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THE INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE

15 Years of Peacebuilding in Kosovo - Lessons Learned for the Region

ILIRIA College and Friedrich Ebert Stiftung International Conference

Prishtina, Republic of Kosovo
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BOOK OF ABSTRACTS

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15 Years of Peacebuilding in Kosovo - Lessons Learned for the Region

Fifteen years after international protectorate, and seven years following the declaration of the independence, Kosovo is constantly making great efforts toward peace building.

However, the country is still facing great challenges in building peace stability and attempting to involve all the international peace-building aspects. The 15 points agreement between Kosovo and Serbia thought to support and achieve the normalization of the relations between two countries faces a major challenge in its implementation stage. By this agreement, the Serbian community has full supervision in the areas of economy, education, health, urbanism, rural planning, and police sector, and it also reflects the ethnic composition while Kosovo institutions aims to integrate local population and to stabilize relations with its Serbian community in Kosovo, on the road to long aspired EU Integration process.

Nevertheless, Kosovo is still a country in an initial stage of economic development, with a high level of poverty and unemployment, with a different level of value for the rule of law and In the meantime, Serbia is always attempting to be somehow involved and obstruct in the future development of Kosovo.

Therefore, the conference's aim is to try bringing together: worldwide experts, academics, researchers, scholars and graduates of peace-building area, in order to address the needs, the expectations and challenges which will accompany Kosovo and how this will reflect in the region's future. The main research question that can be addressed from many perspectives is: How will the implementation or non-implementation of the Kosovo-Serbia agreement will situation reflect on future peace-building of Kosovo, Serbia and the region.

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President of ILIRIA College

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- 1) Dr. Klaus REINHARDT
Former Commandant of KFOR in Kosovo, NATO General A. D.
- 2) Prof. Michael PUGH
Emeritus Professor of Peace and Conflict Studies, University of Bradford
- 3) Prof. Dr. Matthias K. Scheer LL.M.
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ILIRIA College

ILIRIA College is a private institution of higher education established on the 15th of March, 2000, in Prishtina, Kosovo. It is a degree awarding higher education institution, accredited by the Kosovo Accreditation Agency and licensed by the Government of Kosovo. ILIRIA College constantly engages local and international academics, full-time academic and research staff in order to grow enhanced and interactive studies.

It currently has over 10 000 students. It offers degree programs in both Bachelor and Masters, and it conducts research and provides teachings in the fields of: Business and Economics, Law, International Relations and Diplomacy, Computer Sciences and Health management, Media Communication and more. Its management structure and programs are in conformity with the standards of European Higher Education Area.

Additionally, ILIRIA College has its own Research Institute (ISR- Institute for Scientific Research) and its own NGO (CESD-Center for Economic and Social Development) where qualified researchers and employees are engaged in conducting scientific research in different fields and in organizing conferences and publication of journals, development of local businesses, partnership with foreign businesses, support for entrepreneurial initiatives, professional training, and promotion of critical thinking of the society for further consolidation of democracy in the region. ILIRIA College through its scientific journal, *Iliria International Review*, publishes hundreds of peer-reviewed scientific papers. Besides, ILIRIA College has its own Radio (Radio +) and its own Television (Next Television).

ILIRIA College has a large academic library including numerous volumes, serial titles, tutorials, archived web pages. Access to e-libraries and it provides itself an international scientific journal where graduates, academics; scientists and scholars publish their scientific papers.

ILIRIA College is constantly devoted at engaging students and professors on non-formal and mobility activities for better developing their career skills, in order to grow and foster a competitive labour market that generates smart, sociable, innovative and

contemporary jobs which help country, the region and the world on a sustainable growth.

Friedrich Ebert Stiftung (FES)

The office of the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung in Prishtina was set up in the difficult political circumstances of the years 1999 and 2000. After the NATO intervention in spring 1999, the United Nations Resolution 1244 authorized an international civil and military presence in Kosovo. Local democratic structures were meant to be established on a step by step basis. With its experience, the FES in Prishtina is contributing to this process of strengthening democracy and good governance in Kosovo.

Founded officially in June 2000, the Prishtina Office had to cope with considerable challenges, such as the contrasting views of the main ethnic groups concerning Kosovo's political status. One of FES's major aims has therefore always been to ensure active participation of all ethnic groups in Kosovo in order to establish a democratic system.

Since day one, the Prishtina Office was committed to strengthening civil society organisations by working with partners from government institutions, trade unions and employers' organisations, research institutes and the media. Its mandate being political education and consultancy, the Prishtina Office organizes conferences, provides a platform for discussion and supports political research in order to create a vibrant democratic society and develop local democratic structures.

After the declaration of independence on 17th February 2008, Kosovo is still facing notable economic and social challenges: the performance of Kosovo's rule of law institutions is still poor, the economic situation remains difficult and democratic structures and processes are still too weak.

Today, the office of the FES in Prishtina is active in

- Promoting democracy and enabling the active participation of civil society
- Supporting decentralization and local government
- Promoting a socially just and sustainable economic development and strengthening labour relations
- Supporting regional and international integration

The International Conference

“15 Years of Peace building in Kosovo - Lessons Learned for the Region and beyond”

13-15 June 2014, Hotel Emerald, Prishtina

AGENDA

Friday, 13.06.2014

18.00-19.30 Opening Ceremony and Greeting Speeches:

- **Dr. Mixhait Rec***i*, *President of ILIRIA College,*
- **Dr. Hajredin Ku***çi*, *Deputy-Prime Minister, Kosovo,*
- **Mr. Mathias Kiessler**, *Deputy German Ambassador in Kosovo*

Key Note Speeches:

- **Prof. Michael Pugh**, *Emeritus Professor of Peace and Conflict Studies, University of Bradford,*
- **Mr. Veton Surroi**, *President of the Kosovo Foreign Policy Club,*
- **Mr. Jordan Plevnes**, *Founder and Rector of the University of audiovisual arts, ESRA Paris-Skopje-New York*

19.30 -20.00 Open Discussion/Q&A:

Moderator: **Dr. Besa Luzha**, **FES-Friedrich Ebert Stiftung**

Joint Reception

Saturday, 14.06.2014

9.30-10.00 Registration and Coffee

Session One: Analysing the Peace-building model in Kosovo: does diplomacy promptly react preventing the conflict in Balkans?

- 10.00-10.25 Opening Remarks and Introduction to Session One Panel Discussion:
- **Dr. Klaus Reinhardt**, *Former Commandant of KFOR in Kosovo, NATO General A. D.*
- 10.25 -11.30 Presentation Panel:
- **Dr. Samet Dalipi, Msc. Ardita Doko, Msc. Ejup Emini:** *“A Unique Complex Peace-Building Process In Kosovo”*,
 - **Dr. Gjon Boriçi:** *“Geo-Regional Security And Transformation After The Balkan’s Wars And Kosova Independence”*,
 - **Dr. Bashkim Rama:** *“UNMIK’s Failure on Kosovo Security And State-Formation Process”*,
 - **Bardhok Bashota, PhD Candidate:** *“A Critical Glance On UNMIK’S Agenda On The Increase Of The Economic Sector As A State-Building Component In Kosovo (According To The Principles Of Liberal Peace Thesis: 1999-2008)”*,
- Moderator: Dr. Arben Qirezi, National University of Ireland, Galway*
- 11.30-11.40 Coffee Break
- 11.40-12.30 Open Discussion, Questions and Answers Session
- 12.30-13.00 Conclusion Remarks from Session One Discussion
- 13.00-15.00 Lunch Break

Session Two: Peace Building Process in Kosovo–Is It Going in Right Direction?

- 15.00-15.15 Opening remarks and introduction to session one panel discussion
- 15.15-16.30 Presentation discussion:
- **Nicasia Picciano, PhD Cand.:** *“Democratization of Kosovo Institutions”*,
 - **Christopher Koy, Ph.D.:** *“Educating The Next Generation Of Kosovars: An Indirect Approach”*,

- **Alessandra Ricciardelli, BA (Hons), Msc. OXON:** *“Universities as Sites of Social Capital Construction towards Conflict Transformation and Sustainable Development. The Case Of Post-Conflict Croatia”*
- **Ylber Aliu, PhD Cand. Ngadhujim Brovina PhD Cand.:** *“Role Of Institutions Of Employment And Professional Training In Building Of Peace In Kosovo”*
- **Adem Beha, PhD. Candidate:** *“Disagreements About The Kosovo-Serbia 15-Point Agreement: Beyond Historical And ‘Hysterical’ Discourses”*
- **Msc. Flutura Hoxha, Dr. Samet Dalipi:** *“Impact Of Local Government Legislation On Kosovo Peace-Building”*

Moderator: Dr. Arben Hajrullahu, University of Prishtina “Hasan Prishtina”

- 16.30-16.40 Coffee Break
- 16.40-17.30 Open Discussion, Questions and Answers
- 17.30-18.00 Concluding Remarks on Session Two Discussions

Sunday, 15.06.2014

Session Three: Lessons Learned and Possible Implications for the Future Peace Building Projects In the Region And Beyond

- 9.30-10.00 Registration
- 10.00-10.15 Opening Remarks and Introduction to Session Three
Prof. Dr. Matthias K. Scheer LL.M. (Harvard)
- 10.15-11.45 Presentation panel:
 - **Dr. Lisen Bashkurti:** *“State Building In Kosovo-Peace At Home And Peace To The Region”,*
 - **Dr. Fahrush Rexhepi:** *“The Role Of Islam And The Religious Communities In Peace-Building In Kosovo-Lessons To Be Learned”*

- **MSc Rexhep Suma:** *“The Role Of Media In The Conflict And In Peace Building”*,
- **Dr. Sadri Ramabaja** *“The Albanian Federation As A Possible Peace Factor In The Region”*,
- **Dr. Azem Hajdari:** *“The Role Of The Functioning Of The Justice System In The North For Establishing A Stable Peace In Kosovo And The Entire Balkan Region”*
- **Urtak Hamiti, PhD Cand.** *“Integration Of Northern Kosovo To Kosovo And Eastern Slavonia, Baranja And Western Sirmium To Croatia With The Aid Of EU, US And UN Missions: Lessons To Be Repeated And Mistakes To Be Avoided”*

Moderator: **Dr. Bekim Baliqi**, Faculty of International Relations and Diplomacy, ILIRIA College

- 11.45-12.00 Coffee Break
- 12.00-12.30 Open Discussion
- 12.30-14.00 Lunch Break
- 14.00-15.00 Concluding Remarks from Three Sessions

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Abstracts of the Papers

1. Peacebuilding Theoretical Frameworks: Contentions in Political Economy

Michael Pugh, PhD

Abstract

This discussion highlights policies and practices that arise from the assumption that modern business is needed to restore peaceful societies as an essential part of liberal interventions. Whether or not war-affected societies comprehend and internalise these policies and practices, domestic and foreign entrepreneurs are allotted a key role in liberal pacification. Since this responsibility is a mere by-product of their capital accumulation it represents a kind of corporate, collateral peace. The paper configures elements of current crisis affecting what has been called the liberal peace and neoliberalism. Finally the paper assesses potential frameworks for the future.

Key Words: Liberal interventions, Liberal pacification, Collateral peace, Liberal peace, Neo-liberalism, Peace-building.

2. A Unique Complex Peace-Building Process in Kosovo

Dr. Samet Dalipi, Msc. Ardita Doko, Msc. Ejup Alimi

Abstract

Each conflict comprises of its uniqueness and it needs its own specific and appropriate policies, activities, and measures that will lay the grounds for elimination of the causes of the conflict, as a precondition for establishing a stable peace. Such is the case of peace-building process in Kosovo, unique and complex, as is proving itself to be a state-building process. Handicapped by the decision of the Security Council, the ignorance by the five member states of the European Union and obstacles inflicted by Serbia, the new state of Kosovo is facing additional problems caused by internal socio-economic impacts and fragile institutions, often bypassing the laws compatible with those of the EU. To Kosovo's peace-building complexity, is added the transition process and post-conflict crushing reconstruction. In order to exit from more than decade-long status quo construction of a climate of confidence in Kosovo, with the mediation of the EU, Kosovo and Serbia have begun a process of negotiations. They were initially focused on technical issues, and now they shifted to political ones. This process is seen as a potential dynamic construction of new relations that have not existed until now, and is unique in peace-building practices in the world. Reopening the political negotiations, a tendency imposed by Serbian politics and supporters, aiming to add "supplement menu" to Ahtisaari Plan, because initially the same wasn't accepted by Serbia, now is accepted by EU, Serbia and Kosovo as focus point for further Kosovo peace-building and reconciliation. But, there are fears among citizens for the length of the process which would produce a frozen conflict that will not deliver any good developments towards EU enlargement and the main actors in the negotiations themselves.

Key Words:

Kosovo Peace-Building, Frozen Conflict, Kosovo-Serbia
Negotiations, Internal and External Peace-Building Factors.

3. Geo-Regional Security and Transformation After the Balkan's Wars and Kosova Independence

Dr. Gjon Boriçi

Abstract

During the '90-ies, a century of wars and local armed conflicts in former Yugoslavian territories, reached its end. More than 140 million people died in wars which happened in the XX century. Kosovo war was the last one that occurred during that century. The beginning of the XXI century, stressed the necessity of these territories, for a new approach and belief in a national, regional and global level. Balkans was often considered as a territory of gunpowder. All the Balkans states, some more and some less, have various problems between them. History was and remained, very passionate within the Balkan countries. The case of Kosova is possibly the most sensitive in this entire framework. After the proclamation of independence on February 17 2008, the concerns were high within the region and a new question was raised: would the map of Balkan Peninsula change again, in order to form another "Kosovo"? This article gives some facts about the geopolitical situation in the Balkan, focusing on Kosovo and will attempt to establish a new way of politics and diplomacy making, through deterrence and eliminating offence. As a conclusion, the paper attempts to overpass the history, without neglecting it, but by learning from its mistakes in order to bring a better Peace-Building aspect for the Balkan region.

Key Words: Balkans, Kosova, Albania, Serbia, Politics, Diplomacy, Geopolitics, Region, War, Peace.

4. UNMIK Failure on Kosovo Security and State-Formation Process

Dr. Bashkim Rama

Abstract

Western States decided to involve NATO in Kosovo during the last war, and the international authorities believed that this intervention would be successful. Hence, the International Union invested in Kosovo 25 times more money and 50 times more troops, than they ever invested in Afghanistan. However, despite their commitment, consistence and investment, they seem to have failed to accomplish some of their objectives, according to the criteria they have set for on this affair.

Key Words: Kosovo, NATO, UNMIK, Crisis, Security.

5. A Critical Glance on UNMIK's Agenda on the Increase of the Economic Sector as a State-Building Component in Kosovo (According To The Principles Of Liberal Peace Thesis: 1999-2008)

Bardhok Bashota, PhD Candidate

Abstract

Presently it is considered, that issues which have to do with the international state-building in the societies coming out of war, have become an inseparable part of new missions of peace agendas of the United Nations Organization (UNO) and one of their primary aims. Undoubtedly, among the basic principles for the achievement of these aims are also the principles of liberal peace thesis, which are supported on the combination and coordination of liberal democracy's values and on principles of market economy as essential pre-conditions for establishment of a general developing social framework. This is intended to contribute towards a long-term sustainable peace. Therefore, this study is aimed at offering an evaluated analysis of state-building agenda of UNMIK, according these thesis principles, mainly reached through a critical approach. This critical approach will be based on the analysis of the main macro-economic indicators in the economy of Kosovo, through which the measurement and the real performance evaluation of UNMIK will be done; intended to increase this state-building component, always referring to the principles of this thesis. Finally, based on this real evaluation of the economic situation of Kosovo, it's aimed at reaching conclusions regarding UNMIK's contribution on pacification of the conflictive context in post-war Kosovo, with such an economic performance.

Key Words: UNMIK, Peace-building, State-building, Kosovo, Liberal Peace, Economic Development.

6. Peace and State – Building in Kosovo 15 Years Later at a Crossroads

Nicasia Picciano, PhD Candidate

Abstract

Peace and State – building in Kosovo have engaged the international community for a long time and they are not ended. After almost ten years of international administration under the United Nations, Kosovo proclaimed its unilateral independence on 17 February 2008, and it is since December of the same year under the lead of the European Union assisting the newborn entity in various ways and whose end – result will be most decisive about its *transformative power*. The EU’s support to Kosovo sees, among other things, the commitment of its largest and most expensive Common Security and Defense Policy (CSDP) mission – EULEX – to turn an external empowered creation into a *sustainable* and *stable* state, and this is proving challenging mainly in the north where, however, concrete achievements have been most meager so far. And the reasons are multifaceted (i.e. historical, organizational and of coordination). The mission plays a key role in the peace – and state – building process to the extent that it is the *implementer* of an important Agreement signed between Belgrade and Prishtinë/Pristina under the EU Facilitated Dialogue framework, and is supposed to enable the integration of the northern communities into the Kosovo’s structures. However, not solely EULEX’s presence is opposed by the local authorities in the north, but the mere technical set – up of the Agreement and the Dialogue giving birth to it has not been a wise choice either. One year after almost no implementation of the 15 points plan has taken place yet. And this not a surprise because the wider local populace has been taken out from any decision leading to the aforementioned Agreement, which is not solely *undemocratic* but self – reflective of the EU’s conception of progress in terms of *technical* steps to make. But this will prove difficult to take place in Kosovo. It is here that the EU as a whole should rather explore new ways for making peace – and state – building practices more genuine exercises. One suggestion is here sponsored by the author and it concerns the (unnecessary missed) inclusion of a *civic forum* within the Dialogue Framework.

Key Words: Kosovo, Peace-building, State-Building, Technicality, April Agreement, Civil Society

7. Educating the Next Generation of Kosovars: an Indirect Approach

Ph.D. Christopher Koy

Abstract

This paper presents the experience of the author who taught a course in an NGO-sponsored summer course in Anglo-American literature in July and August, 2013, at the “University of Mitrovica” in the Republic of Kosovo. Like most other professors from non-Balkan countries participating in the summer program, I was unaware that the students participating in my course would *not* be integrated, i.e., I had wholly expected that both Albanians and Serbs student residents of Mitrovica would attend my class. On the contrary, ethnic Serbs made up the overwhelming majority of students (except for one female from Croatia). My approach to teaching the literature course, entitled “Cultural and national contacts in Modern British-American Literature,” was to teach two novels in which bigotry and intolerance was confronted and overcome. My course centered on two novels: *Where Angels Fear to Tread* by the Cambridge-educated novelist Edward Morgan Forster (1879-1970), and *Pudd’nhead Wilson* by Samuel Langhorne Clemens, better known as Mark Twain (1835-1910). The two novels together confront racial, ethnic and religious tensions and the aim was for students to grapple with possible resolutions to the conflicts. Understood (but left unstated) in the effort were the parallels to the ethnic conflict in Kosovo. I will present the experience of teaching these works as an American “outsider” and the reaction of the participants.

Key Words: Anglo-American literature, Edward Morgan Forster, Mark Twain, Mitrovica, Kosovo, National Conflicts, Ethnic Conflicts, Education.

8. Universities as Sites of Social Capital Construction towards Conflict Transformation and Sustainable Development. The Case of Post-Conflict Croatia

Alessandra Ricciardelli, BA (Hons), Msc. OXON

Abstract

Considerable attention has been paid in recent years to the adoption of community governance-based and socially embedded approaches as catalysts for change and conflict transformation. By leveraging on Galtung and Lederach approaches to conflict transformation and applying those to today's fragile post conflict areas, it could be argued that processes of confrontation, negotiations and network building, by means of a variety of actors playing as agents of empowerment within the community, have contributed to change the face of conflict and bring in some signs of economic and social development.

Processes of conflict transformation are seen through the lenses of Community Governance paradigm which legitimizes community actors' decision-making capacity that, envisioning mutual respect, sharing of common values and promoting human, social and cultural resources of a given setting strengthens autonomous development and supports civic, rather than political and military processes of conflict constructive transformation. Amongst the most powerful actors leading to conflict transformation are Universities and higher education institutions.

By leveraging insights from literature on Community Governance, social capital, capacity/capability building and conflict transformation, the aim of this paper is to deliver the experiences of post-conflict Croatia by emphasizing on the all encompassing role that Universities have played, after the end of the 5 year Balkan war, in contributing to conflict structural transformation by altering the agenda of development issues within the country as well as the structures of relationships and power distribution therein. Universities have been supportive of a slow, but effective process of development within communities and territories by transforming conflict into a constructive occasion of capacity building.

Central to the transformations developed in the aftermath of the end of the Balkans' War is the emergence of new approaches for the country's capacity building which initiated with the establishment of network based relationships amongst actors engaged in the decision-making, programs, organizational forms and boundary-spanning roles that included academic, educational, entrepreneurial, venture capital, industrial and public spheres.

Comparisons between the Croatian experience and those of university roles in other selected catch-up regions in Eastern Europe highlight the importance to the case of networked approaches, capacity building, socially driven innovation and local development and transformation led by Universities.

Key Words: Community Governance, Capacity Building, Network Based Relationships, Local Sustainable Development, And Social Capital.

9. The Role of Employment and Professional Training Institutions in Kosovo's Peace-Building

Ylber Aliu PhD Candidate, Ngadhujim Brovina PhD Candidate

Abstract

This paper is done in the context of fifteen (15) years anniversary of Peace-Building in Kosovo. The aim of research paper is, understanding how institutions of employment and professional training in Kosovo provide services for all citizens of Kosovo by becoming promoters of coexistence between different ethnic groups. This research paper will result in identifying the fact that, regardless of ethnic aspect, employment challenges and professional training is typical for all citizens of Kosovo. In the paper, two methods are used for data collection. Primary, the data was collected through semi-structured questionnaires with actors from institutions of employment in Kosovo. Secondly, another data was collected from publications and reports of the Ministry of Labour and Social Welfare and the Department of Labor and Employment. The conclusion of this paper gives us the result that the institutions of employment and professional training in Kosovo, in terms of operation and construction, are the main promoters of peace-building.

Key Words: Kosovo, Employment, Professional Training, Institution, Peace-Building

10. Disagreements about the Kosovo-Serbia 15-Point Agreement: Beyond Historical and ‘Hysterical’ Discourses

Msc. Adem Beha

Abstract

This paper examines the 15-point agreement between Kosovo and Serbia. Two mainstream discourses have prevailed since the agreement is ratified by both countries: on one hand, the Government of Kosovo has branded this agreement as historical, given the fact that in the last century no agreement has been reached between Kosovo and Serbia. On the other hand, Kosovo political opposition has critiqued this agreement with almost a ‘hysterical’ repertoire by highlighting that the 15-point agreement disintegrates Kosovo’s statehood. Beyond both extreme stances, we argue that an enhanced autonomy to four northern Serb municipalities ought to be seen as a tool for integration, rather than disintegration of Kosovo statehood. Even though Serbia has repeatedly sabotaged Kosovo’s statehood, the EU wants to utilize the timing of Serbia’s candidacy towards EU integration and condition Serbia’s aspiration to the EU with an incremental recognition of Kosovo statehood. For a genuine relation between Kosovo and Serbia to be established, the continual interference of Serbia into Kosovo’s territory has to be stopped and Serbian parallel structures must be dismantled, in accordance with the 15-point agreements. First part of this paper will examine the characteristics and nature of disagreements through the so-called technical dialogue, and then will deconstruct, analyze and compare the 15-point agreement with the Ahtisaari Plan, arguing that the competences of Serb Municipal Association, to some extent, overpass the Ahtisaari Plan. This paper concludes that the dialogue between Kosovo and Serbia as a top-down arrangement lacks transparency, and this might jeopardize the achievements reached throughout this process. Moreover, the EU position towards Kosovo and Serbia should be clearly articulated that redrawing and rearranging the borders might overturn the EU’s and USA’s immense investments in stability, peace and prosperity in Western Balkans.

Key Words: 15 Points Agreement, Ahtisaari Plan, Partition, Integration, Serb Northerner Municipalities, Serb Municipal Association, EU.

11. The Impact of Local Government Legislation on Kosovo Peace-Building

Msc. Flutura Hoxha, Dr. Samet Dalipi

Abstract

According to Kosovo's Constitution, based on the Ahtisaari's Package for Kosovo and on the European Charter of Local Self Government, the Local Government's laws are the key promoters of the Kosovo's Peace-Building, which is the main focus of this paper. The basic legislation, addresses broad needs of Kosovo population emphasizing the community requirements in the process of decentralization and in the territorial reformation, by aiming to provide services closer to the citizens. The paper will highlight the role of the four basic laws meant for the meaningful functioning of local government, on the promotion of minority rights after the declaration of independence of the Republic of Kosovo. Moreover, the paper also gives few explanations on the structure and the powers of local governments and CSP's impact on the legal framework of local self-governance, the impact of the domestic legislation on the treatment of minority communities, as well as the transfer of powers from central to local level.

Key words: Decentralization in Kosovo, Laws on Local Governance, Peacebuilding, Minority Accommodation.

12. State Building in Kosovo-Peace At Home and Peace to the Region

Prof. Dr. Lisen Bashkurti

Abstract

Within six years of its independence, Republic of Kosovo decidedly and permanently demonstrated two dimensional values: peace-building at home and peace contribution all over the Region. It was parallel and double challenge for the people and the institutions of Kosovo this great achievement to be reached in such a limited time. Bearing in mind that one of the most frequently used argument against independence of Kosovo for many years ago has been the hypotheses that independence of Kosovo State would be interethnic clash at home and conflict spillover in the Region. The reality, after independence proved the contrary. Kosovo State based on the democratic constitution, built the modern legislation, implementation law agencies, economic and social development and willingly took all necessary steps to have an increasing confidence within different minorities in Kosovo and developing peaceful foreign policy among the Regional states. In no case, The State of Kosovo did not considered its domestic agenda separated from her the impact to the inter-ethnic relations domestically and neighborhood policy in the Region. Main focus of had been the normalization of relations between Kosovo and Serbia. On this way a lot of progress has been done. Of course there are a lot of challenges ahead.

Key words: Republic of Kosovo, Independence, Peace-Building, Interethnic, Neighborhood Policy

13. The Role of Islam and the Religious Communities in Kosovo's Peace-Building

Dr. Fahrush Rexhepi

Abstract

Balkan nations experienced the worst of all bloody conflicts, wars, tortures, persecutions, violence, etc., things that God despises, prophets never ordered and that Books never taught. Obviously led by materialistic ego, domination and hatred, rather than peaceful and good neighboring relations, Kosovo faced forced deportations, conflicts and actions that resulted in numerous innocent victims, destructions and pain.

Dialogue, cooperation, tolerance and peace between nations and societies of various ethnic, religious and cultural backgrounds represent a common challenge and objective for all nations, ethnic groups and societies in this region. We, Kosovars, too are encountered with, and share the same challenges.

Human being and the society at large, what mostly need is peace, security, safety and tolerance, and what suffer most from, both at individual and collective level, is fear and uncertainty.

Human beings are aware that peace and security are keys to every individual and society. Frightened and uncertain of their future, they are in quest to search and fulfill the needs for peace, tranquility and safety, both physical and spiritual.

Apart from numerous publications in different mediums (newspapers, scientific journals, books, etc.) the issue of Peace, Freedom and Welfare are subject of debates in various conferences, symposiums and political institutions.

Peace and Security have been researched largely, by sociologists, psychologists and politicians, from different perspectives, but to my opinion the studies have still remained vague due to the exclusion of faith (religion) component as such. Faiths and organized religions and religious communities, whose foundations lie on peace, should be more included in order to obtain sustainable peaceful societies. I am convinced that religion in Kosovo has played a constructive role in peacebuilding in Kosovo. I tend to document this by numerous key interventions of Religious Communities during major events/crisis in the country, specially the inter-ethnic ones that resulted in immediate resolutions. Government authorities, international missions in Kosovo, embassies etc.

are the first to run to the Religious Communities Leaders to seek the support and influence they have on masses to promote peace and refrain from violence every time there was such a threat in Kosovo. Throughout the paper I shall also reflect on the need to acknowledge the contribution of religious communities at state level as well. In this regard, as Kosovo the majority of population are Muslims, Islam itself is the main promoter of peace, endurance and tolerance.

The organisation of this conference “15 Years of peacebuilding in Kosovo’ and other similar activities promoting coexistence, peace and multiculturalism, with large participation of researchers and panelists are to be commanded. We expect that their papers shall shed lights to the paths of peaceful coexistence and intercultural dialogue in Kosovo, among people of different ethnic and religious background.

Key Words: Religion, Peace, Welfare, Security, Governmental Institutions

14. The Role of Media in Conflict and in Peace-Building

Msc. Rexhep Suma

Abstract

Media plays a key role in promoting peace. It emphasizes the benefits of peace; legitimizes leaders and groups involved in peacebuilding. Media are certainly capable of transforming conflicting images into peaceful ones. But they also have their other, darker sides: destructively impacting peacebuilding processes. Often we see media feeding up stereotypes, hostility, fears and threats. The task of media should be to strengthen the conditions for a peaceful environment, by imposing structural changes during the process of information. Instead of searching for and reiterating sensationalism, conflict arenas and extreme opinions, the media should instead contribute to peace by organizing programs, interviews and roundtables that would disclose aspects of peace and build upon peacebuilding journalism.

In the light of this conference, I shall draw on some positive contributions produced by the media publications of the Islamic Community of Kosovo, and also on some other negative interpretations and stereotypes about religion that we have seen to be fueled by some media in Kosovo. An analysis of articles published, in the discourse of conflict resolution and peacebuilding in Kosovo shall be presented in the paper, along with some recommendations for improvements.

Key Words: Sustainable Peace, War Inciting, Manipulation, Violence, Communication, Mass, Inter-Cultural Value, Inter-Ethnic Tensions, Emotional/Provocative Language, Transition.

15. The Albanian Federation as a Peace Factor in the Region

Dr. Sadri Ramabaja

Abstract

The establishment process of the Albanian Federation, respectively the level of acceleration, is related with the integration process, more specifically with the disintegration of the EU. Certainly, the establishment process of the Albanian Federation as a political project doesn't face the altitude of challenges that the European Union Political Project faces. But, the approach toward EU's challenges will clarify additionally the outline of the establishment of the Albanian Federation. Divergences between new and older EU members, but also between EU member countries that have their national heterogeneity and which as a result haven't allowed their different ethnical communities (Spain, Romania, Cyprus, Slovakia and Greece), to pass the Rubicon of internal self-determination, with those that represent the homogeneous type of country (Germany, Italy, Sweden, Slovenia, and so on), are reflected also in the attitude toward Kosovo and, respectively, in the right for self-determination.

The comparative glance of the Center for Applicative Political Research (CAP, Munich) thesis on the prospective flows during the European integration process' development, in relation to the process of establishment of the Albanian Federation, at the first and the fifth scenario results as poor, while at the fourth scenario this opportunity seems to be greater.

The fourth scenario, combined with the elements of the second one, seems to be exactly the one that in the present conditions is considered as the most possible for implementation, but it favors the establishment of the Albanian Federation. The establishment of the Albanian Federation must be seen as a contribution towards a sustainable peace for the region. The Albanian Federation could have a positive role in deepening of transatlantic relations.

Key Words: The Albanian Federation, the European Integration, Prospective Scenarios, Regional Peace and Stability, Transatlantic Relations, Geopolitical Interests.

16. The Role of the Criminal Justice System Functioning in the North of Kosovo in the Establishment of the Sustainable Peace in the Country and in the Region

Dr. Azem Hajdari

Abstract

Kosovo on its development path, as a state, continues to deal with many problems and challenges. Among all these problems and challenges, although numerous, essential are those dealing with Kosovo citizenship's functionalization in the entire territory. Through this brief article a modest effort is made, in order to study some of the problems and challenges that Kosovo is facing toward its criminal justice system functionalization in the north of the country. Additionally, some of the issues that determine its functionalization in that part of the country, as well as their effects, towards a sustainable Peace-Building in the country and wider, will be studied. Problems and challenges mainly have to do with the non-implementation of the agreements reached on the dialogue between Kosovo and Serbia, the existence of Serbian parallel structures; non-functionalization of Kosovo police, prosecution and courts functioning in that part of the country; Different blockades set from Serbia that obstruct the membership of Kosovo towards international organizations; the lack of proper confidence between communities; as well as internal pressure within the society and institutions and of the other groups of interest. In the meantime, issues that determine the functionalization of criminal justice system in the north of the country, among others, have to deal with the application of the Brussels Agreement outcomes in practice in order to normalize Kosovo-Serbia relations; building a tolerance climate and mutual trust between Serbs and Albanians in the north of Kosovo; the establishment of an independent Kosovo Judicial System, the functionalization of points 1 and 31 of customs and the closure of the extinguishment process of the parallel Serb structures as well as their members recruitment in Kosovo Police structures (inhabitants of the north). The level of Kosovo prosecutorial and judicial authority in that part of the country will be treated besides. The methods used on this paper are: analysis, synthesis, comparative and legal.

Key Words: Criminal Justice, the Brussels' Agreement, Peace, Police, Judiciary

17. The Integration Of Northern Kosovo To Kosovo And Eastern Slavonia, Baranja And Western Sirmium To Croatia With The Aid Of EU, US And UN Missions: Lessons To Be Learned And Mistakes To Be Avoided

Urtak Hamiti, PhD Candidate

Abstract

The Agreement between the Republic of Kosovo and the Republic of Serbia, brokered by European Union in April 2013, has been hailed as a door-opening to searching for resolutions on both status dispute between Prishtina and Belgrade, as well as unblocking both countries' paths toward integration in the EU. The aim of the negotiations was to try to integrate the territory of northern Kosovo and its predominantly Serb inhabitants, currently under political and security structures control of Belgrade, into the system of the Republic of Kosovo.

This unprecedented development was made possible by a re-ignition of a previously frozen conflict between two countries, reactive and consistent German diplomacy leadership, strong British and US support for the dialogue, and to some extent the change of political landscape in Serbia.

This is not the first time that similar actors were found in such a situation. Back on 12th of November 1995, a deal was struck between the Republic of Croatia and representatives of the Autonomous Province of Eastern Slavonia, Western Sirmium and Baranja, with almost the same stakeholders, the EU and US, under the auspices of the UN Mission to Croatia, and representatives of Belgrade, then ruled by Slobodan Milosevic. The aim was also the same, trying to integrate the territory under political and military control of Belgrade into the Republic of Croatia.

This paper provides a review of some of the activities of American and European Diplomacy on drafting and implementing of what came to be known as the Erdut Agreement, by which a large territory of Slavonia, Baranja and Western Sirmium, was integrated into the Republic of Croatia. Therefore, the paper will compare the similarities and differences with the approach of integrating the territory referred to as Northern Kosovo into the Republic of Kosovo with aforementioned case.

The paper dwells on the challenges that negotiators, UN and US representatives, faced with both sides, representatives of the Republic of Croatia and representatives of the Autonomous Province of Slavonia, Baranja, Western Sirmium and local Serbs, faced, as well as the similar pattern employed in the case of Kosovo and Serbia and Brussels Agreement, and finds some striking similarities in the behavior of actors on the negotiating table and the population on the ground.

Finally, the aim of this paper is to provide a perspective on the future of the Kosovo-Serbia Brussels Agreement and its difficult and sensitive implementing phase, through experience faced in a similar situation not far away geographically and historically forged in Erdut Agreement.

Key Words: Diplomacy, Conflict Resolution, Kosovo-Serbia Relations and Negotiations, Internal and External, Croatia-Serbia Erdut Agreement, Brussels Agreement.

18. The Economic Restructuring and Integration in Albania (The role of Economic Development)

Mag. Iur Endri Papajorgji

Abstract

This paper is on the subject of economies and societies in transition. The term transition, in this paper, will be used in two contexts. On one hand, this term will be used to understand the structural transformation in Albania, and on the other hand, to understand the more evolutionary changes adopted by Albania, in order to respond to the logic of full economic integration in the EU. In the first case, we have radical changes and in the second case, a notable adaptation. In the late 80's, an ideological, political, economic system disintegrated and in Albania, as in all countries of Eastern Europe, democracy, free market economy and the rule of law, based on private property and free market economy were the foundation of the transformation. But the way this transformation had to be mastered was not clearly defined. For more than 40 years, Albanian citizens were faced with the communist ideology as the basis of state government regulation. This ideology stated that all citizens had contributed the same way and in the same extent during socialism for the construction of state and social property. In this sense, transformation is a process closely connected with reforms in the property-rights regime, but retransferring the ownership has been the core of this process not only in Albania, but in all Post-Communist Countries (Gärtner 1996). The main objective of this article is to analyze the economic and integration reforms in Albania.

Key Words: Restructuring, Economy, Integration, Albania, Law.

19. The Importance of Financial System's Stability and its Critical Role in an Economy. The effects of Instability' in a Real Economy; Albania as a didactic case

Msc. Lindita Varesi

Abstract

This paper as part of a research study focused on the efficiency and productivity of financial systems on developing economies, considering the risk factors affecting the financial sectors' performance, case of Albania as member of Western Balkans by using data envelopment analysis as methodology.

As countries with better developed financial system tend to grow ⁽¹⁾ faster, this paper consists on analyzing the financial sector stability and development issues by using one out of four analytical tools: that of financial structure analysis focusing on banking system as one of its three main pillars.

This paper consist firstly, in analyzing *the importance of a sound and well functioning financial system* as the most heavily regulated sector of the economy, for supporting orderly financial development and sustained stability. Secondly, in *the importance of a financial systems' stability* due to defaults on markets related to the stability of the banking system; *characteristics of stability and instability*; an overview on the development, competitiveness and the efficiency of the banking system in Albania, initially as in transition and currently as an on developing country, studied as an integral part of Western Balkans. Thirdly, based on the analyzed financial system's performance of Albania and the analytical data observed *results*, where each countries' instability is associated with profound economic collapse, severe social conflicts become a barrier to economic growth and development. Kosovo and its policy makers should consider the developments in Albania on its way towards progress.

Key Words: Financial Systems, Stability, Instability, Theoretical Thesis and Analytical Data Analysis.

20. The Expression of Emotions through Art (War, Peace Propaganda)

Dr. Ilir Muharremi, Merita Muharremi PhD Candidate

Abstract

The purpose of this work is to show the level of art and its development by colliding with emotions reflected through paintings. Many eminent worldwide painters have been used, starting from Van Gogh, Picasso, Da Vinci, Midiljani, as well as locals such as M. Mulliqi, A. Mulliqi, Mustafë Arapi, Omer Kaleshi, Ibrahim Kodra...The expression of emotion, spirituality, line as a primary element, color, movement, will be treated in their masterpieces. The part of psychological determination in relation with spiritual site, as it is painted instinctually, or with consciousness, does the consciousness oppose the instinct? This is explained through artists and their work, intimacy and creative part, especially lines and colors. Do artists precede their work or is the opposite true? This is worth discussing. And then, peace through art, art penetration into politics, propaganda through the art. Arts in politics and vice-versa. Art and politics together create power. Power is reached only when two of them are joined. Each art has a tonic effect, increases strength, ignites pleasure or feeling of force, incites each memory inside the spiritual status. Here the ugliness is the opposite of art, and is affirmed as a denial. The ugliness it advises the ugliness, it has a depressive effect, removes strength and impoverishes the artist, it kills him, and this is explained in details. Esthetics owns a huge wealth of tools, forces, and it is spread with the extreme touch, by eliminating the ugliness, and our abilities are sharper by crossing to esthetics, often without conditions.

Key words: Art, Artistic, Movement, Inspiration, Imagination, Reality, Propaganda, Revolt

21. The Paradigm of Fast and Slow Changing Institutions in (Dis) Agreements between Kosovo and Serbia

Dr. Isa Mulaj

Abstract

Kosovo and Serbia continue to have fragile relations. As both were and still are unable to find an acceptable long-term agreement of peace, the European Union (EU) as a player to which these countries aspire to become members of, sought to mediate the talks. Under the presence of opposite attitudes over sensitive matters, the third party (EU) fearing endless and unfruitful talks, goes beyond suggestions by imposing certain conditions upon the negotiating parties. Such a play by the broker can be useful in faster reaching of an agreement, but it has a shortcoming as the opposing parties may become reluctant in implementing certain provisions. In this scenario, the broker may be less committed to facilitate the agreement, while the parties tend to further diverge by asking for more rights which may come at expense of the other party. Given that the disagreements between Kosovo and Serbia are profound and deeply rooted from the past, this paper aims at identifying the causes of divergences in the mentality, tradition and behavior between Albanians and Serbs, in what we summarize as fast and slow changing institutions. The signing of the 15 point agreement between Kosovo and Serbian, known as the Brussels Agreement, on 13 April 2013, in principle provides long-term normalization of relations, though its implementation will be a challenge as a result of slow changing institutions behavior in both countries, with a risk to being into power the parties or slow changing institutions committed to preserve the “value” of their slow changing institutions.

Key words:

Kosovo, Serbia, Fast Changing Institutions, Slow Changing Institutions, 15 Point Agreement, Tribunal on KLA

22. Constitutional Guarantees of Minority Communities on the Constitution of Republic of Kosovo- Reflection of Peace in Balkan

Dr. Kadri Kryeziu

Abstract

The object of scientific analysis on this study is comparisons done among countries of the Balkan Region in relation with the constitutional treatment that they do toward ethnic minorities – always by bringing parallels with the position that this issue has within the Constitution of the Republic of Kosovo.

Purposely this paper treats guarantees of basic freedoms and rights of the Serbian community, as an ethnic minority, based on the Constitution of Republic of Kosovo – comparative view on the guarantees that Constitution of Republic of Serbia offers for the Albanian community living in Serbia, in three south municipalities of Serbia (Presheva, Bujanovc and Medvegja).

Following we have analyzed constitutional guarantees that the Constitution of Republic of Kosovo offers for Turkish community in Kosovo and that the Constitution of Republic of Turkey offers for the Albanian community in Turkey, on an interesting comparative view.

While, the treatment of freedoms and rights of the Albanian community by the Constitution of Republic of Macedonia, as the Albanian population in Macedonia can't be treated as an ethnic minority, but anyhow this constituent nation has a more specific place, as the Albanian population takes also political connotations.

This paper tries to find how these guaranteed rights and freedoms by constitution to these Balkan communities, in relation with peacebuilding as well as which is the place that the fundamental effect of standardization has by the constitutional order of Kosovo.

Key Words:

Kosovo Constitution, Serbian Constitution, Macedonian Constitution, Ethnic Minorities, Peace-building, Minorities, Human Rights and Freedoms.

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