

7TH ANNUAL FOREIGN POLICY CONFERENCE 2006

THE EUROPEAN PERSPECTIVE FOR THE WESTERN BALKANS

Date

Thursday, 6 July 2006, 9:00 – 18:30h

Friday, 7 July 2006, 9:00 – 15:00 h

Venue

Berlin-Brandenburgische Akademie der Wissenschaften,
Markgrafenstr. 38
Gendarmenmarkt, Berlin

Registration:

Please register by filling in the electronic registration form on www.boell.de/aussenpolitik or by fax at +49 (0)30 28534-109 .

Conference Fees

15 Euro, reduced 8 Euro. Please transfer the amount to the following account of the Heinrich Böll Foundation:
Bank für Sozialwirtschaft
BLZ 100 205 00
Account No. 307 67 01
Purpose: "Außenpolit. JT"

Conference Languages

All interventions will be translated simultaneously from Bosnian/Croatian/Serbian and English into German and vice versa

Project Management and Information

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Background

2006 is a key year for the European perspective and the future of the Balkans. Fifteen years after the eruption of the first Balkan war, the governments of Croatia, Serbia-Montenegro, Bosnia-Herzegovina and Macedonia are facing the task of carrying out groundbreaking reforms in order to stay on the course towards EU integration. At the same time, there are still unresolved status issues that can have considerable influence as to the continuation of the integration process. In Kosovo, negotiations on the final international law status of the former province are under way under UN supervision. In Serbia-Montenegro, the fate of this fragile alliance will be decided upon, and in Bosnia-Herzegovina, the question is whether the integration course can be set forth due to the complicated structure of the Dayton Accords.

With last year's European Council decision, the road toward integration was opened for the Balkan States involved in war in the 1990s. While Croatia was able to celebrate the opening of accession negotiations and Macedonia is very close to commencing negotiations, Bosnia-Herzegovina and Serbia-Montenegro, which are lagging behind, were able to make important headway toward full membership by way of association and stabilization accords. At first glance, it would seem as if with this development the European unification process – notwithstanding Turkey – is coming full circle and this hotbed of crisis will, at long last, be a thing of the past. However, the crisis-ridden constitution of the European Union as well as the unstable social and political situation in the Balkans indicate clearly that a more careful and critical view must be taken.

With its 7th Annual Foreign Policy Conference "The European Perspective for the Western Balkans" the Heinrich Böll Foundation sheds light on the prospects of successful integration of the Balkans into the European Union.

The following questions will be raised:

- How promising is the EU integration strategy in light of the international community's experiences in the Balkans?
- What are the experiences of the international community with "external democratisation" in the Balkans? Which instruments and strategies have been successful?
- What significance does the transatlantic alliance have for the stabilization of the region?
- How is the reform course in the Balkans progressing?
- What obstacles do the political structure and the balance of powers pose for democratic European development in individual countries?
- What solutions exist for unresolved status issues and what connections are there between these issues and European integration?
- What impact does the present crisis have in terms of European accession?
- How will the character of the EU change as a consequence of accession of the Balkan States?

At the opening forum, we will venture a retrospective of one and a half decades of international, particularly European, crisis and democratisation policy in the Balkans. The goal is to benefit from previous experiences, successes and setbacks in the current debate on integration prospects. Subsequently, parallel regional fora will examine the transformation process toward democracy, the role of unresolved status issues and the European perspective on individual countries. In the first forum on the second day of the conference, the current Balkan strategy of the European Union will be discussed, particularly the transformation of the accession process into an instrument of conflict management. During the closing event, the Balkan perspective of EU integration in light of the present crisis of the European enlargement process will be addressed.

With this event, the Heinrich Böll Foundation expands on the symposium "Quo Vadis Europa?" in September 2005.

DRAFT PROGRAMME

Thursday, 6 July 2006

9:00 Registration

9:30 Welcoming Address

Ralf Fücks

Board of Directors, Heinrich Böll Foundation

THE EUROPEAN UNION AND THE BALKAN STATES 15 YEARS AFTER THE OUTBREAK OF THE WAR:

Moving towards a Common Foreign and Security Policy?

10:00 Keynote Address

Wolfgang Petritsch

Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary and Permanent Representative of Austria to the United Nations Office in Geneva, former EU Special Envoy for Kosovo

10:30 – 12:30 Panel Discussion

Key questions:

- From bilateral alliances of Western countries in the early 1990s to conflicts over accession negotiations with Croatia: Which course has the EU common foreign and security policy taken in Southeastern Europe?
- How have the instruments of European policy changed in the last 15 years (EU troika, stability pact, integration process)?
- Which role does the transatlantic relationship play with regard to conflict management in the Balkans and the democratization of the region?
- Looking at the instruments of European and international policy, what influence has international monitoring and the organisation of pluralistic elections had on democratisation in Southeastern Europe?
- How was the democratisation of public institutions (judicial system, organs of security, public administration, local administration) influenced and with what success?
- Which concrete efforts were made with regard to the democratisation of the parties and the party system?
- Have the ambitious projects to promote a pluralistic media in Southeastern Europe led to the creation of a democratic public sphere?
- How far down the road towards the creation of a strong civil society are we?

Joost Lagendijk

Member of the European Parliament

Marie-Janine Calic

Professor, Department of History, Ludwig Maximilian University, Munich

James Gow

Professor, Department of War Studies, King's College, London

Srdjan Dizdarevic

President, Helsinki Committee for Human Rights Bosnia-Herzegovina, Sarajevo

Dan Serwer

United States Institute for Peace, Washington D.C.

Facilitation: Klaus Linsenmeier

Head of International Division, Heinrich Böll Foundation, Berlin

12:30 – 13:30 Lunch

**13:30 “The NATO Perspective of the Western Balkans
Keynote Address**

Jamie Patrick Shea

Director of Policy Planning in the Private Office of the Secretary General, NATO, Brussels

14:15 – 14:30 Short Break, Transfer to the Regional Panels

**THE POLITICAL SITUATION TODAY IN THE WESTERN BALKANS AND THE
EUROPEAN PERSPECTIVE**

14:30 – 16:45 Regional Panels

Regional Panel 1

Serbia between Uncertain Domestic Governance and Unresolved Status Issues

Key questions:

- Which position does the Serbian political elite take with regard to unresolved status issues (independence of Montenegro and Kosovo) and what importance does this elite have in the resolution of these questions?
- What are the reasons for the undefined political structure of Serbia (e.g. the blocked reform of the Serbian constitution), which consequences does this have on the chronic political instability of the Republic and what role do the unresolved status issues play in this regard?
- Which consequences to the disadvantage of Serbian positions will the likely resolution of the status issues have on the internal structure, the constitutional reform process and political stability?
- Three years after the assassination of Prime Minister Djindjic, how far have the reforms of public institutions, especially the judicial system and the organs of security, progressed? To what degree do these reforms complicate Serbia's European integration process (cooperation with the UN war crimes tribunal)?

Milan Podunavac

Dean of the Faculty of Political Science, University of Belgrade, Serbia

Zoran Ostojic

Civic Alliance of Serbia, Belgrade

Sonja Biserko

Former Yugoslavian Diplomat, Head of the Helsinki Committee for Human Rights in Serbia, Belgrade

Maja Kostic-Mandic

Lecturer for environmental and international law at Podgorica University, Board Member of the NGO “Grupa za promjene” (“Group for Change”), Montenegro

Facilitation: Dragoslav Dedovic

Director of the Heinrich Böll Foundation Regional Office Southeast Europe, Belgrade

Regional Panel 2

Croatia und Macedonia: Between the Dynamics of Accession and a Fragile Reform Process

Key questions:

- What reasons are there for the fact that Croatia and Macedonia have made the most progress in the integration process?
- Which reform measures have they taken since the end of authoritarian rule and the unresolved ethnic conflicts?
- Has the prospect of EU accession stimulated dynamic reform?

- How stable or fragile is the reform process that is under way?

Vesna Pusic (invited)

President of the Croatia People's Party, Zagreb

Srdjan Dvornik

Executive Director of the Croatian Helsinki Committee for Human Rights, Zagreb

Biljana Vankovska

Faculty of Philosophy, University of Skopje

Facilitation:

Dunja Melcic

Journalist, philosopher

Regional Panel 3

Kosovo Struggling with Status and Democratic Standards

Key questions:

- What were the effects of introducing democratic standards before resolving status questions? What impact did this have on the political system being established in Kosovo during the past six years?
- Can the positions of Belgrade and Pristina be reconciled, or will Kosovo's independence be inevitable?
- What role should the international community play to ensure that the process of gaining independence will also be a process of democratic transformation for Kosovo?
- How should the institutional guarantee of minority rights be designed, especially with regard to the Serbs in Kosovo?

Michael Daxner (invited)

Former Special Counsellor to the United Nations Interim Administration Mission in Kosovo

Shkelzen Maliqi

Publisher, Pristina

Andrej Nosov

Youth Initiative for Human Rights, Belgrade-Pristina, Belgrade

Franz-Lothar Altmann

German Institute for International and Security Affairs, Berlin

Facilitation:

Helga Flores Trejo

Director of the Heinrich Böll Foundation Regional Office North America, Washington D.C.

Regional Panel 4

Bosnia-Herzegovina between Full Sovereignty and Constitutional Blockade

Key questions:

- What are Bosnia and Herzegovina's chances for EU accession with the current constitutional arrangement?
- Can the structural blockade of the necessary constitutional reforms by the ethnic parties, which have a dominating role due to constitutional guarantees, be overcome?
- How will the dissolution of the international semi-protectorate be organised and within what time frame should it take place?
- How will the EU take up the role of the High Representative (OHR)? What implications will this double role have for the EU integration process?
- Which consequences will the full transfer of national sovereignty to the local political elites have – liberation from international paternalism or return to political instability?
- Can the OHR's pressure lead to meaningful reform of central institutions?
- What importance do the upcoming general elections have in this context and what outcome can be expected?

Tanja Topic

Friedrich Ebert Foundation, Banja Luka Office

Senad Slatina

Director, Sarajevo Office, Center for European Integration Strategies

Joachim Bleicker

German Federal Foreign Office

Gerald Knaus (tentatively confirmed)

European Stability Initiative, Berlin

Facilitation:

Ernst Köhler

Historian and publicist

16:45 – 17:30

Break

17:30

"Seven Years of the European Stability Pact for Southeastern Europe – An Intermediate Assessment"

Speech by

Erhard Busek (invited)

Special Co-ordinator of the Stability Pact for South Eastern Europe, Coordinator of the Southeast European Cooperative Initiative (SECI)

18:30

End of first day of conference

19:00

Speakers' Dinner (by invitation only)

Friday, 7 July 2006

**THE EU PERSPECTIVE FOR THE WESTERN BALKAN STATES:
EU Membership as an Instrument for Conflict Management?**

9:00 Opening Speech

Rolf Nickel

Vice- Adviser of the German Chancellor, Department foreign, security and development policy,
German Chancellery Ministry

Panel Discussion

Key questions:

- What developments underlie the transformation of European integration from a political objective to an instrument of European conflict resolution policy in the Balkan States?
- How can this strategy be assessed, in view of the negative experience of the international community in Southeastern Europe during the last fifteen years with the effect of positive incentives?
- Which new instruments to promote democracy and conflict resolution are actually available to EU's policy with the integration process that has begun?
- Do state building and EU integration go hand in hand, and what will be the impact on the integration process itself and the character of the EU?
- How does Germany see its role in the integration process, and what plans does the German government have for its EU presidency in 2007 in this regard?

Marieluise Beck

Member of the German Bundestag

Zlatko Dizdarevic

Ministry of Foreign Affairs Bosnia and Herzegovina, former Bosnian Ambassador to Croatia

Ivan Vejvoda

The German Marshall Fund of the United States, Belgrade

Freiherr Arne von Kittlitz und Ottendorf (invited)

Ambassador of the Federal Republic of Germany in Bosnia and Herzegovina

Franz Kaps (invited)

World Bank, Brussels Office

Facilitation: Azra Dzajic

Head of the Southeastern Europe Unit, Heinrich Böll Foundation, Berlin

12:00 – 13:00 Lunch

13:00

Closing Panel

**ENLARGEMENT NOW? THE EU BETWEEN EXTERNAL ASPIRATIONS AND
INTERNAL CRISIS**

Key questions:

- How far can the EU enlargement in Southeastern Europe go and how quickly can it take place? Can only some or should all of the Western Balkan States be admitted into the EU, or should there be intermediate stages?
- Is the EU politically and economically able to integrate new member states? Which internal reforms must take place?
- Can the integration process really resolve ethnic conflicts that could not be resolved by international policy thus far?
- After the completion of the internal market, the Common Foreign and Security Policy was often vaunted as a new integration engine for the EU. Can the enlargement in Southeastern Europe provide new impetus to the EU?
- Which role does the USA play in the Western Balkans eleven years after Dayton?

Angelika Beer

Member of the European Parliament

Ulrike Lunacek

Member of the Austrian National Council

Roy Ginsberg

Skidmore College, USA

Alexander Vondra

Former Czech Deputy Foreign Minister, Czech Republic

Facilitation:

Sascha Müller-Kraenner

Director EU / North America, Heinrich Böll Foundation

Final Remarks:

Ralf Fücks

Board of Directors, Heinrich Böll Foundation

15:00

End of Conference