions, which is for sure the fact between the European Union and the Russian Federation. We have to look at it in general because it is a common tendency with a lot of possibilities for our common future.

The year 1989 was a year of predictions. Francis Fukuyama spoke of the “end of history” and attempted to provide explanations by arguing for the emergence of a socio-political paradigm, which would replace conflicts and tensions prevailing throughout history. In his acclaimed article in *Foreign Affairs*, which led to his book *The Clash of Civilizations*, Samuel Huntington has posited that the world is dominated by religious and cultural conflicts or fault lines which will determine the future struggle. All these theories and predictions illustrate the problem, but offer no solutions. They merely serve as an instrument to identify and define new paradigms to explain the post-Cold War order.

In his latest book *Redrawing the Map of Europe*, the long-time diplomat and political scientist Michael Emerson expounds on O. Tunander’s theory of cosmos and chaos and applies it to the current situation in Europe. He argues that Western democracies and market economies have not succeeded in bringing Europe’s North Eastern, South Eastern or Southern

peripheral areas closer to a Europe which is trying to eliminate its borders. He claims that there is a zone of instability which encompasses approximately 500 million inhabitants in the Eastern, South Eastern Mediterranean and South Eastern European countries, the countries which are not currently being considered for membership in the European Union. One can point to the examples of separatism, nationalism and religious tensions within the European Union. However, these factors are handled differently than in South East Europe. Emerson explains the impact of Islam and its political formations which have played a role in major conflicts not only in South East Europe, but also in Northern Africa, Turkey and the Islamic republics of the former Soviet Union. Emerson realizes that there are young reformers in these countries who want to apply Western models in politics and economics but, as the latest crisis in Macedonia shows, there is no stability achieved. Given the various situations in the region one must learn to differentiate, and differentiation is manifesting itself in a new non-transparency. One has to have a certain knowledge of the situation in order to be able to identify which states belong to what organizations, institutions, initiatives and conferences. This is where the fine line between cosmos and chaos converge and conflict.

INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS AND REGIONAL INTEGRATION

In addition to the fifteen countries of the European Union (EU), there are still many remnants of various levels of the European integration process such as the European Free Trade Association (EFTA) and the European Economic Area (EEA) in which countries like Norway, Switzerland, Liechtenstein and Iceland are connected. One must realize that the EU is the decisive factor and that it is a matter of time before all these countries will, in one form or another, become integrated into these larger structures and lose their special status. There is also the Council of Europe with its 40 members which has done more in the field of culture than in safeguarding the quality of democracy in its member countries. The UN Economic Commission for Europe (UN/ECE) has also survived and now includes the Central Asian states of the former Soviet Union which are as vocal as ever and cannot imagine being classified as non-European. The same applies for the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) which incorporates, in addition to all the republics of the former Soviet Union, the United States and Canada, and Japan as an

observer. There is also NATO, which includes Greece and Turkey as equal partners and thus has prevented a serious conflict from erupting in the Aegean.

There are also a plethora of regional initiatives such as the Baltic Council, the Central European Initiative (CEI), the Black Sea Economic Cooperation (BSEC) and the Southeast European Cooperative Initiative (SECI) which all focus on peace and stability as well as promoting technical cooperation in the different regions and sub-regions of Europe.

Other groupings such as G-7, also G-8 with Russia, G-27, the various roles of the World Bank and the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development (EBRD) as well as the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) are all dealing with many countries and many issues which makes transparency very difficult.

The situation in the countries undergoing political, economic and social transformation varies from country to country. Many new issues are materializing which has resulted in the attempt to invent new, albeit temporary, explanations and instruments to help us navigate our way through the chaos. The question is whether these temporary instruments will develop into self-perpetuating organizations, which will cost the tax-payer money and produce few, if any, results. It would be interesting, for example, to conduct an in-depth evaluation and assessment of the assistance and aid programs which were created for Bosnia and Herzegovina in the aftermath of Dayton. Far too much money was spent and too few results ensued. The EU and international organizations have failed to devise a viable reconstruction strategy for Bosnia and Herzegovina not only economically, but also politically, socially and culturally. If this is not possible to do for an area encompassing 4.5 million inhabitants with all too familiar problems, then how should all these different efforts and initiatives be coordinated in that same area of space? This is the type of chaos to which Emerson was referring.

The same is now happening in Macedonia or, as it is exactly called, the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia (FYROM). On the one side, you have the association agreement with the European Union; on the other side, there is obviously the beginning of a civil war.

In this context, the Stability Pact has to be mentioned. It was created after the Kosovo war with the participation of a lot of European countries as well as the United States, Canada and Japan. There are more than 40 states sitting around the regional table and in the three working tables (human rights and democracy, infrastructure, human justice affairs and security). In general, the Stability Pact has a good intention. It involves a

lot of countries, giving them the responsibility over the situation in South East Europe; there is also an open European perspective and a lot of money has been pledged. On the other side, however, not too much is happening on the ground, which is proved by the ongoing instability but it is also a very different situation. Things are moving better in Yugoslavia and Croatia. There are wars in Macedonia, nothing is moving in Bosnia-Herzegovina and Albania and it is to expect that the economic and social situation will be even more difficult in Romania and Bulgaria. The global context: this situation is very important because cross border criminality is going through this region. It is not done in the region, but it is easier to do it through the region. I think that those earning a lot of money are sitting in the West, trafficking in human beings comes from South East Asia, while drug trafficking comes from Afghanistan. Therefore, the regional situation is a global affair and points to the existence of a lot of chaos.

One has to utilize the dynamics of chaos in order to come closer to the order of cosmos. This requires a far-sighted European perspective.

Many Americans feel that the interests of the United States, Europe and Russia will converge in the 21st century because they face similar challenges. I would like to remind ourselves that for the EU, Russia is a global factor, whereas South East Europe has to be seen in a regional context. This does not exclude the possibility of South East Europe becoming an area where the United States, Europe and Russia will compete for influence as was the case in 1914. The time factor has to be observed. We are currently being exposed to the phrase “window of opportunity” but there is the impending danger that this window will soon close. The alternatives are bloody and expensive conflicts which the future of Europe cannot afford. In addition to the problem of expediency, there is the issue of the European integration process which cannot happen from one day to the next. There is too much to learn in order for this to be possible. The ability and willingness to learn is a prerequisite for the stability of development which requires perseverance.

It is very often criticized that since 1989, there has been no strategy and plan to manage the changes after the fall of the Iron Curtain, the collapse of Yugoslavia and the end of the Soviet Union. Apart from a few calls for a new Marshall Plan, not too much has been accomplished. There was a strong tendency to insist that the transforming states have to come to terms with their new situation on their own. There were national strategies which tended to reflect the egoism of one state or another which claimed certain territorial interests or the “right” to be present in one place or another which can be manifested through the desire to exercise cer-

tain spheres of influence. The immensity of the task proved that not one country, or for that matter not one continent, can rightly claim a sphere of influence in a certain area of Central, Eastern or South Eastern Europe.

There is also a kind of chaos concerning a lot of international organizations in which different organizations are involved. Some of them exist for a long time such as the United Nations Economic Commission for Europe (UN/ECE). The UN/ECE was established as a regional commission for Europe yet it has an almost identical membership structure as the OSCE: it is based in Geneva together with a wide variety of other international organizations such as the High Commissioner for Refugees, the World Trade Organization (WTO), the International Red Cross Committee (IRCC), the International Labor Organization (ILO) and many others. The UN/ECE was a politically blocked organization in the past as a result of the East/West divide, which did not prevent it, however, from developing quite an impressive expertise in the areas of transport, trade, energy, environment and small and medium-sized enterprise development. These are all areas which are important for development. These are all areas which are important for the development of South East Europe and the ECE is now playing a crucial role in providing its expertise to many regional initiatives. It is instrumental in its technical support to the SECI and on the basis of the SECI's success in the region, the ECE is launching the Special Program for the Economies of Central Asia (SPECAs). As a result, cooperation with the European Commission has also been intensified.

The Central European Initiative (CEI) was launched in 1989 as a regional initiative which included Austria, Italy, Hungary and Yugoslavia and was aimed at strengthening mutual relations among these countries. Czechoslovakia and Poland joined this grouping in 1990 when it was then called the Pentagonale and Hexagonale respectively. The CEI now involves 16 countries (Albania, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Bulgaria, Italy, Croatia, Macedonia, Moldova, Austria, Poland, Romania, Slovenia, Slovakia, the Czech Republic, Ukraine, Hungary and Belarus). The CEI has the Center for Information and Documentation, which is located in Trieste and is predominately supported by Austria and Italy. It has a rotating chairmanship and regular annual ministerial meetings at the highest level.

The CEI focuses on the issues of economic and technical cooperation, infrastructure development in transport, energy, telecommunications and agriculture. It also deals with strengthening democratic institutions, observing human rights, minority issues, environmental protection, cooperation in science and technology, media, culture, youth programs

and tourism. There are currently 15 working groups dealing with these issues and coordinated by a system of national coordinators from the member states.

The CEI works very closely with the EBRD which has a special London-based secretariat dealing with CEI projects. This secretariat assists in developing bankable projects for the initiatives and helps with the implementation of projects and training programs. The financing is mainly carried out by special funds which the Italian government has established at the EBRD. The operational unit has an office in both London and Trieste and has its own budget and resources at its disposal.

The impetus behind the South-East European Cooperative Initiative (SECI) is to create a regional association aimed at encouraging cooperation among its member states and to facilitate their integration into European structures. The SECI is not an assistance program nor will it interfere or conflict with existing initiatives, but rather complement them. The SECI was launched in December 1996 on the basis of "Points of Common US-EU Understanding" which stressed that it will endeavor to facilitate close cooperation among the governments of the region and create new channels of communication among policymakers. Furthermore, the SECI emphasizes and coordinates regionwide planning, identifies needed follow-up and missing links, provides for better involvement of the private sector in regional economic and environmental efforts and helps to create a regional climate that encourages the transfer of know-how and augment investment in the private sector. It is the intention of SECI participating states to jointly discuss common (regional) economic and environmental concerns opposed to discussing specific political, historical or ethnic differences.

The collapse of the Soviet Union resulted in the formation of what is either known as the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS) or New Independent States (NIS) – a constellation under the dominance of the Russian Federation and, as some argue, a substitution for the Soviet Union. The developments in and around these states have not really had an impact on Southeast Europe. The Black Sea Economic Cooperation (BSEC) is an initiative which focuses more on this region, the countries along the Black Sea as well as Albania and Moldova. BSEC organizes high-level summits to add to its profile. The BSEC also aims at identifying and dealing with the tense relations between countries such as Turkey, Greece, Azerbaijan, Armenia, Russia, Ukraine and Moldova. The summits provide an opportunity for the leaders of these countries to meet on a regular basis and exchange ideas, even if only in the form of mutual declarations.

The BSEC was established in June of 1992 in Istanbul and consists of the following countries: Albania, Armenia, Azerbaijan, Bulgaria, Georgia, Greece, Moldova, Romania, the Russian Federation, Turkey and Ukraine. The Presidents of these states signed that Yalta Charter in June of 1998 which officially declared the BSEC a regional international organization with a permanent secretariat in Istanbul. It also has the observing states such as Austria, Egypt, Israel, Italy, Poland, Slovakia and Tunisia and candidates for the observer status such as Bosnia and Herzegovina, Croatia, Cyprus, France, Germany, Jordan, Kazakhstan and Slovenia. The Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, Macedonia, Uzbekistan and Iran have applied for membership.

The BSEC works on a governmental level, mainly through the ministers of foreign affairs of the member countries. Ministerial committees deal with issues such as cooperation in the area of science and technology, banking and finance, statistics, health research, transport, energy, agriculture, environment, telecommunications, tourism, crime fighting, illegal migration and smuggling of weapons and radioactive material. The initiative has established the Black Sea Trade and Development Bank which is in Thessaloniki with EBRD backing and which would help finance BSEC projects.

REMAINING QUESTIONS OF THE 21ST CENTURY

The question of the “finalité d’Europe” – the final composition of the continent – is not the only issue with which we are concerned at the beginning of the new century. There is also the question of the final composition of our world. We cannot evade these questions which will remain to be a theme, even for the future of our youth. One cannot disregard this question, therefore it is better to face it actively head on and make it a theme of the new century. After all, this will also have a decisive impact on our own independence.

This is the question of a global order which we are slowly starting to shape. The World Trade Organization is an example of a structure which provides a framework for increasing competition in a global free market. The IMF is often criticized but we need such an instrument just like the World Bank, in order to steer regional or global crises. The same applies to the questions of criminality, communications or cooperation in the field of ecology and environment.

Another question which will have a great impact on the discussion is a growing disparity between rich and poor. In reality, we Europeans are getting richer while other parts of the world, which suffer from overpopulation and hunger, are becoming increasingly more impoverished and we are not in the position to overcome this problem. The world order will be a big question which will follow us. There are fears that a new world war can ensue from social conflict. Samuel Huntington warned in *The Clash of Civilizations* that cultural and religious differences will lead to global conflicts in the future. Or is it possible to have discussions where the differences resemble things we have in common?

We will also encounter questions which are emerging from the dissolution of borders. Telecommunications and space travel are not the only factor. The fact is that the world is becoming too small for us. Is the path to the stars an escape from the problems or future reality? The 21st century will shed light on this as well as on the question of our own humanity – where we come from and where we are going.

In the current situation we have a tremendous change, which we are naming crisis, but you have to understand, that crisis is always a chance. For sure, things are more difficult, especially by the refugee development and other open conflicts, that it might happen, that we are coming closer to a third world war. instead of having a sustainable peace. It is a matter of egoism and the unpreparedness of right cooperation, but we have the movers such as the economy and business. It is necessary to handle the development of Russia as the climate question and other open problems, which are in reality leading together, because we have no alternative. We have the lack of leadership, but civil society is coming instead of governments to move us forward.

CONCLUSIONS

The Eleventh ECPD International Conference, organized by the European Center for Peace and Development (ECPD) of the University for Peace established by the United Nations, an international educational and research institution in Eastern and Central Europe was held in Belgrade, on 24-25 October, 2015. It was preceded by ten annual ECPD international conferences devoted to reconciliation, tolerance and human security in the Balkans. This year's Conference was devoted to the “**Future of the World Between Globalization and Regionalization**”. Under this broad topic numerous globalization and regionalization issues were discussed.

The timing of this Conference coincides with an extremely complex situation in the world: political instability in numerous parts of the globe and unpredictability in the relations between big powers, continuation of the global economic and financial crisis and a threat of a new cold war, of a negative climate change, massive refugee crisis, and growing economic inequality.

The Conference was attended by numerous participants, prominent academics, politicians and diplomats from almost all parts of the world, many of whom presented their papers or took part in discussions.

On the basis of the expressed views, the **following conclusions were adopted:**

1. Globalization offers the potential for a richer world and for better welfare. However, at the same time, globalization processes are producing serious negative effects. The gap between the developed North and developing South, as well as between rich and poor minorities, nationally and globally, is increasing, and this process can provoke revolts and conflicts in underdeveloped states and regions, with far-reaching consequences (mass migration is the most striking example). To avoid further aggravation of the present negative situation and future threats, a better distribution of the world resources is necessary.

2. Transition from the Industrial into the Technological age is characterized by the enormous expansion of communications, world production of sophisticated goods and services, intensification of trade and transportation, etc. These activities should be considered as natural and therefore supported. However, globalization as a natural process should not be imposed or accelerated by political pressures and military interventions.
3. The process of intensification and globalization of economic development reveals two major tendencies: the transfer of the center of economic power from the West to Asia with massive production relocation and a change of the old political and international economic order. These tendencies are conducive to international disorder and to avoid this trend, deep reforms, particularly those related to the elimination of plutocratic groups (G7, G8, G20) and the establishment of new global governance, are required.
4. The “Arab Spring”, which started in 2011, has vanished due to the lack of efficient global institutions, with enormous economic and social consequences, the most evident of which is mass migration. Besides, the latest developments in the Middle East threaten a further escalation.
5. The European Union, only economic for the time being, is struggling with the economic and financial crisis, while unprecedented flows of mass migration provoke new problems which may lead the European Union in an unforeseen and undesirable fragmentation.
6. The problems facing the European Union are bound to have serious effects on the Balkan countries. The Middle East–Western Europe refugee route crosses the Balkan countries with numerous negative effects. A reduced ability of the European Union to support the development of the Balkan economies is slowing their economic recovery and development. Moreover, the preparation of the Balkan countries for EU accession has turned out to take more time, than originally expected. Many shortcomings, e.g. in the area of rule of law and democratic governance, still have to be overcome.
7. The Balkans remains the least developed European region. An inefficient transition and economic privatizations increased the gap between the Region and Western Europe. The GNP of most of the Balkan states in 2014 was not higher than in 2008!

To speed up their development, the Balkan states should try to increase their GNP at the rate of at least five per cent per year. To do so, they must ensure better management of their national resources (human and material), establish better and more effective private and public sectors, increase R&D&I and endogenous joint activities in the context of better inter-state and regional cooperation. The accession of all Balkan countries to the European Union would considerably help this process.

Closer, better organized and institutional cooperation among the Balkan countries is forcefully recommended. The establishment of joint committees for some specific areas – communications, infrastructure, supply and distribution of energy was also recommended.

There was a consensus that the Eleventh ECPD International Conference was very successful. The speakers and the discussants expressed many interesting ideas and recommendations, which will be broadly internationally shared and will provide a basis for further ECPD activities.

However, such a conference, like the previous ten ones, require a long time for their preparations and the distribution of their outputs. Therefore, the participants **recommended that instead of large annual conferences the ECPD should organize several smaller international round tables that would focus on the issues of prime importance for Europe and, in particular, South East Europe.**

It was agreed at the Eleventh Conference that the political and security situation in the Balkans is notably better today than a few years ago. However, the consequences of armed conflicts have not yet been overcome. Relations between ethnic and religious groups, as well among the new states are still tense. Besides, the growing gap in economic development brings new challenges. Therefore, the participants **recommended** that the ECPD should intensify its institutional activities for the promotion of peace, development and national reconciliation in the Region.

The European Center for Peace and Development is an international educational and research organization within the broader system of the United Nations Organization. Therefore, its activity should not be limited by frontiers. Its statutory mandate is “*to organize and carry out the corresponding postgraduate studies, research activities and dissemination of knowledge...*”. The participants indicated that the ECPD should expand its network and activities in the Euro-Asian region, including also the Mediterranean and Middle East regions.

For its activities, ECPD depends to a large extent on support and cooperation with academic institutions and national and international organizations. Therefore, the Eleventh Conference recommended the ex-

pansion and intensification of cooperation with academic, governmental and non-governmental institutions in the elaboration and implementation of its educational programs and research projects.

It is time for action. The present global and local situation requires urgently timely treatment (in social and environmental aspects) before points of no return can be reached.

The scientific, academic and intellectual communities at large could advise on and anticipate the activities to be undertaken for which parliamentarians and municipal council members are logically unprepared.



ECPD International Conference
FUTURE OF THE WORLD BETWEEN GLOBALIZATION AND REGIONALIZATION,
Belgrade, City Hall, 24-25 October, 2015