

Jean-Jacques de Dardel
Gustav Gustenau
Plamen Pantev

Post-Conflict Rehabilitation

Lessons from South East Europe and Strategic
Consequences for the Euro-Atlantic Community



Study Group Information





Study Group Information

Jean-Jacques de Dardel
Gustav Gustenau
Plamen Pantev

Post-Conflict Rehabilitation

**Lessons from South East Europe and Strategic
Consequences for the Euro-Atlantic Community**

Vienna and Sofia, April 2006

Impressum:

© Study Group Information

Publishers:

National Defence Academy and
Bureau for Security Policy at the Austrian Ministry of Defence
in co-operation with
PfP Consortium of Defence Academies and
Security Studies Institutes

Editors:

Jean-Jacques de Dardel
Gustav Gustenau
Plamen Pantev

Managing Editors:

Ernst M. Felberbauer
Benedikt Hensellek

Facilitating Editor:

Pablo Iparraguirre

Layout and Graphics:

Multimedia Office of the National Defence Academy, Vienna

Printing and Finishing:

ReproZ Vienna
1070 Vienna, Stiftgasse 2a
ISBN 3-902456-33-7
ReprZ Nr.

Table of Contents

- I. Introduction: Conceptual and Terminology Issues of Post-Conflict Rehabilitation (Plamen Pantev) 5**

- II. Post-Conflict Rehabilitation in the New International System... 25**
 - 1. The United Nations and NATO: Comparing and Contrasting Styles and Capabilities in the Conduct of Peace Support Operations (William Durch) 23
 - 2. Human Rights as a Fundamental Standard of Post-Conflict Rehabilitation (Jean-Jacques de Dardel) 49
 - 3. EU and OSCE Approaches to Post-Conflict Rehabilitation (Ferenc Gazdag) 62
 - 4. Cultural Issues of Post-Conflict Rehabilitation (Egdunas Racius) 85
 - 5. The Role of Civil Society, Media and Education in Post-Conflict Rehabilitation Activities (Sandro Knezovic) 98

- III. Recurrent Issues of Post-Conflict Rehabilitation and Lessons to Be Learned 111**
 - 6. Lessons on Post-War Rehabilitation in South East Europe and by South East Europeans (Plamen Pantev) 111
 - 7. Security Sector Governance Issues in Post-Conflict Societies: Concept, Tasks, Experience in South East Europe (Plamen Pantev and Vesselin Petkov)..... 128
 - 8. Economic Aspects of Post-Conflict Rehabilitation in the Western Balkans (Mladen Stanicic) 153
 - 9. Specific Issues of Post-Conflict Rehabilitation..... 166
 - 9.a. The Case of Bosnia and Herzegovina (Nedžad Hadzimosic) ... 166
 - 9.b. The Progress of the ‘Ohrid Process’ in Macedonia (Petar Atanasov)..... 179
 - 9.c. Post Conflict Rehabilitation in Moldova (Nicolae Popescu) 194
 - 10. Nation-Building in the Western Balkans: Some Additional Lessons and the Role of the EU (Predrag Jurekovic)..... 210

- IV. Conclusions: the ‘Must’ of Euro-Atlantic Solidarity on Post-Conflict Rehabilitation (Plamen Pantev) 225**
 - List of Abbreviations..... 229**
 - Authors..... 233**

List of Abbreviations

AP	Action Plan
BiH	Bosnia and Herzegovina
CARDS	Community Assistance for Reconstruction, Development and Stabilization
CE	Council of Europe
CEE	Central and Eastern Europe(an)
CFSP	European Union's Common Foreign and Security Policy
CIO	Chairman-in-Office
CIVPOL	Civilian Police
CSCE	Conference on Security and Cooperation European
CSIS	Center for Strategic and International Studies
CSO	Civil Society Organization(s)
C ³	Command, Communication and Control
DCAF	Democratic Control of the Armed Forces
DDR	Disarmament, Demobilization and Reintegration
DPA	Democratic Party of Albanians
DPPA	Dayton-Paris Peace Accords
DUI	Democratic Union for Integration
ECHR	European Court for Human Rights
ENP	European Union Neighborhood Policy
EU	European Union
EUPM	European Union Police Mission
EUSR	European Union Special Representative
FATF	Financial Action Task Force on Money Laundering
FBiH	Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina
FRY	Federative Republic of Yugoslavia
FYROM	Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia
GCSP	Geneva Center for Security Policy
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
HR	High Representative
IC	International Community
ICITAP	International Criminal Investigative Training Assistance Program
ICTY	International Criminal Tribunal for Former Yugoslavia

INTERREG	Initiative of Cross-Border Cooperation
ISA (OSA)	Intelligence and Security Agency
JCC	Joint Control Commission, Moldova
KFOR	Kosovo Force
KLA	Kosovo Liberation Army
KPC	Kosovo Protection Corps
KPS	Kosovo Police Service
MCIA	Marine Corps Intelligence Activity
MEDA	Euro-Mediterranean Partnership
MOD	Ministry of Defense
MOI	Ministry of Interior
MONUC	Mission of the UN in the DR of Congo
MP	Member of Parliament
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organization
NGO	Non-Governmental Organization
NLA	National Liberation Army
NRF	NATO Response Force
NTM-I	NATO Training Mission for Iraq
ODIHR	Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights
OHR	Office of the High Representative
OMS	Office of Mission Support
OSCE	Organization on Security and Cooperation European
PCR	Post-Conflict Rehabilitation
PHARE	Pologne-Hongrie Assistance de Reconstruction Économi- que
PIC	Peace Implementation Council
PRT	Provincial Reconstruction Teams
RS	Republika Srpska
SAA	Stabilization and Association Agreement
SACEUR	Supreme Allied Commander Europe
SAIS	School of Advanced International Studies
SALW	Small Arms and Light Weapons
SAP	Stabilization and Association Process
SECI	South East European Cooperative Initiative (US-driven)
SFOR	Stabilization Forces
SIPA	State Investigation and Protection Agency
SSR	Security Sector Reform

SRSG	Special Representative of the Secretary General
TACIS	Launched by the EC in 1991, the TACIS Program provides grant-financed technical assistance to 12 countries of Eastern Europe and Central Asia (Armenia, Azerbaijan, Belarus, Georgia, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Moldova, Russia, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan, Ukraine and Uzbekistan), and mainly aims at enhancing the transition process in these countries. (Mongolia was also covered by the TACIS program from 1991 to 2003, but is now covered by the ALA program)
TAIEX	Technical Assistance Information Exchange Office
TRC	Truth and Reconciliation Commission
TPIU	Trafficking Prevention and Investigation Unit
UN	United Nations
UNDP	United Nations Development Program
UNDPKO	United Nations Department of Peacekeeping Operations
UNHCR	United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees
UNIP	United Nations International Police
UNMIK	United Nations Mission in Kosovo
UNODCCP	United Nations Office for Drug Control and Crime Prevention
UNSC	United Nations Security Council
UNSCR	United Nations Security Council Resolutions
USIP	United States Institute for Peace
WB	Western Balkans

Authors

Petar ATANASOV, PhD, is Assistant Professor in the Institute for Sociological Political and Legal Research in Skopje, Macedonia. The Institute works under the auspices of the University of 'Sts. Cyril and Methodius'. He mostly publishes in the area of national security, civil-military relations, ethnic conflict, nationalism and multiculturalism.

Jean-Jacques de DARDEL is head of Political Affairs Division 1 (Europe, Council of Europe and OSCE) at the Swiss Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MFA). He holds a Master in Economics and a PhD in Political science. He functioned as Secretary Jurist at the ICRC and the Conference on the Development of Humanitarian Law in 1976-77, joined the Foreign Service in 1981 and served in Bern, Vienna, Washington, Canberra and Paris, where he was appointed Ambassador to the International Organization of La Francophonie. From 2001 to 2004, he was head of International Security Policy at the MFA in Berne. He is author of a number of books, essays and articles on cultural and international affairs.

William J. DURCH is adjunct professor in the Georgetown University Security Studies Program and a senior associate at the Stimson Center in Washington, D.C, where he co-directs the Future of Peace Operations program. Formerly he was project director for the Panel on UN Peace Operations (the 'Brahimi Report') and assistant director of the Defense and Arms Control Studies Program at MIT, where he earned a PhD in international relations and defense studies.

Ferenc GAZDAG, PhD, is Professor at Kodolanyi University College, Hungary. He has worked with the Ministries of Defense and Foreign Affairs. Fields of his research interest are: European security, European integration and history of France. Currently he works on the subject of the Common Foreign and Security Policy.

Nedžad HADZIMUSIC is a career diplomat from Bosnia and Herzegovina, graduate of the Senior Executive Course of the George C. Marshall Center for European Security Studies, Garmisch-Partenkirchen. He has

the position of Assistant Minister for Multilateral Affairs – AM at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Sarajevo.

Predrag JUREKOVIC, M.A. is a senior analyst at the Institute for Peace Support and Conflict Management at the Austrian National Defense Academy in Vienna. He reports regularly on the Western Balkans for the Austrian Military Periodical 'Österreichische Militärische Zeitschrift'. His main fields of research are the evaluation of the stabilization process and the transformation of conflicts in South East Europe, and the application of scenario techniques for conflict research.

Sandro KNEZOVIC, is a Project Assistant/Research Fellow at the Institute for International Relations (IMO, Zagreb, Croatia). He holds a B.A. in International Relations and a M. Sc. in Comparative Politics from the Faculty of Political Sciences at Zagreb University. He is also a doctoral candidate with the thesis on security issues in Southeast Europe.

Plamen PANTEV, PhD is an Associate Professor in International Relations and International Law at the Law School, Department of International Relations and International Law of Sofia University „St. Kliment Ohridsky”, Sofia. He is founder and Director of the Institute for Security and International Studies (ISIS), Sofia, Bulgaria.

Vesselin PETKOV, M.A. in International Relations, is a graduate of Sofia University “St. Kliment Ohridsky”, Bulgaria. He has research interests in the field of South East European security studies and on issues of civil-military relations, democratic control of the armed forces, and security sector reform.

Nicu POPESCU from Moldova is editor of Eurojournal.org and PhD candidate at the Central European University in Budapest, Hungary. He has been Research Associate with the Center for European Policy Studies (CEPS) in Brussels, Visiting Research Fellow at the European Union Institute for Security Studies in Paris, Freedom House expert on Moldova, and political analyst for the Romanian section of the BBC World Service.

Egdunas RACIUS, PhD is a lecturer in the University of Vilnius, Lithuania. He studies various aspects of security with a strong accent on Islamism, cultural peculiarities and their impact on peace support operations. He is also member of the Euro-Atlantic Security Study Group of the PfP Consortium of Defense Academies and Security Studies Institutes.

Mladen STANICIC, PhD is Director of the Institute for International Relations (IMO), Zagreb, Croatia. He is also the head of IMO's Department for Macroeconomic Analysis, Editor-in-chief of the international journal "Croatian International Relations Review", member of the coordinating Council for Development Strategy of the Republic of Croatia "Croatia in the 21st Century", member of the Council for International Relations of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Croatia and Professor at the Faculty of Political Science, Zagreb, Croatia.