



The EU and the Western Balkans

Grassroots Peacebuilding and Enlargement

Executive Summary and Recommendations

The Quaker Council for European Affairs

Produced by the Quaker Council for European Affairs (QCEA)

This report is based on one year of research through interviews with NGO staff in Bosnia-Herzegovina, Croatia and Serbia; interviews with staff from European Commission Delegations and with European Commission staff in Brussels, and through desk-based research. It is available to download at: www.quaker.org/qcea

The report was researched and written by Calum Shaw Programme Assistant. Section 4.7 was researched and written by Lucas Guttenberg Programme Assistant.

The report was edited by Martina Weitsch, Representative and Head of Office.

The Quaker Council for European Affairs (QCEA) was founded in 1979 to promote the values of the Religious Society of Friends (Quakers) in the European context. Our purpose is to express a Quaker vision in matters of peace, human rights, and economic justice. QCEA is based in Brussels and is an international, not-for-profit organisation under Belgian Law.

Publication Date: January 2009

Executive Summary and Recommendations

Introduction

This report aims to assess the extent to which the European Union's enlargement process is supporting the work of local grass roots peacebuilders in the countries of Bosnia-Herzegovina, Croatia and Serbia. The report deals with the 7 broad issues that concern local peacebuilders the most: Nationalism; transitional justice; returnees; regions of concern; education; civil society and peacebuilders; and the Instrument for Pre-accession Assistance. The report also looks at the Common Foreign and Security Policy's involvement in Bosnia-Herzegovina. The report examines the response of the EU's enlargement process to these issues and makes recommendations where it finds the need for further EU action.

How this report was researched

This report is the product of both field and desk top research. The field research for this report consists of over 50 interviews conducted between 31 May 2008 and 8 July 2008. EU officials working in Brussels were also consulted as a part of the research. The desk top research was undertaken in Brussels over the course of 2008. A full list of interviewees can be found in annex I of this report.

Why this report was written

The decision to write this report was taken following a trip to the region taken by QCEA joint representative Martina Weitsch in April 2007. She met with the former Quaker Peace and Social Witness peaceworkers Goran Bubalo, Goran Božičević and Zorica Trifunović. She also met and spoke with other peacebuilders. It was apparent to QCEA as a result of this visit that the EU's involvement in the region could do more to help build peace and that the EU enlargement process represented the perfect opportunity.

Who this report is for

This report is intended both for policy makers (at the EU and local levels) and for other interested readers from the region and beyond. The report is intended to strike a balance between the need for ready access to clear and evidence-based recommendations and well research background information.

Recommendations

This report makes over 80 different recommendations concerning nationalism, transitional justice, returnees, regions of concern, education, civil society & peacebuilders, the Instrument for Pre-accession Assistance, the Multi-Beneficiary Multi-annual Indicative Planning Document and the Common Foreign and Security Policy in Bosnia-Herzegovina. All of our recommendations are important. However, some of them are very specific whilst others are more general. We have tried to offer a list of key recommendations that cover as many of the themes this report touches on as possible and that represent the needs of local peacebuilders as best as possible.

Nationalism

Nationalism was identified by peacebuilders as being the biggest obstacle to lasting peace and stability in the region. Section 3.1 of this report looks at the main issues relating to nationalism as identified by peacebuilders on the ground in each country in detail; here we give only a brief outline. Section 4.1 of this report examines the European Union's response to nationalism in

each country in detail; here we only set out what further action we think the EU needs to do take in order to combat nationalism. Although there is a need for further action on the part of the EU, it must be noted that the EU is doing a great deal to tackle nationalism in the Western Balkans.

Bosnia and Herzegovina

Bosnia-Herzegovina (BiH) is a divided country. Nationalism and ethno-politics are preventing real political dialogue and the legislative and reform processes have practically ground to a halt. The Republika Srpska's calls for independence are particularly destabilising. There is a need to strengthen the BiH state which is unable to coordinate policy and weak in comparison to the entities. The country's constitution needs to be reformed so as to remove the ethnically defined provisions and the development of a Bosnia-Herzegovina identity that is inclusive of all constituent nations and minorities is needed.

We recommend that:

- The EU publicly confirms that the integrity of the BiH State is essential to the enlargement process and that it may only accede as a unified State;
- Any project promoting EU awareness must pay special attention to the EU values epitomised by its motto of unity through diversity;
- The EU includes in the MIPD provisions that support projects that help foster, advocate and promote a unified BiH identity; and that
- The EU maintains the provisions in the current partnership and MIPD that support a stronger BiH state and that reform of the constitution in order to remove ethnic bias.

Croatia

Nationalism in Croatia is most pronounced at a local level and often manifests in various forms of discrimination. Ethnic nationalism is also a rhetorical mainstay of local politics in multi-ethnic regions such as Eastern Slavonia, where the areas economic hardship and levels of trauma are contributing factors.

We recommend that:

- The EU continues to prioritise the adoption and implementation of anti-discrimination and minority rights legislations in the 2010 accession partnership;
- In the 2010 accession partnership the EU calls on the Croatian authorities to tackle extreme nationalism more pro-actively;
- The EU includes provisions promoting greater support to the victims of discrimination in both the accession partnership and the MIPD; and that
- The EU includes provisions in the MIPD that address trauma and its negative consequences.

Serbia

Nationalism in Serbia has not only been a big obstacle to closer cooperation with the EU but has also been a source of discrimination, principally against minorities but also against individuals and organisations that have advocated and promoted 'European' values. The influence of Radical Nationalism systemic and its presence within Serbia's institutions is extensive.

We recommend that:

- The EU makes the call for the Serbian authorities to adopt a comprehensive anti-discrimination law one of the 2010 partnership's key priorities if such a law has not been adopted and fully implemented by the end of 2009;
- The EU continues to support projects that promote values such as inter-ethnic tolerance, pluralism and multi-ethnicity in the MIPD; and that
- The EU publicly supports organisations that promote such values.

Transitional Justice

Transitional justice was identified by peacebuilders as being the most essential aid to establishing lasting peace and stability in the region. Section 3.2 of this report looks at the main issues relating to transitional justice as identified by peacebuilders on the ground in each country; here we give only a brief outline. Section 4.2 of this report examines the European Union's response to transitional justice in each country in detail here we only set out what further action we think the EU needs to take in order to support transitional justice. Although there is a need for further action on the part of the EU, it must be noted that the EU is doing many things that assist some of the mechanisms of transitional justice.

Bosnia and Herzegovina

It is largely through insisting on compliance with the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia (ICTY) that the EU has supported transitional justice in BiH. A more grass roots and local approach is felt to be needed when it comes to ensuring the legacy of the ICTY is a positive one and that it affects the general public. Local war crimes trials are felt to be falling short and not addressing the scale of the atrocity. Efforts are hampered by the lack of an extradition agreement between BiH, Croatia and Serbia. Official truth-seeking initiatives in BiH have largely failed; civil society initiatives in this area are proving more successful. Lustration still needs to be pursued and carried out more thoroughly. Reports in the media continue to indicate that individuals implicated in war crimes are still working in the police force and as officials.

We recommend that:

- The EU makes the settlement of an extradition agreement between BiH, Croatia and Serbia a key priority of the 2010 European and accession partnerships;
- The EU continues to support BiH efforts on war crimes trials in the 2010 partnership and includes support for lustration, reparations and restitution;
- The EU calls on BiH authorities to support the Coalition for RECOM;¹ and that
- The EU supports civil society initiatives to ensure the legacy of the ICTY as part of the MIPD, especially the establishment of regional ICTY archive centres in BiH.

Croatia

The functioning of the Croatian judiciary, specifically its performance on war crimes trials, is one of the leading concerns of the country's peacebuilding community. The war crimes investigation centres around the country are in need of more technical support, more staff and better equipment. Peacebuilders report that County Courts are not dealing with the crime of concealment in accordance with ICTY practice. There have been no official discussions relating to the establishment of a truth commission in Croatia. In contrast to this there is a strong response from civil society, as peacebuilders across the region work towards the formation of

¹ RECOM stands for Regional Commission for Truth-seeking and Truth-telling about War Crimes. See section 4.2.4.

an official regional body which could establish the facts about war crimes committed and enable victims to tell and share their experiences.

In general, there is no public consensus and little political will surrounding the issue of lustration and institutional reform in Croatia. In 2007 a war crime indictee won a parliamentary seat with the Croatian Democratic Alliance of Slavonia and Baranja (HDSSB).² The issue of war trauma is being overlooked by the EU and the Croatian authorities.

We recommend that:

- The EU makes the settlement of an extradition agreement between BiH, Croatia and Serbia a key priority of the 2010 European and Accession Partnerships;
- The EU calls on Croatian authorities to support the Coalition for RECOM and their initiative for a regional truth commission;
- The EU supports civil society initiatives to ensure the legacy of the ICTY under the MIPD, in particular through the establishment of regional ICTY archive centres in Croatia;
- The EU includes support for the war crimes investigation centres over the short-term in the MIPD and call for Croatian authorities to improve the centres over the medium-term in the partnership;
- The EU insists all courts in Croatia deal with the crime of concealment in accordance with ICTY practice;
- The EU calls on Croatian authorities to change the law on immunity from being held in custody of MPs accused of war crimes; and that
- The EU includes support for the treatment of war trauma in heavily affected regions as part of the partnership and the MIPD.

Serbia

Despite some progress, peacebuilders in Serbia see a great need for transitional justice in their country. They are concerned by the political pressure being put on the War Crimes Prosecutor's Office. Peacebuilders feel that there is insufficient discussion in the public realm about the responsibilities and obligations of the state towards victims of the war and towards future generations. A big part of the problem is that there are very few agreed upon facts about the war as no official truth commission has been successfully established. Serbian peacebuilders raise the question of the ICTY legacy once it completes its mandate and call for its archives to be accessible to the people of the region.

We recommend that:

- The EU makes the settlement of an extradition agreement between BiH, Croatia and Serbia a key priority of the 2010 European and accession partnerships;
- The EU calls on the Serbian authorities to support the Coalition for RECOM and their initiative for a regional truth commission;
- The EU makes the adoption of legislation dealing with reparations for human rights violations committed in the past by the Serbian government, especially during the Milosević era, a priority of the partnership; and that
- The EU supports civil society initiatives to ensure the legacy of the ICTY under the MIPD, especially the establishment of regional ICTY archive centres in Serbia.

² K. Kruhonja, & V. Kastratović, (eds.) *Monitoring War Crimes Trials - 2007 Report*, Centre for Peace, Nonviolence and Human Rights Osijek. Available at: http://www.centar-za-mir.hr/uploads/dokumenti/izvjesca/wcrimes_pracenesudenja2007.pdf Does this exist in English?

Returnees

The issue of returnees was identified by peacebuilders in Bosnia-Herzegovina and Croatia as being a big obstacle to lasting peace and stability in the region. Section 3.3 of this report looks at the main issues relating to returnees as identified by peacebuilders on the ground in those two countries in detail; here we give only a brief outline. Section 4.3 of this report examines the European Union's response to returnees in those countries in detail; here we only set out what further action we think the EU needs to take in order to address the issue of returnees. Although there is a need for further action on the part of the EU, it must be noted that the EU is doing many things to address this issue.

Bosnia and Herzegovina

One of the primary goals of Annex VII of the Dayton Peace Accords (DPA) is the restoration of the socio-demographic structure of BiH society, which had been drastically altered by the war. Peacebuilders report that nothing is being done to address this issue and that data on returnee's frequently includes the return of property and other facts related to return, which do not necessarily represent an actual return. The ethnic composition of municipal administrations is supposed to proportionally represent the ethnic composition of the area they administer as recorded by the 1991 census. However, many administrations are falling short of this requirement.

We recommend that:

- The EU maintains the current provisions in the partnership and the MIPD concerning returnees;
- The EU explicitly refers to the importance of areas returning to their pre-war socio-demographic composition in the 2010 partnership; and that
- The EU calls for an improvement in the classification of data collected on returnees so that returned property is not recorded as a person or people returning to live in their pre-war community.

Croatia

The main issues identified by Croatian peacebuilders surrounding returnee's are the obstacles to housing and employment they face. Returnee's are experiencing discrimination from public and private sector employers and face difficulties gaining access to housing if they are former occupancy and tenancy rights (OTR) holders. There are also issues surrounding restitution of occupied properties and the reconstruction of damaged or destroyed residential properties.

We recommend that:

- The EU pays more attention to the issue of returnees in the MIPD, especially concerning the issue of OTRs and employment;
- The EU includes provisions for initiatives that address the restitution of temporarily occupied housing and the reconstruction of property in the MIPD;
- The EU includes provision in the MIPD that address inter-community relations and the social integration of returnees; and that
- The EU makes the adoption of an adequate plan for employment in the administration at county, town and municipal levels a short-term priority of the Partnership.

Regions of concern

There are a number of regions in the Western Balkans that peacebuilders identified as being at risk of destabilisation due to the problems they face. Section 3.4 of this report looks at the

main issues relating to these regions as identified by peacebuilders on the ground in each country in detail; here we give only a brief outline. Section 4.4 of this report examines the European Union's response to these regions in detail; here we only set out what further action we think the EU needs to take in order to address the problems faced by each region. Although there is a need for further action on the part of the EU, it must be noted that the EU is doing many things to address this issue.

Bosnia and Herzegovina

As outlined in section 3.4.1 we consider BiH as a whole to be a region of concern. We therefore make no specific recommendations under this heading because all the recommendations regarding BiH would otherwise have to be repeated here.

Croatia

Eastern Slavonia is highlighted by peacebuilders as a region of concern in Croatia and in need of particular attention. The region's peacebuilders identified the region's lack of economic development and job opportunities, ethnic nationalism, the presence of mine fields, the lack of professionalism of public administration in dealing with rights violations, discrimination, psychological trauma and the general appearance of the region as obstacles to a sustainable and lasting peace and as possible sources of instability.

We recommend that:

- The EU includes the economic re-development of Eastern Slavonia amongst the 2010 partnerships priorities;
- The EU pays more attention to the situation on the ground in Eastern Slavonia in the 2009 progress report;
- The EU maintains the current provisions in the MIPD concerning support under component II and adds explicit references to truth-telling and dealing with the past; and that
- The EU includes measures in the partnership and the MIPD that address the trauma suffered by the region during the war, such as support for mental health programmes and organisations dealing with trauma.

Serbia

The region of Sandžak is a concern for Serbian peacebuilders. Ethnic tensions are high and felt to be kept so by 'agent provocateurs'. The economic backwardness of the region and the crippling in-fighting within the Bosniac community make the situation worse. Furthermore, many Bosniacs think that local war crimes trials have fallen short of delivering justice and feel aggrieved.

We recommend that:

- The EU pays greater attention to the situation in Sandžak in both the 2010 partnership and the MIPD; and that
- The EU calls on all government agencies in Serbia to actively promote stability in the region and good intra and inter-ethnic relations as part of the Partnership's priorities.

Education

Education is identified by peacebuilders as being a big obstacle to lasting peace and stability in the region. Section 3.5 of this report looks at the main issues relating to education as identified by peacebuilders on the ground in each country in detail; here we only give a brief outline. Section 4.5 of this report examines the European Union's response to education in each country

in detail; here we only set out what further action we think the EU needs to take in order to address the issues surrounding education. Although there is a need for further action on the part of the EU, it must be noted that the EU is doing a great deal in this area.

Bosnia and Herzegovina

The two main issues in the area of education that concern peacebuilders are the practice of 'two schools under one roof' and the teaching of history. As well as legitimising segregation and preventing dialogue between the young people of the two communities, the practice of two schools under one roof is wasteful and expensive. The history curriculum in BiH schools is not unified and children from each ethnic community are taught from a different text book. Peacebuilders feel that how and what young people are being taught in BiH is sowing the seeds of future conflict. Peacebuilders would prefer a unified history curriculum and advocate a regional history text book.

We recommend that:

- The EU makes regional cooperation on the adoption of a regional history text book a priority of the 2010 partnership.
- The EU includes provision in the MIPD that support projects that promote the abolition of segregation in schools; and that
- The EU includes provision in the MIPD that support projects that mitigate the negative consequences for employees the abolition of segregation in schools will entail.

Croatia

Peacebuilders identify the practice of two schools under one roof and the teaching of regional history as their main concerns with respect to education. They also feel the introduction of basic human rights education into the secondary school curriculum along with the teaching of civic, political, economic, social, cultural and other rights are essential to a society undergoing a transition from authoritarian to democratic rule. They also see a lack of adequate university courses that provide policy level knowledge of similar issues. The effect of trauma on communication skills and socialisation in heavily traumatised areas is having a negative impact and teaching of communications skills in non-formal educational programmes is therefore seen as highly relevant and necessary.

We recommend that:

- The EU re-opens the chapter on education and culture until the practice of two schools under one roof is abolished throughout Croatia;
- The EU makes regional cooperation on the adoption of a regional history text book a priority of the partnership;
- The EU includes in the MIPD support for the non-formal education of communications skills in traumatised regions such as Eastern Slavonia;
- The EU calls on Croatian authorities to include the teaching of basic rights at secondary school level and the role of civil society in democracy; and that
- The EU works with Croatian universities to develop degree level courses dealing with civil, human and democratic rights.

Serbia

The main concerns of peacebuilders in this field are the teaching of languages, the lack of reform to the Serbian education system and the promotion of contemporary European values. Young Serbs have a poor knowledge of their country's minority languages and many young members of national minorities have an increasingly poor command of the Serbian language. Such a situation is not geared to conflict prevention. Vocational training in Serbia is felt to be

outdated, training young people for jobs that no longer exist. In the classroom history text books that prepare student for life in an ideological, closed and monopolistic society are still being used. On the whole, civic education and the promotion of values such as tolerance, equality, non-violence, pluralism, human rights and democratic participation is still something that is carried out by the NGO sector.

We recommend that:

- The EU makes the quality of civic and history teaching a short-term priority of the 2010 partnership;
- The EU maintains the provisions in the partnership and the MIPD regarding vocational training and the Bologna Process;
- The EU makes the teaching of languages a priority of the partnership and an area supported by provisions in the MIPD; and that
- The EU maintains the current provisions in the partnership and the MIPD concerning vocational training and the Bologna process.

Civil Society and peacebuilders

The role of civil society and the treatment of peacebuilders are also important issues that affect and to a certain extent reflect the stability of the region. Section 3.6 of this report looks at the main issues relating to civil society and peacebuilders in each country in detail; here we give only a brief outline. 4.5 of this report examines the European Union's response to this area in each country in detail; here we only set out what further action we think the EU needs to take. Although there is a need for further action on the part of the EU, it must be noted that the EU is doing a great deal in this area.

Bosnia and Herzegovina

What the EU is trying to do is strengthen the role of civil society in the policy process in Bosnia and Herzegovina and is asking that civil society responds by becoming more effective and professional. The EU is involving civil society more in the preparation of the enlargement package's documents this year. This is a welcome development and can act as an example to government at all levels in BiH. However, civil society needs to have an increasing stake in the enlargement process. An active and effective civil society that is included in the policy process is a vital ingredient for a strong democracy.

We recommend that:

- The EU includes civil society in the 2010 partnership thereby making it a partner in the enlargement process; and that
- The EU makes the inclusion of civil society in the democratic process a key priority of the 2010 partnership.

Croatia

The grant scheme for Croatian civil society focuses on areas that peacebuilders have identified as needing attention; however areas such as transitional justice and education are not explicitly included. Furthermore, no reference is made here to the inability of civil society to carry out ad hoc advocacy and monitoring work with EU grants. The expansion of IPA cross-border cooperation to Serbia and BiH is promising, especially in the area of transitional justice and in particular the truth-seeking and truth-telling aspects of transitional justice, which peacebuilders agree require a regional approach. An explicit reference by the EU to such activities would be welcome here. Croatian civil society needs to have an increasing stake in the enlargement process.

We recommend that:

- The EU includes civil society in the 2010 partnership thereby making it a partner in the enlargement process;
- The EU includes transitional justice and education in the civil society grant scheme;
- The EU provides more support in the MIPD for peacebuilding activities; and that
- The EU explicitly refers to transitional justice initiatives when providing for cross-border cooperation in the MIPD.

Serbia

The major concern of peacebuilders in Serbia is the demonization of their work by radical nationalist political parties and groups. Peacebuilders in Serbia have to endure constant verbal attacks and on occasion physical attacks. Peacebuilders also feel that the government in Serbia does not recognise the role of civil society in the policy process as a 'normal' democratic government would do. Peacebuilders also worry that NGOs established by political parties will be used to gain access to EU funds in the future and the line that distinguishes them is thin. As with Bosnia-Herzegovina and Croatia, Serbian civil society needs to have an increasing stake in the enlargement process.

We recommend that:

- The EU publicly denounce the attacks on peacebuilders in Serbia;
- The EU calls for greater protection for civil society organisations;
- The EU includes civil society in the 2010 partnership thereby making it a partner in the enlargement process;
- The EU continues to pursue the partnership priorities relating to civil society; and that
- The EU maintains the provisions in the MIPD supporting genuine dialogue and partnership between the Serbian authorities and civil society.

The Instrument for Pre-accession Assistance

Peacebuilders feel that measures supported under the IPA should foster peacebuilding as a precondition for political, economic and social development of the beneficiary countries. The best way to ensure this is to amend the Council Regulation establishing the IPA.³ Another big concern of peacebuilders regarding the programming of IPA is that difficult areas such as human rights and transitional justice will largely be excluded due to the involvement of their government in this part of the IPA process.

The technical requirements of EU grants are considered to be too complex and amount to a restriction of access to funding for many smaller organisations. The language in which applications must be made is also a barrier to access as currently all applications must be made in English. The lack of core funding complicates the financial situation of many organisations to a degree that they are in danger of collapse.

Finally, the feedback offered by the EU in the application process is minimal and does little to help organisations learn and although significantly improved on compared to previous years, the EU consultation strategy is still too *ad hoc*.

³ Official Journal of the European Union, *Regulation (EC) No 1085/2006 of the European Parliament and of the Council of 17 July 2006 on establishing an Instrument for Pre-Accession Assistance (IPA)*, available at: http://eur-lex.europa.eu/LexUriServ/site/en/oj/2006/L_210/L_21020060731en00820093.pdf

We recommend the EU make the following changes to the Council regulation establishing the IPA:

- Add the following provision to Articles 8 and 9 (components I & II): ‘Assistance under this component may also support capacity building measures to improve dialogue between civil society and government institutions’;
- Add the following provision to Articles 8 and 9 (components I & II): ‘Assistance under this component may also support peacebuilding, post-crisis rehabilitation and reconstruction’;
- Add the following provision to Article 9 (components II): ‘Assistance under this component may also support joint actions of state and non-state actors that are contributing to peacebuilding, reconciliation and the promotion of peace’;
- Add the following provision to Articles 11 and 12 (components IV & V): ‘All projects supported under this component must be conflict sensitive’.

Regarding IPA programming we recommend that:

- The EU replaces the phrase ‘civil society and other stake holders shall be associated where appropriate’ in Title I, Article 6, paragraph 1 of the Council Regulation establishing the IPA with the phrase ‘civil society and other stake holders shall be consulted regularly and on a systematic basis’;
- EU officials should support transitional justice when programming the IPA project fiches;
- The EU makes more regional calls for proposal in the area of transitional justice;
- Civil society is involved in the drawing up of the MIPD’s ‘action areas’.

Regarding the difficulties for civil society posed by EU funding we recommend that:

- The EU reduces the technical nature of grant applications and provide better advertised, more frequent and more accessible training to civil society organisations (CSOs) on how to make applications;
- The EU provides core funding for regional civil society networks dealing with transitional justice and human rights;
- The EU establishes a civil initiatives instrument which provides smaller grants that do not require co-financing;
- The EU allows larger well established NGOs and CSOs to issue sub-grants for local or community initiatives that cover inter-ethnic tolerance, pluralism, anti-discrimination, gender equality, democracy and multiculturalism; and that
- The EU increases the capacity of the EC delegations to manage applications in the local language and accept grant applications in both the local language and a number of other EU languages.

Regarding communication and consultations we recommend that:

- The EU holds systematic and regular consultations, sector by sector every 3 or 4 months;
- The EU holds a large, cross-cutting plenary consultation once or twice a year;
- The EU provides more detailed feedback following the narrow rejection of a promising grant application; and that
- The EU provides more frequent and accessible trainings for CSOs on how to make grant applications.

The Multi-Beneficiary MIPD

The Multi-beneficiary MIPD has the potential to provide a great deal of support to peacebuilding activities in the Western Balkans. It aims to support regional solutions to problems that cross frontiers and are best tackled through close cooperation between those affected. The first area of activity that a peacebuilder is likely to think of when considering the aim of the Multi-beneficiary MIPD is transitional justice.

Unfortunately this area is still not being addressed by the Multi-beneficiary MIPD, at least not directly. The Multi-beneficiary MIPD aims to develop regional cooperation in 11 difference fields, or areas of intervention. Two of these areas are of particular interest to peacebuilders:

Area vi) Supporting Civil Society; and
Area vii) Education, Youth and Research.

Despite the potential for peacebuilding activities contained in these areas, we feel a 12th area should be added to the Multi-Beneficiary MIPD that specifically addresses peacebuilding, transitional justice and initiatives aimed at dealing with the past.

Area vi) supports civil society in the three sub-areas of civil society dialogue, refugee return and social inclusion. Area vii) supports initiatives concerning the Bologna Process, Erasmus Mundus and intercultural youth exchanges that promote dialogue and tolerance. With the aim of promoting civil society dialogue (the first sub-area of Area vi)) an IPA Programme on Civil Society has been established.⁴ No such facility has been established for refugee return, social inclusion, education or youth exchanges.

The fact that the Multi-beneficiary MIPD is targeting these areas and providing support for activities that contribute to the building of peace is very positive and the EU deserves credit here. None-the-less, we feel there are some improvements that can be made to the Multi-beneficiary MIPD. We recommend that:

- The EU establishes a 12th area of focus for the multi-beneficiary MIPD that deals with peacebuilding, transitional justice and reconciliation;
- The EU establishes within the 12th area an IPA Programme on peacebuilding Facility;
- The EU establishes within the 12th area an IPA Programme on transitional justice Facility;
- The EU establishes within the 12th area an IPA Programme on Dealing with the Past Facility;
- The EU includes within the scope of the IPA Programme on Civil Society Facility's People 2 People Programme joint actions of state and non state actors that are contributing to reconciliation, peacebuilding and the promotion of peace;
- The EU establishes an IPA Programme on Refugee Return Facility;
- The EU establishes an IPA Programme on Social Inclusion Facility; and that
- The EU establishes an IPA Programme on Education and Youth Facility.

⁴ European Commission, *Commission Decision adopting an IPA Programme on Civil Society Facility - Horizontal Activities (Technical Assistance, People 2 People, Partnership Actions) under IPA Transition Assistance and Institution Building Component (C/2008/4569 of 27/08/2008)*, available at: http://ec.europa.eu/enlargement/pdf/financial_assistance/ipa/2008/ipa_civil_society_facility_c2008-4569-270808_en.pdf

The impact of the Common Foreign and Security Policy in BiH

There is an intrinsic contradiction between ESDP missions (both civilian and military) in a country which is on the road to EU accession. There is also an intrinsic contradiction between the role of the High Representative/EUSR in a country which is working towards EU membership. The fact that the EU is present in BiH both through the ESDP pillar and through the enlargement pillar makes these contradictions visible and, in our view, calls for change. Our recommendations are as follows:

- *The position of the HR:* there should be coordination between the end of the mandate of the HR and the accession process; in other words, until such time as the role of the HR becomes unnecessary in BiH, the country should not receive candidate country status;
- *One voice for the EU:* The EU should coordinate its presence by ensuring that it is represented by one single body, chaired by the double-hatted EUSR/Head of EC delegation. The enlargement process should be the umbrella for all EU activities in the country. This comprehensive approach will ensure a maximum of conflict sensitivity;
- *Maximum of sovereignty:* Accession to the EU requires that the acceding country has ownership of its own democratic processes and structures and that there is no further need for external intervention. Only if this is a given, can BiH be seen to be deciding on accession on the basis of local ownership. The EU should ensure that the accession process does not proceed to formal candidate status until local ownership, national sovereignty and reasonable democratic cohesion within BiH are established on a firm basis.

William Penn⁵ brought this intense desire for peace, justice and tolerance to his study of contemporary international affairs. His farsighted essay 'Towards the present and future Peace of Europe' seeks to take away the causes of dispute and ultimately of war between states...

Within the European Community we trust we have laid the old ghosts of national aggression once and for all. We have taken the path Penn prophetically pointed to so long ago and we have gone further, with supranational institutions such as the European Parliament and the European Court of Justice taming the potential for antagonism between Member States. Another great Englishman was to put it even more forcefully after the continent had torn itself apart twice in our century. Winston Churchill recommended the creation of a 'kind of United States of Europe'.

We have only to look outside our present borders today to see how much we still have to do to make such ideas as Penn's prevail. War in the former Yugoslavia with its tragic trail of slaughter and destruction, displacement and despair, or refugees and revenge reveals the precarious nature of our political arrangements even within the cultural confines of Europe.

Dr Egon Klepsch

President of the European Parliament 1992 0 1994

Extract from the Preface to 'An Essay Towards the Present and Future Peace of Europe' by William Penn for its republication in 1993, the tercentenary of its first publication.

⁵ Early Quaker, born 1644, died 1718, founder of Pennsylvania, wrote 'An Essay Towards the Present and Future Peace of Europe, 1693

Quaker Council for European Affairs (QCEA)
Square Ambiorix 50
B-1000 Brussels
Belgium

Tel: +32 2 230 49 35
Fax: +32 2 230 63 70
E-mail: info@qcea.org
Website: <http://www.quaker.org/qcea>

Aisbl - Moniteur belge no. 11 732/80
Numéro d'entreprise 420.346.728
Giro: IBAN BE68 0001 4998 4834 BIC: BPOTBEB1
Bank Fortis: IBAN BE58 2100 5598 1479 BIC: BEBABEBB