

# NEW BALKANS AND EUROPE – PEACE DEVELOPMENT INTEGRATION

*Proceedings of The Tenth ECPD  
International Conference on  
RECONCILIATION, TOLERANCE AND  
HUMAN SECURITY IN THE BALKANS*

*Editors:*

*Negoslav P. Ostojić / Jonathan Bradley / Akio Kawato*



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



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**Belgrade, October 24–25, 2014**

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# INTRODUCTION

RECONCILIATION, TOLERANCE AND HUMAN SECURITY IN THE  
BALKANS – NEW BALKANS AND EUROPE – PEACE, DEVELOPMENT,  
INTEGRATION

PROCEEDINGS OF THE TENTH ECPD INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE

BELGRADE, OCTOBER 24–25, 2014

The Tenth ECPD International Conference on “National/Inter-Ethnic Reconciliation, Inter-Religious Tolerance and Human Security in the Balkans”, focusing on the topic “**New Balkans and European Union – Peace, Development, Integration**” (hereinafter: the Tenth Conference) was held in Belgrade, October 24–25, 2014 and represented a continuation of the implementation of the ECPD international research and educational project under the same name, initiated in 2005 and realized through the organization of annual conferences and the work of the ECPD International Permanent Study Group (IPSG).

Since this was a *jubilee* conference, the participants took the opportunity to closely deliberate on the past, current and future ECPD activities related to the reconciliation, tolerance and human security in the Balkans.

The Conference was attended by over 200 participants – prominent scientists, politicians, diplomats and high-ranking officials of international, regional and national institutions from Europe, USA, Canada, Japan, China, Australia and other countries worldwide. It should be noted that among participants there were, inter alia, high former and current government officials (seven at ministerial level and several former heads of state), representatives of national academies of sciences and arts (eight members and one president), professors from numerous prestigious European, American and Asian universities, directors and members of several research institutes and centers, chiefs and/or representatives of diplomatic missions in Serbia – the ECPD host country and neighbouring states (five chiefs of missions and twelve *chargé d'affaires*, counsellors and secretaries), as well as representatives of major religious communities across the region, about 50 observers and mass-media representatives. Many journalists, from almost all major news agencies from the region followed and widely reported on the work of the Conference.

The Tenth Conference was chaired by distinguished diplomat, H.E. **Akio Kawato**, President of the ECPD Council and H.E. **Erhard Busek**,

Former Austrian Deputy Chancellor. The President of the ECPD Honorary Council, H.E. **Boutros Boutros Ghali**, Former UN Secretary-General sent a Special Message to the Conference, while H.E. **Federico Mayor**, long-standing Director-General of UNESCO addressed the participants through a video link. H.E. **Erhard Busek**, as a keynote speaker, focused on “Peace in the Balkans and Everywhere”, while professors Wolfgang Wolte and **Darko Tanasković** referred to the past, current and future ECPD activities.

Most of the presented papers and speeches are included in the Proceedings of the Conference and arranged in the following thematic order:

- Opening Remarks, Messages and Keynote Speeches;
- Globalization: New Processes and their Macro and Micro Implications;
- Post-Global crisis, European Union and its Surroundings;
- New Balkans on the Way to Stable Peace and Sustainable Development;
- Closing Remarks.

## PRESENTED MESSAGES, PAPERS, SPEECHES

### 1. Opening Remarks, Messages, Keynote Speeches

Ambassador **Akio Kawato** in his Opening Remarks introduced himself in his capacity as Chairman of the Conference and President of the ECPD Council, referring briefly to the various ECPD activities devoted to the promotion of peace and stability through reconciliation, tolerance and human security in the Balkans. At the same time, Ambassador Kawato emphasised that in spite of the notable results, there “still a lot remains to be done” in many fields of operation. H.E. **Boutros Boutros-Ghali** in his Message congratulated the ECPD on its excellent and valuable work on the promotion of peace and development in Europe, especially in its south-east region.

H.E. **Erhard Busek**, as a keynote speaker, presented his views on peace in the Balkans and asserted that the economy is very important, but the international environment is even more important, pointing out to some major developments of regional and global impact. H.E. **Wolfgang Wolte** in his Statement affirmed that the European Union is going through a period of stormy weather. That might be a reason for the apparently slow accession of the Western Balkan countries into the Union. He is of the opinion that the European Union should be more flexible and sof-

ten its enlargement policy, but “the first addresses are candidate countries themselves”.

Prof. Dr. **Darko Tanasković** in his speech referred to the unfavorable world situation in which the Tenth ECPD International Conference was taking place. He noted that the promotion of reconciliation and tolerance contributed to short-term cessation of violence, but many long-term scars of conflict remained. Therefore, the Tenth Conference should tackle these and other problems of actual regional, European and global dimensions.

H.E. **Federico Mayor** attached special attention to the importance of education for culture of peace. For more information, see link: <https://drive.google.com/file/d/0BOKwAhAKfyPNjJFUUpXN1E3bWc/view?usp=sharing>

## **2. Globalization: New Processes and their Macro and Micro Implications**

The Conference was held at a time of immense changes and turbulences all over the world while global financial and economic crisis continued to hamper social and economic development in most countries. All this has led to the beginnings of a new Cold War which represents, together with the armed conflicts and terrorist actions and operations almost all around the globe, a serious threat to regional and international peace and security, as emphasized by numerous participants in their discussions.

Academician **Oleg Bogomolov**, a distinguished Russian economist, in his report on “Cardinal Shifts in Human Civilization” asserted that contemporary mankind is on the treshhold of profound changes. According to his view, unprecedented scientific and technological progress brings about significant shifts in social structure, while the most recent events in Ukraine could have dramatic consequences for peace and economic cooperation in Europe. Their outcome is hardly foreseeable, but they do influence Russia, Balkan countries and their relations with the Russian Federation. Speaking of the importance of economic diplomacy, Prof. Dr. **Jožef Kunič** referred to the reverse tendency in globalization, a tendency of de-globalization bringing many uncertainties. In his opinion, the world is now in the middle of a Cold War and deep economic crisis. In such circumstances, economic diplomacy on the global scale as well as development of the Balkan countries is of utmost importance.

Prof. Dr. **Pavle Bubanja**, in his paper, expressed his view that the UN Charter can hardly endure the test of modern times. Within the last seventy years revolutionary changes in geo-politics, technology, economy and other spheres of human life occurred, resulting in a decline in moral

standards and social values. Contemporary mankind is faced with direct and indirect threats to its very existence, asserted Prof. Bubanja, who believes that it is high time for a new approach to peace and prosperity. Prof. Dr. **Nano Ružin**, deliberating on Samuel Huntington's Clash of Civilizations, emphasised that his theory deals with the clash among macro civilizations, while in the Balkans there have been clashes among micro civilizations. After the 1990s armed conflicts and the establishment of new nation-states, the threat of new clashes has not disappeared; this arises from new iconographies and the effects of national pride.

In his paper, "1914-2014: From the Clash of Imperialisms to the Soft Power of the European Union", Prof. Dr. **Pasquale Baldocci** referred briefly to the causes and aims of the imperialistic Great War and considered new potential processes of European integration, calling for further economic and political integration. Speaking about the "Winds of War in Europe", Ms. **Lisa Romero** pointed to the threats to peace, stressing that "In Terra Pax" has been preached by all religions and most politicians, but peace is nowhere. She referred to the situation in and around Ukraine with the "Crimea case" in particular and demanded that the fighting should end immediately; otherwise the peaceful future of Europe will inevitably be jeopardized.

Presenting her view on the position and roles of women in Islam, Dr. **Nora Repo** reminded that five percent of the European population is Muslim, especially in the Balkans where Islam as a tradition has a long-standing history. She thinks that the process of feminism is breaking into the Muslim world and believes that in the coming years we will witness a major change in promoting gender equality.

### 3. Post-Global Crisis: European Union and its Surroundings

The European Union continues to struggle with the consequences of the global crisis, lagging in development and weighed down by the deep indebtedness of some of its member states, as well as the appearance of disorder in its surroundings, all of which are the factors that imperil the stability of the Union. Most of the Conference participants tackled these and other issues facing the European Union and the Balkans.

Prof. Dr. **Silvo Devetak** in his paper stressed that the European Union's neighbourhood (the Balkans, the Mediterranean area, the Middle East, Ukraine, and the Caucasus) in recent years has been transformed into an area of disorder with an unpredictable future. He thinks that the European Union should conceptualize its common, autonomous, foreign policy based on the interests of all its member states, as well as current



and potential candidates, building thus a common space for stable peace and sustainable development. In his paper, Prof. Dr. **Jovan Manasijevski** analysed the influence of the external (European Union neighbourhood) crisis upon the European Union, as a regional and global actor, noting, however, that the European Union has to confirm itself as a key regional security factor; otherwise it would not be seen as a strategic actor.

According to the opinion of Prof. Dr. **Roberto Belloni**, euroscepticism in the West Balkan countries is increasing. Reflecting on public opinion surveys conducted in those countries, he stressed that the mid and long-term consequences of such shifts in public opinion could hardly be compatible with the aspirations of candidate countries for EU accession. Speaking about the values of the European Union, H.E. Prof. **Reinhard Priebe** referred to Winston Churchill's 1946 speech on the "*common inheritance* Europe should share, once united" and cited twenty-nine values built into the policy and practice of the Union. At the end, Prof. Priebe mentioned that it is not only a question of values. Enforcing them efficiently is very much a question of *credibility* of the Union towards its citizens, its member states, its candidates and neighbours, and the world as a whole.

Prof. Dr. **Boris Shmelev** referred in particular to the Russian – European Union relations and closely elaborated three phases or periods of the relations between the two sides; the first, the process of advancement (1994–1999); the second, a period of stagnation (2000–2013) with ups and downs, and the third, entry into a new cold war (Ukraine crisis). In conclusion, Prof. Shmelev emphasised that the relations with the European Union would remain a top foreign policy priority for Russia. Talking about good practices in cultural cooperation between the European Union and the Balkan countries, Prof. Dr. Melita Richter, illustrated that practice through two examples: the first is related to the EU IPA multi-beneficiary program in the field of culture, specifically concerning Women's Heritage, and the second one granting the Italian prestigious cultural award – the International Carlo Scapia Prize, to two Bosnian villages.

According to Dr. **Nikola Gjorgon**, 2014 marked the centennial of the First World War, which proved to be a mere prelude to the second one. The two World Wars and new Cold War on the horizon should serve as a catalyst for a new European paradigm: peace and development through integration. In her paper, Dr. **Myrienne Coen** analysed the changes in the geo-political order. The simultaneous emergence of more and more non-state actors: politico-religious extremist movements, violent criminal organizations, drug traffickers, dealers in weapons and human beings

and the like, might jeopardize international peace and stability. Dr. **Aleksandar Protic** highlighted several points which attracted the increasing interest of UNESCO in the New Balkans. He elaborated those points, including the policy of gender equality and preservation of Serbian Medieval Monuments in Kosovo, stressing the fact that the ECPD's activities on reconciliation and tolerance have also been noticed in UNESCO.

#### **4. New Balkans on the Way to Stable Peace and Sustainable Development**

Deliberations on the New Balkans, its actual and/or future development, were simply unavoidable. Most of the participants presented their papers, tackled or discussed various aspects relevant to the Balkan countries and their peoples. Integration of all Balkan countries in regional, European and wider international associations was particularly emphasised.

Academician **Vlado Kambovski** suggested that the economic and cultural cooperation of the Balkan countries is a precondition for stable peace and sustainable development and pointed to the means leading to the achievement of that goal. Academician **Paskal Milo** expressed in his paper an optimistic view on the perspective of cooperation among Western Balkan countries and peoples. Political cooperation, according to his opinion, comes first. However, without complete and sustainable Serb-Albanian reconciliation it could hardly be achievable. Speaking about balanced and evenly developed Balkans as a peace project, Prof. Dr. **Dmitar Mirčev** referred to the disputes among Balkan countries and peoples – disputes which still have not been overcome. Starting from such estimation, Prof. Mirčev stated that “there is no guarantee that conflicts in the region, even within individual states, will not appear again”. He cited elements for a strategy leading to peace and development.

Prof. Dr. **Nobuhiro Shiba** in his paper stated that writing and teaching common, regional – instead of national or state, history is necessary for effective national reconciliation and tolerance in the Balkans. He also pointed at the efforts which are being made in writing and teaching regional history of the East Asian states. According to Prof. Dr. **Nikola Popovski**, recovery of the economies of Balkan countries is slow and relatively inefficient. He further analyzed the status of the economies of the Balkan countries and concluded that the future of their development depends on the knowledge-based economy. Prof. Dr. **Zahari Zahariev** considers the Balkans as a European trouble spot, or the “European Apple of Discord”. He listed six reasons which underpin such an assessment.

Prof. Dr. **Miodrag Vuković** in his paper “Responsibility for Protection” considers the multi-ethnic and multi-confessional structure of Montenegro and the intentions of some of its neighbouring countries to interfere in its internal affairs through their ethnic groups. **Nikifor Milović**, Archimandrite, referring to the disputes between the Serbian Orthodox Church and official authorities of Montenegro, emphasised that the Serbian Orthodox Church remains open for dialogue carried on in the spirit of mutual trust and deep mutual appreciation, while Prof. Dr. **Vjekoslav Domljan** in his paper focused on the history of Bosnia and Herzegovina until its full independence, underlying the fact that Bosnia and Herzegovina, being a small state, should strive towards and explore all possibilities for the establishment and promotion of regional cooperation.

Dr. **Zoran Petrović-Piroćanac** considered the reality of the notion “New Balkans”. Referring to the richness of regional and Kosovo natural resources, he stressed that Serbia should not accept a solution that does not envisage common exploitation of those resources by both Serbian and Albanian peoples. Prof. Dr. **Timi Ećimović** made considerable efforts to define the meaning of globalization and to portray briefly the previous evolution of Homo sapiens. He further considered various natural and human phenomena, including the sustainable future of mankind.

## CONCLUDING REMARKS

Ambassador **Akio Kawato**, Chairman of the Conference, presenting the Closing Remarks, summarized the work of the Conference and suggested numerous activities that should be undertaken by the ECPD, together with its strategic partners, in the near future.

**More details about the above expressed views, suggestions and recommendations can be found in the papers presented 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 as the organizer of the Conference and the publisher of the Proceedings.**

*Editors*



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<b>Martinović, Slobodan</b>	President, Center for Policy Research Argument
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<b>Savio, Roberto</b>	President Emeritus, IPS, Italy
<b>Shiba, Nobuhiro</b>	Professor, University of Tokyo, Japan
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<b>Šoškić, Branislav</b>	Rector, ECPD International Postgraduate and Doctoral Studies
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<b>Tanasković, Darko</b>	Ambassador, Professor, Faculty of Philosophy, University of Belgrade, Serbia
<b>Tassone Romero, Lisa</b>	Member of World Society of Victimology
<b>Teruuchi, Akihito</b>	First Secretary, Embassy of Japan in Serbia
<b>Tomić, Aleksandra</b>	Member of Parliament, National Assembly of Serbia

<b>Trifunović, Milica</b>	Public Relations Officer, Embassy of Germany in Serbia
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<b>Zahariev, Zahari</b>	President, Slavyani Foundation, Sofia, Bulgaria
<b>Zarić, Siniša</b>	Professor, Faculty of Economics, University of Belgrade, Serbia
<b>Zirdum, Dženita</b>	Federal TV, Bosnia and Herzegovina
<b>Zlatković, Gorana</b>	Minister of Justice, Government of the Republic of Srpska, Bosnia and Herzegovina
<b>Žunić, Svetlana</b>	Professor, Medical Faculty, University of Belgrade, Serbia



I | OPENING REMARKS,  
KEYNOTE SPEECHES,  
MESSAGES





## OPENING REMARKS

Dear participants, honourable guests, ladies and gentlemen

I, Akio Kawato, the newly appointed President of the ECPD Council, have the honour and pleasure to open the Tenth Jubilee International Conference on national Reconciliation, Religious Tolerance and Human Security. When my predecessor, H.E. Takehiro Togo – whose exceptional intellect and empathetic nature I believe most of you are well aware of – unexpectedly passed away, I was offered to take over his duty. I was honoured but at the same time I was not quite certain whether I would be able to perform these duties as efficiently and successfully as my friend and mentor Takehiro Togo did. I am availing myself of this opportunity to show my due respect.

The previous nine conferences were dedicated to the same goal: contribution to the promotion of peace and development in this turbulent region through inter-ethnic reconciliation and religious tolerance. The issue of the contribution to reconciliation and tolerance in the post-conflict Balkan region was imposed at the Ministerial meeting in Tokyo in 2005. This task was endorsed to the European Center for Peace and Development which in turn, with the support of the Government of Japan and the Governments of the countries where the previous Conferences were organised (Serbia, Montenegro, Croatia), invested great efforts for the promotion of peace, development and international cooperation. Besides the nine large international conferences, the European Center for Peace and Development also organised other numerous international gatherings, and through its educational and research activities vigorously promoted peace and security in the region and beyond.

These activities have given certain results “but still a lot remains to be done”, as the late Takehiro Togo stated in his speech at the Eighth ECPD International Conference. Namely, the decade long fratricidal conflicts in the region of former Yugoslavia ended about fifteen years ago, but – as I understood – it is difficult to say that stable peace and sustainable

development have been achieved in the Balkans. Strained relationships between ethnic and religious groups continue, and ethnic reconciliation and religious tolerance slowly improve, while the UN Concept of “Human Security” barely reaches the Balkans. The hate speech in mass media and from officials of individual countries can still be heard occasionally, while there are also certain groups which would wish to solve the problems by use of force. In the Balkans, especially in its Western part, sensitive regions do exist and threaten to escalate into an open conflict.

Out of ten, five Balkan countries (excluding Turkey) have full EU membership, while another five eagerly tend to join the EU. Thus, it could be said that the Balkans have become a part of the European Union and an integrated part of it which has a great economic and security importance. However, the Balkans still lags in economic development and it is not only the most undeveloped part of Europe, but the degree of developmental disparities between the Balkans and the rest of Europe are wider than ten, fifteen or twenty years ago.

The European Center for Peace and Development of the UN mandated University for Peace through its mission of promoting peace, development and international cooperation seems to have been deliberately and consciously established in the center of the Balkans, where the development of peace and security is more than needed. In the forthcoming period the ECPD will, inevitably, focus its attention on the Balkans, intensifying its activities in the fields of education, research and dissemination of knowledge, aiming to promote peace and development – two interdependent notions, because without peace there would not be sustainable development, and vice versa.

BOUTROS BOUTROS-GHALI

FORMER UN GENERAL-SECRETARY,  
PRESIDENT OF THE ECPD HONORARY COUNCIL

## MESSAGE TO THE TENTH ECPD INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE

Once again, on account of other obligations, I regret deeply to be unable to take part in this tenth ECPD annual conference. I would have liked to be again in Belgrade and in this region, which I am attached to and familiar with its problems which I experienced during my term as the UN Secretary-General.

I welcome and congratulate ECPD on its excellent, highly valuable work over the last three decades, and encourage it to continue and expand its significant activities.

Problems besetting the West Balkans today are similar and often identical to those experienced by developing countries in different parts of the world, namely those arising from the interrelated challenges of: a) attaining development objectives and aspirations; b) maintaining peace, including domestic peace; c) protecting national sovereignty and dignity; and, d) playing a role and having an influential say in the conduct of world affairs. It is important to recall that some 50 years ago, these very objectives brought together leaders of developing countries from Africa, Asia and Latin America in our host city Belgrade, objectives which, to the present day are shared by all developing countries and which they promote jointly through their group action in the United Nations and in the global arena.

Lessons learned and experiences in this region are of relevance to all developing countries and especially to the Arab countries, to the United Nations, and also concern multilateralism and global governance. Here, I single out the need to manage and respond to realpolitik practices of contemporary geopolitics, which have resuscitated some ghosts from the recent and more distant past. Today, they continue to affect and are felt acutely in the West Balkans, as well as in the Arab world, both well-known for their turbulent histories, especially in the 20<sup>th</sup> century.

How your countries and peoples deal with and confront these multiple, interrelated challenges of peace and development is thus of wider, global significance.

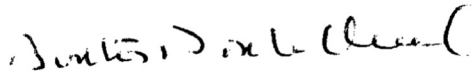
I insist that in these efforts it is essential to transcend bigotry, religious and political fundamentalisms and populisms, and jointly to address the root causes of old and new problems, in search for solutions through common efforts, solidarity and enlightenment. ECPD, as an institution established under the UN mandated University for Peace, has been trying to contribute to this goal through its unique activities.

It is my sincere wish that in this manner it will also contribute to rebuilding, on new foundations, a community of peoples and nations that existed in the region during the era of SFR Yugoslavia, by promoting economic cooperation, mutual trust, and solidarity in the quest for common welfare in the West Balkans.

As someone who comes from Egypt, today facing social, economic and political upheavals, and wars in the Arab world, I also wish to salute the efforts by ECPD to revive its important earlier work on development and South-South cooperation, domains which can help Arab countries to solve and overcome their internal problems.

I wish you success in your deliberations and proceedings.

Boutros Boutros-Ghali  
Former Secretary-General of the United Nations  
President, ECPD Honorary Council



ERHARD BUSEK

PROFESSOR, FORMER VICE-CHANCELLOR OF AUSTRIA A.D.  
AND SPECIAL COORDINATOR OF THE STABILITY PACT  
FOR SOUTH-EASTERN EUROPE

## PEACE IN THE BALKANS AND EVERYWHERE

One of the characteristics of our time is that the changes are quicker and obviously more fundamental as we are sometimes aware of it. That is the tremendous request not only in politics but also in education. It is important, that we are able to handle them to find the right reactions and not to lose the perspective of our work. I may say even visions are necessary on this because otherwise we are not able to fix the role of Europe. Changing Europe does not mean only changes in the economy. For sure the economy is very important, because it is a basis nearly for everything, but what is going on, is even more impressive. I only want to fix some points:

- The importance of Europe will diminish. The reason for this is that other parts of our world are coming up. Always the BRIC-states are mentioned, but it is not only this. It is in general Asia, South America and Africa. In comparison to some states like India and China Europe is smaller than them. The philosopher Peter Sloterdijk is saying that Europe is only a peninsula or an appendix of Asia. On this the vision Eurasia is sometimes mentioned as our future. I think, it is a very serious and interesting concept, because real borders between Europe and Asia are extremely difficult to define. The most outstanding example is Russia. If you are standing on both sides of the Ural Mountains you cannot recognise in which continent you are.
- Another argument are the changes concerning the population. We are becoming, especially in Europe, an aging society. Further, there is a migration trend that brings notable changes. The current economic situation is moving it forward, if you take into account the fact that Germany is looking for a labour force in Spain where the young generation is highly unemployed.

- Also the cultural impact of these developments is very important. We only know the clashes and conflicts and define them. Islamophobia is appearing and a kind of new nationalism. By that I think, the changes are going deeper and deeper.
- The economy has changed, not only concerning the different crises, but also concerning resources and the competition looking to the resources. The engagement of China in Africa is only one example, but it should not be forgotten, that technology has a real great impact, which we are sometimes not really aware of. Especially the so called information society has a great input, not only on democracy, but in general on the economic development. Prosperity rights are under pressure and are changing the rules of competition.
- Last but not least: it has to be mentioned that we have a lot of crises: economic crisis, banking crisis, Europe crisis, crisis in Ukraine and Middle East and so on. Personally I am convinced that these are crises on politics and politicians, but that is no reason to be desperate, because a crisis by the original word in the old Greek language is a time where we have to judge and to decide. This might move us forward in the right direction.
- The reaction happening now is very ambivalent. On the one side there is a campaign for less Europe. Furthermore, especially if you are also looking at the banking and financial questions, the economy will need more Europe.

For “more Europe” there is no alternative. What do you want instead of the European Union? Great Britain can be the 51<sup>st</sup> state of the United States, the French can try to build up something in the western part of the Mediterranean Area, in Central Europe we can look for a follow up of the Habsburg Monarchy and so on. But these are all no solution for the presence and for the future. We have to position Europe and all its parts – also the Balkans – in the context of the global world. For sure it will take some time to move in this direction, but let us face it: the nation state is loosing importance. The nation state is still necessary, because we are organised on this basis, but we have to develop the right instruments. Until now international organisations are not fitting in to solve problems. You can see it for the United Nations concerning the crises in the Middle East and so on. But on the other side we have some international organisations like OSCE wich are very necessary. This is a great challenge for the Balkans, because we have to fit into the right situation. So far a new “regionalism” is developing. Concerning the Balkans, it means that

the Regional Cooperation Council (RCC) which was founded in 2007, needs to be taken seriously. I think, this Council is not able to solve the political problems, but it can create a lot of arrangements and institutions for better regional cooperation. It was already done with CEFTA (Central European Free Trade Association) with fighting crime with its centre in Bucharest, with RACVIAC (Centre for Security Cooperation) concerning demilitarisation, e-Cooperation, which is done by Slovenian Centre and so on and so on. There is a lot to do. For example there is no Balkan airline system that is really working. The transport cooperation on the railways and especially on the River Danube is still missing. The EUSDR (European Union Strategy of the Danube Region) is a big challenge and a real change not only for water management and transport, but also for the economic development, tourism and competition.

Why is this regionalism necessary? For the Balkans and especially concerning the environment, it is essential what was done in the Middle East by the Arab Spring, but also the connections towards Russia, China, India and so on and so on.

The chances exist, because the Balkans is at the moment really stable. For sure governments are changing, but the problems in Europe are elsewhere and not in the Balkans alone.

There is a stable economy at a low level, but the debts of the countries are not as high as for example in South Europe or even in more developed countries in the western part. The EU enlargement is moving a little bit forward with Croatia and also with opening of the negotiations with other countries. This has to be pushed forward, because otherwise we are losing time. The real danger for the Balkans is to be forgotten! The Balkans is not the periphery of the periphery of our world.

The Balkans is the real chance for the economy to offer opportunities for recovery. There are a lot of needs concerning infrastructure, investment, consumer goods and so on and so on. That is the reason why a lot of enterprises are not even in the economic crisis, not moving out of the region, because they are expecting a real push forward. It is also necessary for example concerning the different identities and the necessary reconciliations. In the Balkans we have a European Islam. It should be used, because otherwise more extremist positions will come up here. What is missing is a real understanding in other parts of Europe, because otherwise we would have better handled the situation of the Bosnians, Macedonians and so on. Also practically a lot remains to be done. The second bridge over the river Danube between Romania and Bulgaria is opened, which is for sure necessary because on 470 km borderline there

was only one bridge. This is a symbol. We need a bridge over troubled waters and I think that is also the function of ECPD to be a contributor on this subjects. So far we have to look very positively to the changes around the Balkans which is offering us a lot of chances.

Some additional remarks, giving hope in the current development:

The new European Commission is more political than the past one. So far it is to expect, that Jean Claude Juncker and his team might move things in the right direction. I think, it is not necessary to be shocked by the comment that in the next five years there will be no enlargement. We shall push the countries of the region to fulfil the conditions anyway. If they are doing so, nobody can say no. At the moment the candidate countries are giving arguments to be against them. They have also to do more campaigns in the member states of the European Union in order to be better understood.

It will be of great importance how Serbia will conduct chairmanship in OSCE. Are they able to do the same as the Swiss did? I think, with some success. I think it is really necessary. But we also have to focus on the fact, that after the football game between Serbia and Kosovo some new old difficulties appeared. They are overestimated by the media, but they do exist. So far we have to be very careful, that the speech of hate and lack of reconciliation do not revamp.

Another problem is Bosnia-Herzegovina, because the election result is not helpful for the future of this country. So far it is necessary to press especially the member states and the United States to start real negotiations on a new constitution. It is not to expect, that it will be initiated inside the country. So far it is necessary to do pressure from the outside.

Another chance is regional cooperation: so far the Regional Cooperation Council has to gain more concrete results down on the ground. Maybe they can take the Visegrád Cooperation as an example, maybe establishing funds like the Visegrád Funds and also to be more engaged in the context of the Danube initiative.

Plenty of exercises of cooperation like Central European Initiative, SEECP, Adriatic Ionian Initiative and so on. I think, every country, if it is in the chair, is fighting for visibility instead of results. So far it is quite necessary. Why? We have a lot of critical situations. At the end I want to name it: we are getting more authoritarian figures and maybe even politics in different countries, which is not helpful for the development of democracy and human rights. Also press freedom is under pressure. The last reports are more horrible than ever. We are returning to the situation in the beginning after the Dayton Agreement. Another point is to focus on



immigration, because here capacity in different countries is lost. I think, we have to create brain circulation instead of brain drain. At last, but very important point is the role of religion in the region, but also in Europe. It does not only concern Islam, it also concerns Christian churches. We have no real cooperation on the subject, but there is a demand for values by common citizens. So far sometimes the wrong values are accepted. We have to do research on the subject where we are getting better results.

In general: it is depending on us, that we are reaching consolidation in the region further on. It makes no sense to ask always outside – it has to be done internally and it is a responsibility of all those living in this region. Future is possible, but we have to do it by ourselves.

WOLFGANG WOLTE

AMBASSADOR, AUSTRIAN SOCIETY FOR EUROPEAN POLITICS,  
VIENNA, AUSTRIA

## STATEMENT AT THE 10<sup>TH</sup> ECPD INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE RECONCILIATION, TOLERANCE AND HUMAN SECURITY IN THE BALKANS

It is an honor and pleasure for me to take part in this year's Tenth<sup>s</sup> ECPD International Conference "New Balkans and the EU: Peace, Development, Integration". As in the past, the conference promises to provide a most valuable forum for stock-taking and charting the path of the six Western Balkans countries into the future.

The European Union is going through a period of stormy weather. The European media, also in their role of loudspeakers for the opinion of European citizens, do not tire of criticizing the European Union in general and the work of their institutions in particular. The Brussels Commission is a favorite target of comments, not least for their alleged tendency to rule and regulate our lives to a degree that many people consider unnecessary. The high rate of unemployment, especially amongst young people, the lack of progress in seeking a solution to the Ukrainian crisis and a settlement of the relations with Russia are some of the most frequently cited reasons for the present unsatisfactory state of the European Integration – Peace – and Development Process. In this picture marked by uncertainties falls a ray of hope: the report entitled "EU – Enlargement in 2014 and Beyond: Progress and Challenges".

There is little point in even trying to summarize its main conclusions, commentaries and recommendations. Its primary value lies in an objective and future – oriented description of the present situation in candidate countries on their road to membership in the European Union. The documents before us have been drafted by the Commission Services with great care, competence and "Fingerspitzengefühl", obviously taking into account information provided by each country under scrutiny.

The result of this careful constructive approach is a series of documents that should serve as guideline for future efforts. The basis continues to be the Declaration of Thessaloniki and the Declaration of Salzburg in which the European perspective for the countries of the Western Balkans is firmly anchored. Considerable progress has been achieved. At the same

time, the list of problems that will have to be tackled and ultimately solved is long and presents a challenge to government and citizens. And the decision makers will want to act in accordance with the findings and recommendations of the Commission, in this way furthering the interests of the entire region.

This state of affairs should be seen against the background of the statement of Commission President Jean Claude Juncker to the effect that no accession should be expected during the coming five years. The European Union, too, needs some time for self reflection and reform. Thus the years ahead will hopefully be put to good use by all European decision-makers. Understandably, the first addressees of our hopes and assistance are the candidate countries themselves. The road map into the future is clearly defined. We are all called upon to walk this road together.

Given this agenda the present members of the Union are ready to help along the way. I hope that at our next conference a year from now will have before it a report from the Balkan countries themselves as they assess the assistance they have received from both multilateral and bilateral sources. A concise, brief report on these issues would undoubtedly be appreciated by those funding the various programs. Success and failures in the efforts of candidate countries are being watched attentively across Europe.

When everything is said and done, it is evidently up to each candidate country to shoulder the main burden of preparing itself for the future. The peoples of the region can look back on a proud history. Consequently, there is no reason why, with the indispensable political will and joined physical and intellectual forces, they should not be able to master their destiny.

At this juncture we would do well to recall the Final Declaration by the Chair of the Conference on the Western Balkans, Berlin 28. August 2014. Under the heading “2014–2018: Four years of real progress” the most important issues are being addressed:

“Just fifteen years ago, the news from the region was dominated by war, expulsion and destruction. It is now apparent that the region has already made great achievements as regards creating stability, developing good neighborly relations, and modernizing government, society and the economy”.

“The European Union’s enlargement policy has played a crucial role in these achievements. All the countries in the Western Balkans firmly believe that their future lies in the European Union”.

Following these key pronouncements, the Final Declaration deals with all questions facing the countries of the Western Balkans.

The Berlin Conference is considered an important step on the path into the future. It will be succeeded by another conference dealing with the same issues in 2015.

This second conference will be held in Austria, upon the invitation of the Austrian Government.

I do not want to conclude these brief remarks without referring for a moment to the Treaty of Lisbon. The Treaty can be legitimately called the Constitution of the European Union as it contains all the necessary principles, objectives and values to ensure the political, economic and social development of the continent. It is true that a good number of important decisions since the outbreak of the crisis in 2008 had to be taken outside the constitutional framework of the Treaty. This phenomenon has triggered off the call for a wide – ranging treaty reform, more precisely for a Convention to discuss an amended treaty, involving all strata of decision makers as well as public and private organizations. It goes without saying that this politically highly sensitive question is still in a state of discussion – and I hope it will remain so for quite some time. There is no hurry to venture into a process the outcome of which is uncertain as in the end everything depends on the political will of those in charge.

Yet the final paragraphs of my statement should again be devoted to our present conference in Belgrade:

The former Secretary General of the United Nations Boutros Boutros Ghali, in his message to our deliberations has circumscribed the main challenges lying ahead:

1. attaining development objectives and aspirations
2. maintaining peace, including domestic peace
3. protecting national sovereignty and dignity
4. playing a role and having an influential say in the conduct of world affairs.

Boutros Boutros Ghali rightly insists that it is essential to transcend bigotry, religious and political fundamentalisms and populisms. And this is an appeal to the world at large!!

While the conference mourns the passing away of the outstanding diplomat and admired President of the conference over the last years, Ambassador Togo, we welcome Ambassador Akio Kawato as his successor.

In the future, too, we look forward to seeing Negoslav Ostojic at the helm of ECPD supported by his able staff.

Thank you for your attention and best wishes to all of us!

## ON THE TASK AND OBJECTIVE OF THE TENTH ECPD INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE

The Tenth ECPD International Conference on Reconciliation, Tolerance and Human Security in the Balkans is this year as well thematically devoted to the mutual relationship between an objectively emerging “new” Balkans and the EU in its dynamic stage of development, marked by numerous internal controversies and external challenges. Maintaining stable peace, creating conditions for a balanced and versatile development and accelerating the integration processes on the whole continent based on the fundamental European values are carried out in volatile and uncertain circumstances which bring gradual, but also rapid shaping of the multipolar future world.

In such a global and regional context and amid growing tensions recalling even the atmosphere of the Cold War, despite notable successes, there are growing concerns questioning the efficacy and utility of the actual reconciliation approach as a conflict prevention and peace-building mechanism. It has been noted that while reconciliation processes may lead to short-term cessation of violence, many of the long-term scars of conflict remain which allows deep divisions to persist. In some instances, the reconciliation processes have simply delayed the next wave of violence and failed to address the fundamental conflict drivers with a particular country.

At the moment which may for many reasons be considered historic, it is becoming ever more clear that debates and conclusions of the previous ECPD conferences vocally announced the present global and regional processes and anticipated their direction. They repeatedly warned of the necessity to overcome any individual or group interest-motivated narrow-mindedness, disintegration and closing in international political, economic and cultural relations in order to promote the fundamental ideas of ECPD since its foundation and which can only ensure moving ahead steadily towards the goals of peace, development and integration.

The Tenth ECPD International Conference should tackle these and other problems of the actual regional, European and global agenda with new ideas and courageous concrete proposals and initiatives. In that respect, the complex and multifaceted problematic of Global South will be thoroughly examined.

In that respect, this year's Conference should focus on the problems and concretise debates among competent experts from the Balkans, Europe and worldwide in order to contribute, from the present crossroads of the international community, through argumentative critical views, to promoting positive and stopping negative political, economic and cultural processes in the Region and in broader European and global context. With that goal, changeable and partly worrying dynamics in the **relations between the East and West** should be acknowledged, whereas actual situation **and prospects of the economic development should be realistically analysed**, outlooks and paths for reconciliation should be re-examined in the regional situation which has been referred to as "post-conflict" for far too long. Furthermore, it is necessary to speak up openly of the weaknesses in the area of education which is ideologically burdened with ethnocentric myths and culture-centric dictates of exclusive nationalisms and to stand up for true pluralistic overcoming the model of unilateral "tolerance", behind which dialectics of domination and subordination are hidden.

In line with the decision adopted at the last Conference, it would be especially important to open up boldly room for active and equal participation of the youth in the debate on the future of the Balkans and Europe, because it is primarily their future to which they are entitled and which they certainly wish to shape productively by their own ideas and abilities.