

HUMAN SECURITY,
TERRORISM AND
ORGANISED CRIME IN
THE WESTERN
BALKANS

Third Annual Conference

2–4 October 2008, Belgrade, Serbia

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About the project

The HUMSEC Project is a Sixth Framework Programme coordination action, whose purpose is to contribute to a better understanding of the link between the transnational terrorist groups and criminal organisations in the Western Balkans and their role in the peace-building process in the region.

Main purpose of HUMSEC is to establish a network of scientists working in the project field and to enhance the dialogue between scientists from the European Union and the Western Balkans region. With the only exception of Macedonia, all Western Balkan countries are represented in the project consortium. Particular attention has been paid in the composition of the consortium on the variety and equal distribution of scientific disciplines (the consortium consist of universities and research institutes of criminal law, international law and criminology as well as human rights centres) to allow a truly interdisciplinary scientific dialogue.

Within the project framework three major issues are identified and each HUMSEC workpackage is dedicated to the report and the implementation of the state of the art on one of these focal issues:

- The connection between transnational terrorist and criminal organisations in the Western Balkan region;
- The influence on the state and on civil society;
- The impact of transnational terrorist and criminal organisations on the peace-building process in the region.

Dissemination of research for civil society and for future political leaders is guaranteed through the publication of the working papers, which are presented at the network Annual Conferences, on the project website; the creation of a project related online journal, which is published yearly; the organisation of three Summer Academies, which have the aim to present and discuss the results of the Annual Conferences between young professionals and provide in this way the basis for capacity building in the project field; and the presentation of a State of the Art Book to summarize and present the results of the network activities.

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**THIRD CONFERENCE ON HUMAN SECURITY,
TERRORISM AND ORGANISED CRIME IN THE
WESTERN BALKANS: REALITIES, RISKS AND
RESPONSES**

Belgrade, 2–4 October 2008



Draft Agenda

Day 1	Thursday, 2 October	afternoon
12.00–14.00	Registration of participants	
14.00–14.30	Word of welcome and conference opening	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Prof. Vojin Dimitrijevic, Belgrade Centre for Human Rights• H.E. Mr. Clemens Koja, Republic of Austria, Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary (designate)• Djordje Gardasevic LL.M., University of Zagreb, Faculty of Law
14.30–15.30	Keynote speaker	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Mr. Anthony Pahigian, Deputy Head, OSCE Mission to Serbia
15.30–16.00	Coffee break	
	Presentations: Human Security	
	Human Security and State Weakness in the Balkans: A Global Perspective , Dr Vesna Bojicic-Dzelilovic, Centre for the Study of Global Governance, London School of Economics and Political Science	
16.00–18.00	The Concept of Human Security and Problems in its Implementation in the Peace-Building Process , Dr Svetlana Djurdjevic Lukic, Institute of International Politics and Economics, Belgrade	
	Research on Terrorism: A Bibliometric Overview , Sasa Madacki, Human Rights Centre, University of Sarajevo	

Presentations: **Organised Crime**

Measures of defeating Organized Crime in Western Balkans, Milana Cabarkapa, Government of Montenegro, Secretariat for Legislation and Bojan Bozovic, ELSA Montenegro

09.00–10.30 **Organized Criminal Groups in Balkan region**, Dejan Stevanovic, Ministry of Interior of the Republic of Serbia

The influence of Organized Crime on Democratic Structures of Serbian State, Jovana Zoric, Belgrade Centre for Human Rights

10.30–11.00 Coffee break

Presentations: **Terrorism**

A map of terrorist and organized crime groups in the Western Balkans and suspected links with security agencies of the states in the region, Dejan Anastasijevic, VREME Weekly, Belgrade

11.00–12.30 **Gang and mob violence in Post-Milosevic Serbia: Nationalist youth groups as instruments of intimidation of civic-minded individuals and organizations**, Sarah Franco, freelance researcher, Lisbon

Respecting the Right to Pivacy in the Context of the Police Action Against Terrorism and Organized Crime, Ljiljana Dapevic Markovic LL.M, Academy of Criminalistic and Police Studies, Belgrade

12.30–14.00 Break

Presentations: **Security Sector Reform / Peace building**

Weakness and ineffectiveness of the reform of the security sector as an obstacle to reconciliation and peace-building in the Western Balkans, Nevena Dacic, Belgrade Centre for Human Rights

Military Peace Operations and the Fight Against Serious Crime: Lessons from Bosnia & Herzegovina and Kosovo, Cornelius Friesendorf, Geneva Centre for the Democratic Control of Armed Forces (DCAF)

14.00–16.00

Problems of reform of the security systems in the Western Balkans: The possible influence of ideological trends inside the International Community, Anne Mandeville PhD, Centre de Droit Pénal International et d'Analyse des Conflits, University of Toulouse

Bosnia and Herzegovina in the Western Balkans System of Security, Lada Sadikovic LLD, Faculty of Criminology of the University of Sarajevo

16.00–16.15

Coffee break

Presentations: **Trafficking in Human Beings**

Combating and preventing trafficking in women through targeting the demand for prostitution, Dr Bistra Netkova, South East European University, Tetovo

Compensation of damage for victims of trafficking in human beings- case study Macedonia, Petar Jordanovski LL.M., Social Democracy Political Academy, Skopje

16.15–18.00

The Buyers of Commercial Sexual Services in Serbia, Andjelka Markovic, Belgrade Centre for Human Rights

Trafficking of Minors in Croatia – The Present Situation, Dalida Rittossa LL.M, University of Rijeka Faculty of Law

Presentations: **Transitional Justice**

Justice in Practice: Practical Problems from the Civilians' Perspective, Igor Bandovic, European Fund for the Balkans

09.00–11.00 **The Influence of Media on Serbian Transition Process**, Milos Stopic, Belgrade Centre for Human Rights

LGBT Minorities as Easy Targets: A Case Study of the Specificities and Commonalities with other Neglected Endangered Groups in the Context of Nationalism-Dominated Societies, Max Spencer Dohner, Lawyer, Faro

11.00–11.30 Coffee break

Presentations: **Kosovo**

Peace-building and Human Security: Kosovo case, Prof. Dragana Dulic, Faculty of Security, University of Belgrade

11.30–13.30 **The Post-Conflict Integration of Minority Ethnic Communities in Kosovo**, Dr. Dragan Djukanovic, Institute of International Politics and Economics, Belgrade

The Serbia-Kosovo Dispute as a Factor of Instability in the Balkans, Marko Attila Hoare PhD, Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences, Kingston University, London

Break

15.00–16.00 Presentations of papers for State of the Art Book (optional)

Closing of the Conference

VESNA BOJICIC-DZELILOVIC,
DENISA KOSTOVICOVA

Paper Title: Human security and state weakness in the Balkans: a global perspective

Abstract: Since the launch of the human security concept in the mid-1990s, the challenge of operationalisation of human security as a paradigm-shifting concept into a coherent and implementable policy has dominated the human security critique. Although the human security approach changes the referent-subject of security from the state to the individual, it does by no means imply the obsolescence of the state itself. Therefore, both the conceptualisation and operationalisation of human security ought to take on board a complex relationship between the structure and agency, i.e. the individual and the state.

The proposed paper addresses this body of criticism in the human security literature by addressing human security as a concept and policy, with specific policy recommendations, from the perspective of state weakness in the Balkans in the context of globalisation epitomised by transnational networks. While rooted in the wars of the 1990s in the Balkans, these cross-border networks have survived and adapted to the post-conflict phase. As a result, they have continued to shape both the democratisation and peace-building efforts through a permissive environment of weak states.

The paper first situates the dominant human security critique preoccupied with operationalisation in the current conceptual debates on human security. It goes on to develop a model of state weakness specific to the Balkans, while relating it to the operation of transnational networks in the region. Elaborating on the networks, the paper analyses their nature and interaction with weak states. Ultimately, the paper demonstrates how weak states in the Balkans acts as a source of multiple human security threats to an individual. Consequently, the paper concludes with a set of policy proposal aimed at state strengthening based on the human security approach.

It shows how in the era of global interconnectedness, human security can conceptually capture complex relationships derived from a conflict and moulding its aftermath, while translating into a coherent, implementable and effective policy for peace-building.

BIO: Vesna Bojicic-Dzelilovic is research fellow at the Centre for the Study of Global Governance (London School of Economics and Political Science). She has written on the political economy of war and post-war reconstruction. She is co-editor of *Transnationalism in the Balkans* (Routledge, 2008).

Denisa Kostovicova is lecturer at the Government Department and a Research Associate at the Centre for the Study of Global Governance (London School of Economics and Political Science). She is the author of *Kosovo: The Politics of Identity and Space* (Routledge, 2005) and co-editor of *Transnationalism in the Balkans* (Routledge, 2008).

Affiliation: London School of Economics and Political Science

SVETLANA DJURDJEVIC-LUKIC

Paper Title: The concept of human security and problems in its implementation in the peace-building process

Abstract: Human security is a multifaceted and holistic approach addressing diverse sources of insecurity of human beings. It is a very wide, imprecise and elastic term, which emerged in opposition to classical state-centric ideas about security. It therefore has to be filled with real content. Further clarification of the concept and its improvement as a policy tool are constrained by two groups of factors: political impediments to embedding human security in multilateral institutions, and inherent problems with its all-inclusiveness. However, the paper points out to specific hurdles within the process of building peace in the Western Balkans from a wide human security perspective.

The author argues that the following issues have to be taken into consideration in order to increase the relevance of this concept in the process of peace-building in the region:

- The goal of recent wars in the Balkans was the establishment of nation states. Security is still conceptualized in national rather than human terms, implying reluctant cooperation in facing trans-national threats such as organized crime.
- The peace-building process has been running simultaneously with the transition to market economy. Even if the society as a whole has enjoyed economic growth, some of its groups feel unequal in their access to benefits. Such insecurity is too often dismissed.
- The EU and its member states identified the need for viable crisis management structures only well after the conflicts had started. Even nowadays human security has not yet been broadly accepted to claim a qualitative change in conducting foreign policy.
- The notion of security has appeared different to the locals and the “internationals” in terms of perceptions and actual exposure to risk. External actors have tended to impose their own priorities and to introduce models which are unsuitable in local circumstances.

BIO: Svetlana Djurdjevic Lukic is research associate at the Institute of International Politics and Economics, deputy editor-in-chief of *Medjunarodni problemi (International Problems)* and editorial board member of the *Western Balkans Security Observer*. She also acts as a consultant for UNDP Serbia. Her main research interests are the external support to weak states, security sector reform, and human security. Recent publications include recommendations for the German Presidency of the EU regarding the Western Balkans in the *Südosteuropa Mitteilungen*, the assessment of defence reform in Serbia commissioned by DCAF, contributions on developmental aid and on the role of military in democratic governance in the US foreign policy. Previously, she was: research fellow at the Foreign Policy Research Institute (FPRI), Philadelphia; communications /awareness raising officer with the Clearinghouse for the Control of Small Arms and Light Weapons in SEE; and a Media Analyst with the OSCE Mission.

Affiliation: Institute of International Politics and Economics, Belgrade

SASA MADACKI, MAJA KALJANAC

Paper Title: Research on terrorism: a bibliometric overview

Abstract: This paper presents a bibliometric study of the research on terrorism published in scientific journals worldwide between 1994 and 2007. Data have been gathered from Science Citation Index Expanded (1994–2007), Social Sciences Citation Index (1994–2008), Arts & Humanities Citation Index (1994–2007) produced by Thomson Reuters (Web of Science) covering subject areas of international relations, political science, law, sociology, history and religion, and compared with those in SCOPUS (1994–2007) and WorldCat. After 2001 research on terrorism increased, and the number of articles published on this topic has grown from 16 articles indexed in Web of Science in 1994 to 258 in 2007.

BIO: Sasa Madacki is director of the Human Rights Centre at the University of Sarajevo and former head of the Information Research and Development Department. With more than fourteen years of experience in the library and information science, he has previously worked as an archivist, researcher and librarian. He also worked as information management advisor for UNDP Serbia and Montenegro. He has organized training sessions for future human rights librarians/documentarists and written on the human rights librarianship and information science application in the human rights field.

Maja Kaljanac is information specialist at the Human Rights Centre of the University of Sarajevo, where she is in charge of collection development and user services within the library and documentation department. She participated in the project *Lost in Transition*. She was deputy chief librarian at the Student Initiatives Centre.

Affiliation: Human Rights Centre, University of Sarajevo

MILANA CABARKAPA, BOJAN BOZOVIC

Paper title: Measures of defeating organized crime in the Western Balkans – cooperation between the police the judiciary and prosecutors in the countries in the Western Balkans in curbing terrorism and organized crime – successes and failures.

Abstract: As it was said at Lancaster House Ministerial Conference, held in London, November 2002, *“the rule of law is the foundation for democracy, prosperity and long-term stability. Organized crime threatens all of this. Today we therefore place this at the top of our agenda and agree on a strategic partnership – for freedom, security and justice. In the past, organized crime has been more organized than national and international efforts to defeat it. We now undertake to shift the balance.”* Although some great documents regulating the questions of suppressing organized crime, money laundering and corruption were brought, in line with those which fight terrorism, Southeast Europe still seems to be a problematic area. Organized crime means smuggling, unlawful redistribution of national wealth, destroying fair competition and the potential for free private initiative, capturing government through systemic corruption and symbiosis between organized crime and representatives of the security sector. Organised crime therefore threatens stability and prosperity in the whole region. State-building, the construction of a peaceful economy and civil society, the enhancement of law enforcement cooperation at the national and regional level, the harmonization of law enforcement legislation in respect to the EU requirements, are therefore of outmost importance.

The authors will underline the main points of the cooperation of the countries in the region in their aim to defeat organized crime, bearing in mind the necessity of acting in compliance with the regulations of the European Union but taking also into consideration regional characteristics and the social character of this phenomenon.

BIO: Bojan Bozovic graduated in law at the University of Montenegro. He is MA student of International Public Law on Faculty of Law in Novi Sad. He took part in a number of moot court competitions as a participant or coach. Bojan Bozovic president of the European Law Students’ Association in Montenegro (ELSA Montenegro).

Milana Cabarkapa gained degree of Bachelor of legal science and later the degree of Specialist of Legal Science at the Faculty of Law University of Montenegro. She took part in a number of moot court competitions and internship programs (NDI Montenegro, Secretariat for Legislation). She is now employee of the Secretariat for Legislation in the Government of Montenegro.

Affiliation: Bojan Bozovic, Elsa Montenegro. Milana Cabarkapa, Government of Montenegro, Secretariat for Legislation.

DEJAN STEVANOVIC,
DRAGAN MANOJLOVIC, VOJISLAV JOVIC

Paper Title: Organized criminal groups in the Balkan region

Abstract: the organized crime phenomenon demands new way of thinking. In spite of great state efforts to minimize the conditions that contribute to the origin and development of organized criminal groups, they are gaining international dimensions. Therefore new forms of organized criminal groups, which didn't exist so far, can be now identified.

This paper is a result of a four year empiric and theoretical research, but in spite of clearly visible indicators, the authors are not noticing development trends of criminal groups, criminal activities and their transformations, always following and never to go toward or in front of them.

BIO: Dragan Manojlovic is policy advisor in combating organized crime. He published several papers: "Criminal Intelligence Work, Gathering of Criminal Intelligence Data, Recognition of Phenomenon in Surroundings", 2004; "Criminal Intelligence Operations – Handling Sources of Intelligence", Belgrade, 2005.; "Criminal Intelligence Analysis", Belgrade, 2007; and "Typology, Structure and Concept of Intelligence Inquiries", Belgrade, 2008. He participated in six scientific projects/researches in the area of criminalistics and security and published two books: "Organized Crime Group: Concept and Typology", Belgrade, 2005; "Gathering of Intelligence Data: Public and Secret Estimation of Endangering and Risk" Belgrade, 2006.

Vojislav Jovic is head of department for suppression of general crime in the Criminal Police Directorate of the Ministry of Internal Affairs of the Republic of Serbia. He has long-standing working experience in combating crime. He is engaged in scientific and research work in the field of crime suppression and prevention. He published several papers on organized crime and juvenile delinquency. He managed and participated in several ministerial projects in the field of strategic planning, community policing and crime prevention.

Dejan Stevanovic is police officer at the Serbian Criminal Police Directorate. He deals with the prevention and suppression of juvenile delinquency. He is specialized in the field of community policing, crime prevention, intelligence analysis, and security sector reform. Since 2002, he participated in several projects of the Ministry of Internal Affairs in the field of police reform, community policing and crime prevention.

JOVANA ZORIC

Paper Title: The influence of organized crime on democratic structures of the Serbian state

Abstract: The paper is a reflection on the practice of the Serbian judiciary and other state institutions in combating organized crime. It is based on the monitoring of trials and other state institutions, primarily the Service for Combating Organized Crime, the Special Prosecution Office for Organized Crime, the judges of the Special Belgrade District Court Chamber for Organized Crime and on the activities of high state officials and defence counsel before the Chamber, conducted in the last 18 months.

Special attention is given to the absence of political will to support the institutions combating organised crime, though those seem to be clear when one takes into account that parts of executive power in Serbia, for a number of years now, have directly been involved in suspicious events surrounding these trials.

Some attention is given to the genesis of organised crime in Serbia and the social climate created by the media.

BIO: Jovana Zoric is a final year student at law school of the University of Belgrade. Since 2006, she works as legal researcher in the Belgrade Centre for Human Rights. She conducts research on various human rights issues, national and international legal standards and jurisprudence.

Affiliation: Belgrade Centre for Human Rights

DEJAN ANASTASIJEVIC

Paper Title: A map of terrorist and organized crime groups in the Western Balkans and suspected links with security agencies of the states in the region

Abstract: The idea of this paper is to provide a comprehensive overview of the organized crime and terrorist groups in the Western Balkans. The paper includes maps and the latest available statistics by the local and international law enforcement agencies. The paper shows that narcotics and human trafficking are by far the most abundant criminal activities in the Balkans, while the illegal arms trade is decreasing. However, the fact, that arms caches are now frequently found in illegal shipments of narcotics, causes concern and points to a possible link with transnational terrorist groups. When it comes to transnational, and particularly Islamist terrorism, sporadic attempts to attack Western targets have been observed in Bosnia, Kosovo, and the Muslim-populated Serbian region of Sandzak. There is, however, an indication that the Balkans are increasingly being used as a transit area and recruitment pool for Al Quaida-linked groups, targeting Western Europe and the United States. The conclusion is that the organized crime and terrorist groups, either local or transnational, are closely linked with national security agencies of the countries in the region, due to the poor oversight and control of these services, as well as a general slowdown in integration of the Western Balkans countries into the larger Euro Atlantic framework. This is the result of the last decade's Yugoslav wars, during which all sides established ties with criminal elements and used terrorist tactics to advance their goals. The paper provides also recommendations aimed at containing this problem, which causes chronic instability in the region and poses a constant security threat to the European Union.

BIO: Dejan Anastasijevic is senior investigative reporter for the Belgrade-based VREME weekly, and free-lance Balkan correspondent for the TIME magazine. He also contributes to a number of local and foreign news media, including "Slobodna Bosna" (Sarajevo), "Koha Ditore" and "Zeri" (Pristina), and "The Guardian" (London). In October 2002, Anastasijevic was the first Serbian journalist to testify against Slobodan Milosevic indicted before the ICTY. His more recent reports mostly deal with security issues and organized crime in Serbia. Apart from purely journalistic work, Anastasijevic has edited "Out of Time" (IWPR London, 2000), an acclaimed book on Serbian opposition. He is a recipient of 2002 Nieman Fellowship for Journalists at Harvard University, Cambridge, and two national press awards (NUNS and "Dusan Bogavac") in 2003.

Affiliation: VREME Weekly, Belgrade

SARAH FRANCO

Paper Title: Gang and mob violence in post-Milosevic Serbia: nationalist youth groups as instruments of intimidation of civic-minded individuals and organizations

Abstract: Taking as a point of departure the author's direct observation of the riots following the '*Kosovo je Srbija*' government organized rally of 21st February 2008, this paper intends to describe how organized groups of nationalist extremists have been consistently using violence as a form of intimidation towards political opponents, civic-minded groups of citizens and neglected minorities.

During the last years, these groups' actions have been posing a significant threat to human security in Serbia. By systematically intimidating all dissident voices, they successfully curtailed freedom of expression, thus undermining the efforts towards democratization within the Serbian society.

The paper contends that these groups' actions were tacitly and sometimes even overtly stimulated or supported by influential individuals and institutions, to whom they provided a crucial service: through their public demonstrations of political extremism they lent credibility to the 'moderate' nationalists who declared to oppose their actions but did little to repress them, while those who denounced their extremism were in turn portrayed as 'anti-fascist extremists' and thus discredited.

Paradoxically, the 21st February riots seem to have resulted in a watershed. Despite the level of violence then exhibited, the general elections of March 11th exposed the limits of what the author calls the 'intimidation strategy'. Still, the attitude of the Serbian society regarding these youth movements and the participation of otherwise 'normal' citizens in the looting and vandalizing of Belgrade's city centre requires reflection.

BIO: Sarah Franco holds a degree in International Relations and is currently a PhD candidate in Political Science in the Norwegian University of Science and Technology (NTNU), in Trondheim, Norway.

Her PhD project will address the processes of democratization in Former Yugoslavia successor states, focusing on the effects of the power-sharing institutional mechanisms chosen to regulate inter-ethnic relations in the will and ability to overcome the recent past and reduce inter-ethnic distance. The cases of Serbia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Montenegro, Macedonia and Kosovo will be analyzed in a comparative perspective.

Her Master thesis in International Relations in the Technical University of Lisbon (UTL), with the title of *Serbia between the Future and the Past: a study of the political use of collective memory*, focused on the political use of collective memory in Serbia for nationalistic purposes.

Affiliation: Freelance researcher, Lisbon

LJILJANA DAPCEVIC-MARKOVIC

Paper title: Respecting the right to privacy in the context of the police action against terrorism and organized crime

Abstract: The right to privacy is defined in the Convention for the Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms and in the Convention for the Protection to Individual with Regard to Automatic Processing of Personal Data, and in other more specific documents such as the European Code of Police Ethics and the Declaration on the Police.

The right to privacy is one of the most stable, but also most delicate right known in democratic societies. There are various definitions of this right and different concepts of privacy. Thus privacy can be regarded as “*the right of an individual, a group or an institution to decide on their own when, how and to what extent they will give away information about themselves to other people*” (Westin: 1967), whereas its acceptance is based on emphasizing the right to decide to whom, when, how and to what extent an information will be given. A more general definition of this right would encompass inviolability of physical and psychological personal integrity, dignity and safety, inviolability of family life etc.

The issue of protection and respect of the right to privacy during a police procedure is regulated by international rules and internal law. In Article 8 of the European Convention special emphasis is given on legislative restrictions “*necessary in a democratic society*”, which can limit that right. It should be mentioned, that in conditions of possessing discretionary authority, the police can subject the person within their jurisdiction under secret surveillance. Although the Convention uses the formulation “*in accordance with the law*”, it is clear that signatory countries specify the circumstances and conditions under which state authorities can resort to secret or potentially dangerous interference into the right to respect private life or correspondence.

It is important to mention *the principle of proportion*: the right to privacy should be proportionate to a more general aim which should be reached by applying this measure.

Very significant for police practice are explanations of the European Court for Human Rights, which gives very useful opinions and interpretations, which will also be analyzed in this paper.

The right to privacy in the positive legislation of Serbia is regulated in *The Constitution of the Republic of Serbia and the Police Law, as well as in some regulations of the Criminal Law*.

BIO: Ljiljana Dapcevic-Markovic graduated from the Faculty of Law in Belgrade, where she did her MA thesis on the “Police Ombudsman”. She is about to defend her PhD thesis on “European Standards in Police Practice”. She is employed at the Academy of Criminalistic and Police Studies as a teacher of administrative law. She published a number of articles, mostly on administrative law, police law, protection of human rights in police procedures and police education. She is an author of the monograph “Control of Police and Police Ombudsman”. She has completed specializations in management of reforms in the field of administration, especially in the police and judiciary, organized by the EU, UNDP and European Police College.

Affiliation: Academy of Criminalistic and Police Studies, Belgrade

NEVENA DICIC

Paper Title: Weakness and ineffectiveness of the reform of the security sector as an obstacle to reconciliation and peace –building in the Western Balkans

Abstract: The main question raised in this paper is how to reach good and efficient control over the work of the security sector, especially parliament control.

Special attention is given to the control mechanisms and the legal system that should clearly determine the objects of protection. The prevailing concept should be “human security”, granting the security of all citizens while limiting the possibilities of abuse of power.

The analysis of both, the existing legislation and its implementation, should reveal the deficiency of the current system and control mechanisms of the security sector and suggest possibilities for an efficient reform.

Lack of reform is especially analyzed through the existing legislative solutions, inadequate lustration in this sector, public appearances of the heads of the security departments, inefficiency in providing public security and violation of the fundamental rights recognized by the European Convention on Human Rights.

BIO: Nevena Dicic is final year student at the University of Belgrade. Since 2006, she works as legal researcher for the Belgrade Centre for Human Rights on domestic and international legal standards related to human rights and jurisprudence of international judicial and quasi – judicial bodies.

Affiliation: Belgrade Centre for Human Rights

CORNELIUS FRIESENDORF

Paper Title: Military peace operations and the fight against serious crime: Lessons from Bosnia & Herzegovina and Kosovo

Abstract: For post-conflict stabilization efforts to have a chance of success, public security gaps need to be closed. Domestic law enforcement agencies are too weak or unreliable after war to fight organized crime, arrest suspect war criminals, and engage in crowd and riot control to protect returning refugees and minorities. International civilian police and criminal justice personnel often arrive late. International military forces are therefore under pressure to fill security gaps. Yet military involvement in law enforcement is problematic for practical, political, and normative reasons. This paper focuses on post-war Bosnia & Herzegovina (BiH) and Kosovo. It argues that the pros of military law enforcement outweigh the cons, given the continuing lack of strong civilian law enforcement institutions, the criminalized nature of contemporary warfare, and the negative influence of spoilers on stabilization efforts. The paper describes the role of NATO and EU military missions from the 1990s through 2008, thus filling an empirical knowledge gap. By formulating a strategy for military contributions to law enforcement, it also adds to the political debate on peace operations. Fieldwork in these two international protectorates shows that military involvement in the fight against serious crime has lacked effectiveness, efficiency, and legitimacy. Yet there has been progress; especially the improved use of constabulary forces has made the fight against serious crime more systematic. Third, the paper adds conceptual value to the debate on peace operations, by drawing on the concepts of security governance, Security Sector Reform (SSR), and Security Sector Governance (SSG).

BIO: Cornelius Friesendorf is a fellow in the Special Programmes division of the Geneva Centre for the Democratic Control of Armed Forces (DCAF), and an associate researcher at the Geschwister-Scholl-Institute, University of Munich. His research focuses on peace operations, security sector reform, and strategies against criminalized non-state actors. He has conducted fieldwork in West Asia, South America, North Africa, and Southeast Europe, and has taught or conducted research at the Center for Security Studies (ETH Zurich), Watson Institute for International Studies (Brown University), Geneva School of Diplomacy, Centre for Civil-Military Relations (Belgrade), Centre for Security Studies BiH (Sarajevo), and South East European University (Tetovo). Additional professional experiences include working for the BBC World Service in London and German newspapers. Cornelius holds degrees in political science from the University of Zurich, the Free University Berlin, and the London School of Economics (LSE). Recent publications include: *Militarized Law Enforcement in Peace Operations: EU-FOR in Bosnia & Herzegovina*, in: *International Peacekeeping*, Vol. 15, No. 5 (2008): 677–694 (with Susan Penksa); *US Foreign Policy and the War on Drugs: Displacing the Cocaine and Heroin Industry* (London and New York: Routledge, 2007).

Affiliation: Geneva Centre for the Democratic Control of Armed Forces (DCAF)

ANNE MANDEVILLE

Paper title: Problems of reform of the security systems in the Western Balkans: The possible influence of ideological trends inside the International Community.

Abstract: This paper was conceived both as a theoretical and substantial study of the problems in the reform of the “security sector”, taking the case of the Western Balkans’ military and police organisations as a case study (especially Kosovo and Bosnia-Herzegovina). Looking at the security sector reforms has enabled us to draw some obvious conclusions so far: malfunctioning of systems, failures in implementation, continuance of the violence at high levels, conflicts, frustrations, at various levels and in various forms. It also enables us to make an obvious link between the “human security” approach, conceived at the local and national levels, and the international (systemic) level. For example, where do the policies and trends, and “models” (e.g. “community policing”, civilianization of forces, the way “training in the criminal justice apparatus” is conceived...) for the security sector originate? Why are they chosen and by whom, as models of fighting crime and terrorism, in a given environment? How are they chosen as valid courses of action in the process of the re-structuring of the state? How are they evaluated and by whom? Those questions are those we would like to ask in a comparative perspective, in order to explore our hypothesis of a major influence of the global dominant (very often unconscious) philosophy of political reform of the security sector inside failed or newly emerging states in “post-conflict” or conflict situations. The impact of ideological trends on local/national/regional policies of “implementation” could be one possible explanation of some of their failure or their malfunctioning.

BIO: Anne Mandeville (PhD) is senior lecturer in political science and conflict analysis at the Université de Toulouse I – sciences sociales (France). She did her doctoral studies both in France and at the University of Lancaster (UK), and her doctoral thesis was on the subject of the public order system of the United Kingdom. She is now director of the Centre de Droit Pénal International et d’Analyse des Conflits at the University of Toulouse, and of the Diploma on the same subject. Her main interests are in the use of force in the management of violent conflicts, and especially ethnic conflicts, the comparison of national traditions in this matter, and in the sociology of security forces, especially the Army. Her latest publications are “Sécurité, citoyenneté, et maintien de l’ordre européen”, *Revue de la Gendarmerie Nationale* n 227, and “La renaissance du système militaire comme acteur essentiel de la fonction de police globale contemporaine”, in *Revue Inflexions*, n 4, pp. 47–78 (with colonel Bertrand Cavallier).

Affiliation: Senior Lecturer in Political Science at the University of Toulouse I, Director of the *Centre de Droit Pénal International et d’Analyse des Conflits*

LADA SADIKOVIC

Paper Title: Bosnia and Herzegovina in the Western Balkans system of security

Abstract: The issues of human security, terrorism and organized crime in the Western Balkans are certainly of great significance for the countries that belong to the region, as well as for whole Europe. It is very noticeable that the region of the Western Balkans is the grey area of the whole European continent. While all other countries have acceded the European Union and NATO, the countries of Western Balkans are the major exception that certainly diminishes the success of overall European integration.

The countries which are part of the Western Balkans area have many common characteristics, such as the post-war situation, relative economic backwardness, insufficient development of democratic institutions and an incomplete protection of human rights. However, each of these countries has its own characteristics which must be observed and emphasized in order to determine the strategy of combating the effects of crime and terrorist organisations.

The irredentist war, waged in the region of the Western Balkans, mainly occurred in the territory of Bosnia and Herzegovina. It has caused not only the destruction of state democratic institutions, as well as its economic and other assets, but also devastated its society. Genocide, ethnic cleansing and massive deportations were the key features of this war. It is for these reasons that it is absolutely necessary not only to strengthen the country's democratic institutions in accordance with the principles of democracy and rule of law but also to effect the revitalization of the entire civil society in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Indeed, this situation has deeply weakened both the state and all the defensive mechanisms of the society of Bosnia and Herzegovina. Bosnia and Herzegovina has become a fruitful soil for different influences of criminal terrorist groups that represents a threat not only for the security of the country but for the whole of Europe, and potentially, for a broader area.

A significant characteristic of organized crime in the modern world is that it expands into the areas where state institutions are poorly organized and where a modern judiciary and police structure of the state are non-existent. All of these are exactly the characteristics of the state-of-play in the society of today's Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Deep insight into the position of Bosnia and Herzegovina within the Western Balkans area in terms of stronger combat against organized crime and terrorism must be of significant interest for:

- Consolidation of the State Bosnia and Herzegovina based on the principles of democracy and rule of law,
- Its qualification for successful combating against international crime,
- Assistance to other members of the Western Balkans region in pursuing of the same objectives, and certainly
- Successful stabilization of the entire European continent.

BIO: Lada Sadikovic, LLD, is senior lecturer of human rights and European and international law at the Faculty of Criminology of the University of Sarajevo, and the coordinator of the "Institution Building and Human Rights" module at the "State Management and Humanitarian Affairs" post-graduate studies organised by the Centre for Post-graduate Studies of the University of Sarajevo. She has published three books: "State of Emergency and Human Rights", "State in European Order", and "Human Rights". She participated in projects on "Culture of Human Rights", "Local Democratic Governance for Return and Reintegration" and "Democracy Assessment in Bosnia and Herzegovina".

Affiliation: University of Sarajevo

BISTRA NETKOVA

Paper Title: Combating and preventing trafficking in women through targeting the demand for prostitution

Abstract: Trafficking in human beings, especially women, is a heinous practice affecting societies all over the world. The countries of the Western Balkan are countries of origin, transit and destination for trafficking in women. The hardship, that these countries faced in the process of transition and the presence of international troops in some of them, had the most impact on the position of women in the respective societies allowing the flourishing of prostitution and sexual exploitation thereof as a method of survival and profitable business for the crime syndicates. These realities increased the demand in women for sexual exploitation and flared trafficking in women; in order meet the demand organized crime groups in the region bloomed increasing the intensity of the business of trafficking in women and their sale.

Therefore, the prevention of trafficking in human beings, especially women and children, is a *conditio sine qua non* for the successful fight and eradication of this practice. One of the modes of prevention is targeting the demand for prostitution, because as the demand for prostitution increases, trafficking in women increases too. In this line is the Council of Europe Convention against trafficking in human beings, adopting the human rights approach, and uniquely, dedicating its Article 6 to the measures to discourage the demand. This article places positive obligation on state parties to adopt and reinforce measures for discouraging demand vis-à-vis sexual exploitation, slavery and practices similar to slavery. The aim of such measures is to achieve effective dissuasion. According to the article, targeting the demand in the countries of destination can be done through raising awareness aimed at promoting the status of women and the gender perceptions and involving enacting and implementing specific legislation targeting the demand. However, this is not a matter that can be achieved and observed in the short term. Therefore, at the off-set of the ratification of the CoE's Convention in the region, changes should, and will be made in line with the positive state obligations provided for by the Convention in the direction of respecting human rights of women, fighting and preventing trafficking through addressing the demand by enacting new more efficiently worded laws and creating strategies for their effective implementation over time.

BIO: Bistra Netkova wrote her Ph.D. thesis on “*Human Rights and Trafficking in Women*” at the faculty of law of the University of Groningen. She is also attorney at law member of the Bar Association of R. Macedonia, and Master of Law (LLM) at the University of Groningen.

She is currently pro-dean of academic questions at SEEU, lecturer at the Academy of Judges and Prosecutors – Skopje R. Macedonia, and part-time lecturer at University American College Skopje.

Affiliation: South East European University, Tetovo

PETAR JORDANOSKI

Paper Title: Compensation of damage for victims of trafficking in human beings – case study Macedonia

Abstract: In the Republic of Macedonia, it is possible to compensate victims of trafficking through the application of the provisions on confiscation of property and/or material benefits obtained from the crime from the perpetrator of the criminal offence and returning it to the damaged party, i.e. the victim. Despite a clearly established position with regard to the duty of the state to compensate the victim of both the international community and national legislation, there is no public fund in Macedonia for victim compensation, nor are there provisions on establishing an obligation for the court to determine compensation.

Moreover, in spite of the widely established legal possibilities for compensation of victims of trafficking in human beings, the courts in Macedonia have not yet established and developed practices for enabling compensation of pecuniary and non-pecuniary damages caused by the criminal offence.

By introducing a compulsory obligation for the court, along with the verdict to decide with regard to legal property claim in criminal proceedings, the legislator has created the conditions for the enforcement of a more prompt compensation for victims of trafficking in human beings. Unfortunately, these provisions have been rarely applied in the practice of domestic courts. So far, only two decisions for compensation of non-pecuniary damage to victims of trafficking in human beings or forced prostitutions have been passed in the Republic of Macedonia. However, they have not been yet executed.

Therefore, the opinion of psychologists right after the admission of victims in the Transit Centre must be used as evidence in proceedings. The use of this kind of professional opinion is therefore a desirable solution in terms of establishment of the grounds and the level of the fair compensation for victims of trafficking in human beings.

The victim-centred approach means taking the needs of the trafficking victim to be protected, assisted and ultimately empowered to live a dignified life, as the fundamental starting point during all phases of criminal proceedings

BIO: Petar Jordanoski graduated in law and obtained a LL.M. with a thesis on “*Theoretical view of the crime of genocide under international law*”. He is actively involved in the NGO sector and he is running a project dealing with police abuse cases, as well as working with cases of trafficking in human beings. Since 2008 he is working as anti money laundering officer in a bank in Skopje. Currently he is external advisor of the coalition of NGOs in Macedonia “For fair trials”.

Affiliation: Social Democratic Political Academy, Skopje

ANDJELKA MARKOVIC

Paper Title: The buyers of commercial sexual services in Serbia

Abstract: The majority and variety of anti-human trafficking actions implemented this far, both by state and non-state actors in Serbia, were primarily focused on helping victims of human trafficking and prosecuting the traffickers. In 2005 and 2006, the Belgrade Centre for Human Rights carried out a research on potential clients – buyers of commercial sexual services – with the purpose to shed some light also on the ‘demand’ side in Serbia. The aim of the research was to explore the perceptions of ‘clients’, thus documenting and indicating other tangible causes – except poverty, unemployment, lack of education and lack of perspective, that usually occurs in countries in transition – of human trafficking, that would have to be addressed and to suggest actions that should be taken in order to eradicate such practices. The research encompasses analysis of answers of 43 male individuals to a whole set of questions (among others about the locations where sexual services can be bought in Serbia, who purchases those services, what is the age of the girls, who are they, what motivates them to opt for buying sexual services, etc.) The paper concludes with a set of observations and recommendations.

BIO: Andjelka Markovic coordinates different projects of the Belgrade Centre for Human Rights and researches on prohibition of slavery and forced labour. She is also the local liaison officer for Serbia in the International Centre for Migration Policy Development’ cross-border project “Programme to Support the Development of Transnational Referral Mechanisms for Trafficked Persons in South-Eastern Europe”.

Affiliation: Belgrade Centre for Human Rights

DALIDA RITTOSSA

Paper Title: Trafficking of minors in Croatia – The present situation

Abstract: The offence of trafficking in persons, as a modern form of slavery, has been introduced in Croatian Criminal Code four years ago. During this time there have been nine criminal procedures commenced against perpetrators who were charged with trafficking of minors. According to the official criminal records of the Croatian National Committee for the Suppression of Trafficking in Persons, the State Attorney desisted from prosecution after investigation in a 2006 case in front of the County Court in Zadar. In the same year the State Attorney decided not to prosecute a case in front of the County Court in Zagreb, having in mind that the accused were being already prosecuted for the same offence in Italy. Seven cases are still pending. Taking into account the fact there have been no final court judgments, and therefore, the case could have different outcomes, the main aim of this presentation is to analyze these pending cases determining modalities of committing the offences. Considerations will be given to cases with excessive threats or use of force against the minors and cases in which minors were deceived by perpetrators. Special attention will be given to endogenous and exogenous causes of trafficking of minors in Croatia. Impact and possible consequences of the offences on victims will be detected.

BIO: Dalida Rittossa is assistant professor at University of Rijeka, Croatia. She obtained her bachelor's degree at the faculty of law in Rijeka winning the Rector's Prize for the best student in 1999. In the same year she was completed a LL.M. in comparative constitutional law studies at the Central European University in Budapest with a thesis "Right on Abortion, Comparative Approach Concerning Croatia, Federal Republic of Germany and US", after which she worked as a young legal counsellor at the Constitutional Legal Policy Institute in Budapest.

She participated in the project on "Deviant Behaviour of Women-Aggressiveness, Addiction and Delinquency". Starting from 2007 she has been taking part in the project on "European Perspectives of Criminal Legal Status of Women". Currently, she has been working on her PhD thesis "Errors in Criminal Law". She is the author of several scientific articles in the field of criminal and constitutional law.

Institutional affiliation: University of Rijeka, Croatia

IGOR BANDOVIĆ

Paper Title: Justice in practice: practical problems from the civilians' perspective

Abstract: This article deals with the practical problems of the post conflict society in reckoning with the wrongdoings of the past through transitional justice mechanisms enforced in Serbia.

The article examines the perception of justice through the different communication channels which include media reporting, the attitudes of political actors, and outreach efforts of the domestic and international judiciary. The article will give special attention to the role of security sector, media and political elite as very important actors in these processes. It will try to enlighten their current position in respect to the gross human rights violations in the past.

The causes of biased and partial perception of international and domestic judicial truth will be explored through public opinion surveys: citizen's attitudes and opinions on armed conflicts in the former Yugoslavia, the ICTY trials and the domestic war crime trials.

Furthermore, the article will try to determine the problems and the obstacles in the acceptance of responsibility: criminal, political and civic and various mechanisms of denial and impunity.

The article will in the end try to define systematic arrangements for a just society and basic requirements for revealing the troubled past in Serbia.

BIO: Igor Bandovic works as programme manager for the European Fund for the Balkans, a multi-year joint initiative of European foundations designed to undertake and support initiatives aimed at bringing the Western Balkans closer to the European Union through grant-giving and operational programmes. Before joining EFB, Igor Bandovic worked for the UNDP's Regional Transitional Justice Programme as a researcher. From 2002 to 2006, he worked for the Belgrade Centre for Human Rights where his research priorities were human rights education, civil society, transitional justice, war crimes and nationalism. He was conducting research and analyzing public attitudes towards the ICTY and national war crimes trials (2003–2005). He was editor of *The Activity of ICTY and National War Crimes Trials* (Belgrade: Belgrade Centre for Human Rights, 2005). His recent publications include research report: "The Role of Human and Minority Rights in the Process of Reconstruction and Consolidation for State and Nation Building – the Case of Serbia", within the research project: Human and Minority Rights in the Life-Cycle of Ethnic Conflicts (MIRICO); "*The Role of Non-governmental Organisations and their Impact on Good Governance in Serbia*" in the book *Civil Society and Good governance in Societies in Transition*; "*International Tribunals and Their Impact on National Reconciliation*" in *International War Crimes Trials – Making a Difference*; "The International Role in the Reconciliation Process – a view from Serbia" in *From Peace Making to Self-Sustaining Peace-International Presence in South East Europe at a Crossroads?*

Affiliation: European Fund for the Balkans

MILOS STOPIC

Paper Title: The influence of media on Serbian transition process

Abstract: The paper will focus on the influence of media in Serbia. As a newly formed democracy, Serbia is facing a difficult task in providing functional legal and economic base for the development of democratic culture. However, due to unstable political climate and short political cycles, the process of reforms has been conducted slowly. Under the provisions of Serbian legislation the ownership of the media remains unclear, some media are funded from the state budget and the influence of shadowy capital in forming a public opinion is uncontrolled. It is in such circumstances that some of the media in Serbia have become socially irresponsible and partial, providing no objective or critical stands on governmental actions, even displaying state officials as criminals, without providing any proof.

The rule of low-brow media and tabloids is often used for promotion of hate speech and targeting certain individuals or groups. In addition, provisions of ethical and professional codes are not being implemented and there are no effective legal instruments for sanctioning the abuse of the public role entrusted to the media. In this paper, special attention will be given to the consequences of such journalism.

The paper will also focus on the possible solutions for resolving the lack of critical, professional and objective media in Serbia, various forms of unethical and irresponsible journalism, lack of transparency of media ownership and its impact in forming the public opinion.

BIO: Milos Stopic is final year student at the law school of the University of Belgrade. Since 2006, he works as legal researcher for the Belgrade Centre for Human Rights and conducts research on various human rights issues and national legislation.

Affiliation: Belgrade Centre for Human Rights

MAX SPENCER-DOHNER

Paper Title: LGBT minorities as easy targets: a case study of the specificities and commonalities with other neglected endangered groups in the context of nationalism-dominated societies

Abstract: Feeling safe is something more than a mere outer sensation directed towards the individual. One can be confined and imprisoned thus being bodily and firmly protected from the outside world. However, an individual can never the less feel unsafe in its fundamental essence when facing the last and ultimate bare minimum of his own existence – his nature – as a spring of someone else’s Hatred. Feeling secure is, therefore, much more than being merely sheltered. It is also assuming the whole of one’s identity knowing that the elements that distinguish a person from the majority of society will be respected not a special phenomenon of the standard norm, but strictly as normality itself. These issues are clearly evident in what comes to minorities, and this is precisely what makes minorities an easy target of extremist groups that nurture ideals of purity an homogeneity that exclude the freedom of expression of any type of identity that may, in their perspective, ‘polute’ an otherwise pure society. Bearing this in mind, the paper analyzes the specific case of sexual minorities as a particularly neglected group in what regards human security. Sexual minorities are particularly exposed to abuse, due to the fact that the existence of profoundly rooted segregationist social conceptions push them into self-isolation and prevent them from benefiting from the solidarity of average citizens, who tend to act as bystanders to abuse, pretending to ignore, or even relativising the importance of most forms of discrimination to which Sexual minorities are victims. This is why the status of sexual minorities is one of the best measures of the degree of tolerance within a society. A holistic approach to the concepts of human security must include the analysis of the perception that the individual has of his own rights. Security as one’s sensation can and must also take into account the appreciation of the social burden brought to this one if he or she decides to risk assuming his truthful nature, the ultimate responsible for his attachment to a minority. Therefore, it’s in the context of assuming individuality, a proper identity, rectius, an essence as member of a minority that the acts of animosity, often even hatred violence, towards the LGBT minorities in the western Balkans ought to have a special attention. The study of such hostility, which the paper is hereby volunteering to execute, will be held in the context of the situation of discrimination against minorities in former communist European countries, having in account the problems of transition and stressing the specificities and commonalities with other discriminated minority groups. A particular emphasis on the cases of Poland and Serbia will be made.

BIO: Max Spencer-Dohner is a Portuguese/Swiss lawyer working mainly with criminal law and criminal procedure law in Portugal. He graduated from Lisbon’s Faculty of Law and in the last couple of years started a close legal cooperation with NGOs working in the Human Rights field.

Affiliation: Lawyer, Faro

DRAGANA DULIC

Paper Title: Peace-building and human security: Kosovo case

Abstract: The article attempts to apply peace-building criteria to a specific case of post-conflict reconstruction in weak states such as Kosovo, having as a rationale that peace building, state-building and human security should be treated together, instead of being treated separately and in a hierarchic way. Guided under the liberal agenda, peace-building in Kosovo incited some suspicions and criticism concerning the intention of the interveners to transforming the development portfolio into an instrument of international relations, and using them to serve vague geopolitical ends. However, if it should be taken for granted that human security and peace-building in Kosovo are areas of legitimate international concern, then prioritizing state- and nation -building agendas at the expense of human security is an highly questionable deliberation, as UNMIK's mixed result in Kosovo demonstrates.

BIO: Dragana Dulic is professor of ethics at the University of Belgrade and guest professor and coordinator of the module *State management and Humanitarian Affairs* at the University of Rome – La Sapienza. She is the author of eight books, and among the recent are: *Military and Humanitarian Operations*, *Ethics and Politics of Humanitarian Assistance*, and *Ethical Problems in Human Resource Management*. She is also the editor and/or co-editor of four books, and the author of several dozens of articles dealing with human security, humanitarianism, ethics and political philosophy. Together with a team of young academics, she conducted the project on *Human Security Report – Serbia*, published in two volumes by the Fund for Open Society, Belgrade (2006). She established human security studies at the Faculty of Security in 2001 and launched bilingual *Human Security Journal* in 2003. She has participated in many public presentations and workshops and has also been guest speaker at the Norwegian Institute of Science and Technology (NTNU); Tromsø University, Norway; Women in Black, Belgrade; George C. Marshall, European Center for Security Studies, Belgrade, etc.

Affiliation: Faculty of Security, University of Belgrade

DRAGAN DJUKANOVIC

Paper Title: The post-conflict integration of minority ethnic communities in Kosovo

Abstract: The paper analyses the gradual integration of the ethnic minorities, including the non-Albanian ethnic communities (Serbs, Turks, Romas, Bosniaks and Gorans), in the political system of Kosovo after establishing the civil and military protectorate of the United Nations as provided by the Security Council Resolution 1244 (10 June 1999) and unilateral proclamation of independence of this entity — 17 February 2008.

Related to this, the paper points to the *Constitutional Framework for the Provisional Self-Government in Kosovo* (21 May 2001) and *Comprehensive Proposal for the Kosovo Status Settlement* (the proposal submitted by Martti Ahtisaari, Special Envoy of the United Nations Secretary-General on the future status of Kosovo — 26 March 2007), which was implemented immediately after the proclamation of Kosovo's independence. The paper also analyses the *Constitution of Kosovo* (15 June 2008) and the articles dealing with the status of the ethnic minorities.

In spite of the legislative framework, the paper concludes that there are many problems with the substantial integration of ethnic communities into the political system of Kosovo. The author points to the problems of integration of the local Serb population in the northern parts of Kosovo (Northern Kosovska Mitrovica, Leposavic, Zvecan and Zubin Potok). A possible ethnic division of Kosovo to the northern Serbian and southern part dominated by the Albanians could threaten the security situation in the Western Balkans.

BIO: Dragan Djukanovic is political scientist. He graduated and gained MA from the Faculty of Political Science, University of Belgrade — thesis: “New Public Management: the Origin, Ranges and Development” (2004). He gained his PhD from the same Faculty — thesis: “Contemporary Political Systems of the Countries of Former Yugoslavia: a Comparative Analyses of Political Institutions” (2006). He is a research associate at Institute of International Politics and Economics, Belgrade; editor-in-chief of *Međunarodna politika* and a member of the International Relations Forum of the European Movement in Serbia. He has published more than 40 papers in various scientific journals and conference proceedings.

Affiliation: Institute of International Politics and Economics, Belgrade

MARKO ATILLA HOARE

Paper Title: The Serbia-Kosovo dispute as a factor of instability in the Balkans

Abstract: The Balkans have made great strides since the last armed conflict in the region ended in 2001. Three more states from the region, broadly defined, have joined both the EU and NATO (Slovenia, Bulgaria and Romania). Of the non-NATO states in the region, Croatia and Albania have just been invited to join the alliance, while all the others except Kosovo are signatories of the Partnership for Peace. Three of the non-EU states in the region are EU candidates (Croatia, Macedonia and Turkey). Yet despite this progress toward regional integration, several serious conflicts remain. Of these, it is the conflict over the disputed land of Kosovo that is the greatest potential cause of regional destabilisation.

As a fragile new state, Kosovo has the potential for a collapse that could prove highly damaging to the region. Yet as it has been recognised by most European states as well as by the US, Canada, Japan and other countries, it is inconceivable that Kosovo will ever disappear or be returned to Serbia, nor is partition of Kosovo a realistic prospect. Indeed, the very danger of Kosovo's collapse is the reason why the NATO powers are unlikely to allow it to occur.

Much, therefore, will depend on how Serbia's political leadership will react to this situation. The success of pro-European forces in Serbian parliamentary elections this spring, followed by the formation of a government under Mirko Cvetkovic committed to Serbia's EU integration, has reduced the danger of the Kosovo dispute erupting in violence or warfare. Nevertheless, the continued Serbian rejection of Kosovo's independence coupled with Russia's backing for Serbia over Kosovo means that the Kosovo dispute will remain unresolved for the foreseeable future, while the growing conflict between Russia and the NATO powers over the Caucasus will increase the danger of Kosovo become an additional flashpoint for conflict in South East Europe.

Given the current unlikelihood of Serbia formally recognising Kosovo, the best chance for stability in the Balkans may lie in Serbia reaching a *modus vivendi* with the NATO alliance over the question. This would mean that, while Serbia would formally retain its claim on Kosovo, it would accept its loss in practice, and establish a working relationship with the Kosovo government in the interest of the security of the Serb minority in Kosovo and the peace and stability of the wider region. A possible model might be the Republic of Ireland's *de facto* acceptance of the United Kingdom's possession of Northern Ireland, which until recently was coupled with a continued, formal Irish claim on the latter. Such a balancing act would require both maturity and restraint on the part of the Serbian leadership. As in the 1990s, it is Serbia that holds the key to regional progress.

BIO: Marko Attila Hoare is a senior research fellow at the Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences, Kingston University, London. He received his BA from the University of Cambridge in 1994 and his PhD from Yale University in 2000. He has been studying the history and politics of the former Yugoslavia since the early nineties and has lived and worked in Bosnia-Herzegovina, Croatia and Serbia. He is the author of three books: *The History of Bosnia: From the Middle Ages to the Present Day* (Saqi, London, 2007); *Genocide and Resistance in Hitler's Bosnia: The Partisans and the Chetniks, 1941–1943* (Oxford University Press, London, 2006), which won the British Academy Postdoctoral Fellow Monograph Competition in 2004; and *How Bosnia Armed* (Saqi, London, 2004). His articles have appeared in journals such as *Journal of Genocide Research*, *European History Quarterly*, *South Slav Journal* and *Journal of Slavic Military Studies*.

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