



## Kosovo has a special place in Turkey

Five Questions for Songül Ozan



## Kosovan cousine

In this edition, we are presenting Elbasan Tava and Bakllasarma



## Nathan Coley's Kosovan sculpture: a beacon in bulbs

# Kosovo's New Diplomat

SPECIAL EDITION: EMPOWERING WOMEN

## International Women's Summit "Partnership for Change - Empowering Women"

Over 200 women leaders from Kosovo, the region, Europe, the Middle East, Asia and America, meeting to discuss global challenges of women empowerment

The International Women's Summit "Partnership for Change - Empowering Women" will take place in Kosovo on 4-6 October 2012. This summit, the first of this kind organized in the region, gathers leaders, experts and advocates of women's empowerment from the political, economic and civil society background from Kosovo, the region and beyond.

This Summit aims to put forward a common platform for the further advancement of gender issues. Through this event we aim to create bridges of cooperation, communication and partnership between peoples and nations. The International Women's Summit will convey the message that investing in women is an investment in the future of our countries as a common global challenge to ensure sustainable development of our democracies, societies, economies. The Summit will reaffirm that the security of women is the security of the society. These principles have the approval of different UN and EU resolutions highlighting the importance of empowering women in the society which have emphasized the unique importance of gender

perspective policies and the importance of women's participating in all sectors of life ensuring democratic and socio-economic development of a state.

In this framework, this International Summit will try to offer solutions to the remaining challenges which hinder the advancement of women's role not only in Kosovo but also in the region and beyond.

In the past two decades, Kosovo and the region have gone through different phases of transition and women have been at the forefront of all these processes. The sacrifices and the hard work of these women have been crucial in ensuring security, stability, easing the transitions of our societies.

During the days of the Summit the participants will focus on issues concerning the economic empowerment of women, their participation in decision making and politics, the security of women and their access to justice. The Summit will address the factors which influence the role of women in the society, topics related to property rights and access to resources, economic empowerment and political and decision making barriers, the role of women in fighting corruption, security and



**"The summit pays tribute to generations of women in the region whose sacrifice to build a better future shall always be remembered"**

—PRESIDENT ATIFETE JAHJAGA

justice and reforms in the security sector.

Prishtina during the days of the summit will become the global capital where the progress and positive steps in advancing the women's role will be discussed as well as we shall identify the potential solutions to the global challenges aiming to compile a guideline for the future which will serve not only for Kosovo and the region but also for the countries which share the same challenges with us.

Kosovo and the region has a lot to offer therefore this Summit will serve as a unique opportunity to put our country in the center of positive development and offering possibility to benefit from re-

gional and global experiences. At the same time, Kosovo will be offered the opportunity to become initiator of new enterprises which will guarantee the further advancement of women as key factors for development.

The summit will host 200 participants from Kosovo, the region, Europe, the Middle East, Asia and America. The participants are political leaders, leaders in civil society and economic sector whose courage have influence local and global trends.

Madam President Jahjaga will host the former Secretary of State Madam Madeleine Albright to open deliver the opening remarks during the Summit.



## Kosovo gains full sovereignty

The International Steering Group (ISG), which was an organization formed pursuant to the Ahtisaari Plan concerning the Kosovo status process, has announced the end of the supervision of Kosovo.

Kosovo had been overseen by 23 European Union countries, the United States and Turkey since 2008, when it declared independence from Serbia.

Distinguished international key personalities, such as foreign ministers from Albania to Ghana, and high-level guests from around the globe, participated in series of events, including the conference with the topic "Closed chapter in the Balkans". This conference was held after the decision of the ISG for the removal of the international supervision of Kosovo's independence, hosted by Prime Minister of the Republic Kosovo, Hashim Thaçi, Foreign Minister of the Republic of Kosovo, Enver Hoxhaj, and the International Civilian Representative in Kosovo, Pieter Feith. Among the participants were President Martti Ahtisaari, EU Commissioner Stefan Füle, Vice-Chancellor of Austria, Michael Spindelegger, Ghanaian Foreign Minister Mumin, Japanese Deputy Foreign Minister Hamada, U. S. special envoy to Kosovo, Frank Wisner, and former envoy of the European Union, Wolfgang Ischinger.

U. S. President Barack Obama has hailed the end of international supervision of Kosovo's independence as a "historic milestone".

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## Diplomatic Bits &amp; Pieces

## 5 QUICK QUESTIONS

## Kosovo always has a special place in the hearts of all Turkish people

**1 What is the best thing about working and living in Kosovo?**

Throughout my career, I have always had a special interest in the Balkans. Like many families in my country, a part of my family also originates from the Balkans. I have served in Tirana as a young diplomat. Therefore, the Balkans region is very special to me. Moreover, Kosovo always has a special place in the hearts of all Turkish people. Hence, working for developing friendship between Turkey and Kosovo is exciting for me. Witnessing continuing progress of a young country is very fascinating. I enjoy establishing companionship with many Kosovar people; I especially adore the Kosovar youth who are educated, talented and aware of the changes in the world around them. I have high hopes about the future of Kosovo with such a young population. In Turkey we have a similar young generation profile, as the most valuable asset of my country, which has one of the fastest growing economies in the world. I hope the young people of Kosovo will follow this model and have an important role in establishing a better and brighter future of Kosovo. With these thoughts, I do not distinguish between living and working in Kosovo for I always enjoy my time here.

**2 How big is the Turkish presence in Kosovo?**

Turkey has been contributing to KFOR, EULEX and other international organizations serving for Kosovo. Besides that, TIKA and Yunus Emre Turkish Cultural Center have been running ongoing projects in different areas, from the protection of cultural heritage to education and health. Furthermore, well-known and prestigious Turkish companies in the world are also very active in major infrastructure projects as well as banking, education, health, insurance and various sectors in Kosovar economy. These investments contribute to Kosovo to create a productive economy as well as employment opportunities for young Kosovars. Turkey is the 6th largest economy of Europe and the 16th largest economy of the world with one of the fastest growth rate over past decade. Turkey is a member of G-20 and is among the ten emerging market economies of the world. According to the OECD, Turkey will sustain the

Songül Ozan,  
Ambassador,  
Turkey



third highest growth rate after China and India by 2017. Having mentioned all these figures, I aim to emphasize that the Turkish private sector is not only active in the Balkans and Kosovo but also worldwide. The international contracting services (construction) sector of Turkey is the second foreign investor in the world after the Chinese construction sector. In Kosovo, the total value of Turkish investments surmounts 250 million euro and the total value of contracting service is around 800 million euro. Turkish investors employ around 3,400 people in Kosovo. The Turkish private sector is continuously encouraged by the Turkish government to invest more in Kosovo. Our social and cultural ties also encourage our businessmen to work in Kosovo.

**3 How do you see Turkish-Kosovan relations developing?**

I define the existing relations between our countries as excellent. Our relations are an outcome of a common history, shared culture and values. There are a large number of Kosovars who have family ties with the Turkish people. Moreover, in Turkey, there are numerous members of parliament, mayors, bureaucrats, artists, intellectuals and sportsmen of Kosovar origin. Only over the past six months we had eight consecutive ministerial visits between the two countries. These mutual high level contacts contribute to further enhance our relations. Our politicians, mayors, rectors and NGOs have direct and close cooperation with their Kosovan counterparts. I can emphasize this unique relation by the fact that the poet of the Turkish National Anthem, Mehmet Akif Ersoy, is an Albanian from Peja. Turkey is one of the first countries that recognized Kosovo.

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## SHORTNEWS

FROM THE EMBASSIES



### President Jahjaga participated at the President Obama's traditional reception

President Jahjaga and other leaders had the opportunity to meet and talk with each other at the reception.

President of the Republic of Kosovo, Mrs. Atifete Jahjaga, accompanied by her husband, Mr. Astrit Kuçi, participated as per invitation, at the traditional reception of the President of the United States of America, Mr. Barak Obama, organized in honor of the leaders of countries participating at the annual session of the General Assembly of the United Nations. President Jahjaga and other leaders had the opportunity to meet and talk with each other at the reception.

### Prime Minister Thaci meets in New York with Baroness Catherine Ashton

Prime Minister of the Republic of Kosovo, Mr. Hashim Thaçi met with High Representative for EU Foreign Policy, Baroness Catherine Ashton at the United Nations headquarters. "Kosovo has closed an important stage - namely the conclusion of the supervision of independence, but

this process is meaningful only with the opening of a new chapter, that of European integration. The relationship between Kosovo and the EU must get beyond courtesy and good words and into a concrete contractual relationship through the Stabilization and Association process.



"This is another sign of how we intend to promote Kosovo as an independent state, as it is indeed, and an independent state that is no longer supervised", said Ambassador Reichel.

### Agreement on cultural cooperation between Kosovo and Germany

Kosovo's Foreign Minister, Enver Hoxhaj, and Germany's Ambassador to Kosovo, Ernst Reichel, signed an agreement between the Government of the Republic of Kosovo and the Government of the Federal Republic of Germany. "This agreement regulates and is a good frame of mutual cooperation between Germany and Kosovo, where the main focus of cooperation includes education, academic exchanges, media, film, culture, youth and sports up to cooperation in the field of archaeological excavations and preservation of historical documents and inscriptions that can be found in both or countries," said Mr. Hoxhaj.



Through the total grant of 57,600,000 Japanese Yen (569,200 €), Japan provides crucial support for the Kosovo Philharmonic Orchestra.

### Japan helps Kosovo Philharmonic Orchestra with 500 thousand euro

After the exchange of notes between the Kosovo Foreign Minister, Enver Hoxhaj, and Deputy Foreign Minister of Japan, Kazuyuki Hamada, the Deputy Foreign Minister of Kosovo, Petrit Selimi, and the Head of the Office of the Japan International Cooperation Agency (JICA) for the Balkans, Ken Yamada, have signed the Grant Agreement between the Government of the Republic of Kosovo and the Japan International Cooperation Agency for the project related to the Improvement of Musical Instruments of the Kosovo Philharmonic Orchestra. Through the total grant of 57,600,000 Japanese Yen (569,200 €), Japan provides crucial support for the Kosovo Philharmonic Orchestra.

NOS SCIMUS,  
NON SOLUM  
SCRIBERE



BRITISH COUNCIL  
Kosovo



Kosovo's  
**NewDiplomat**

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# NEWKOSOVOREADS

EVERY ISSUE OF NEW DIPLOMAT WE WILL RECOMMEND TWO BOOKS, REPORTS OR WEBSITES WITH INTERESTING AND UPDATED CONTENT ON KOSOVO.

**Title:** Besa - Muslims Who Saved Jews in WW2

**Authors:** Norman Gershman

**Publisher:** Syracuse University Press

**Publication Date:** 2009

Long-time fine art photographer Gershman spent five years collecting the stories of Albanians from Kosovo and Albania who harbored Jewish refugees during WWII as part of the Islamic tradition of Besa, or sanctuary, and his record provides a clear and powerful push back against a popular image more recently shaped by violent extremists.

Each new page offers a portrait and a brief anecdote on the origins of the family, the people they helped, and the bonds that formed between the Albanian and Jewish families. Gershman's portraits are skillful and expressive, capturing warmth and pride but also the weight of the 60 years that have passed since the War. The subjects' resonant voices - «I did nothing special. All Hebrews are our brothers» - share tales of kindnesses and unexpected lives conceived in the midst of catastrophe and destruction. A haunting look at the power of love,

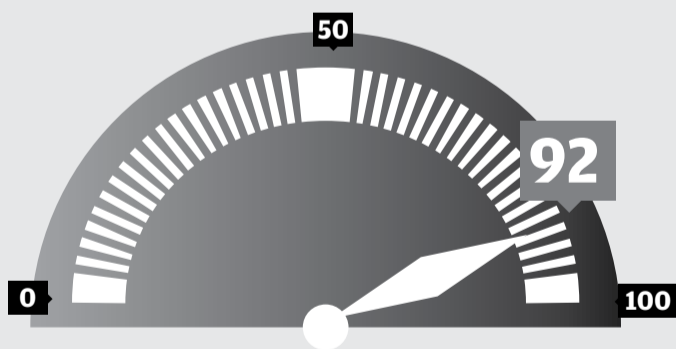
compassion and generosity to unite faiths and deliver genuine salvation, this illustrated oral history will fascinate. Besa was a code of honor deeply rooted in Albanian culture and incorporated in the traditions of Kosovars and Albanians. It used to dictate a moral behavior so absolute that nonadherence brings shame and dishonor on oneself and one's family. Simply stated, it demands that one take responsibility for the lives of others in their time of need. In Albania and Kosovo, Muslims sheltered, at grave risk to themselves and their families, not only

the Jews of their cities and villages, but thousands of Jews fleeing the Nazis from other European countries. Over a five-year period, photographer Norman H. Gershman sought out, photographed, and collected these powerful and moving stories of heroism in Besa: Muslims Who Saved Jews in World War II. The book reveals a hidden period in history, slowly emerging after the fall of an isolationist communist regime, and shows the compassionate side of ordinary people in saving Jews. They acted within their true belief in humanity.



## RECOGNMETER

IN THE LAST TWO MONTHS, KOSOVO HAS ENGAGED WITH MANY COUNTRIES SEEKING RECOGNITION, FROM AFRICA, OCEANIA, CARICOM, ETC. PAPUA NEW GUINEA RECOGNIZED KOSOVO, WHILE FIFA IS EXPECTED TO CONFIRM DECISION TO RECOGNIZE KOSOVO'S RIGHT TO PLAY INTERNATIONAL MATCHES WHILE KOSOVO WAS ALSO REPRESENTED WITH A NATIONAL PANEL FOR THE FIRST TIME IN VENICE BIENNALE OF ARCHITECTURE.



Papa New Guinea has confirmed the recognition of Kosovo. Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Kosovo is formally informed by Prime Minister Peter O'Neill that Papua New Guinea has recognized the independence of Kosovo. On Cultural front, Kosovo was represented for the first time in Venice Biennale, world's foremost exhibition of contemporary arts and culture. FIFA, world's football governing body is expected to confirm its decision to grant Kosovars right to play friendly matches.

Every two months, Kosovo's New Diplomat will report on the rate of recognitions of Kosovo's sovereign and independent status by

UN member states, international institutions and sports and cultural organizations.

## Kosovo App Competition Launched

In order to stimulate creation of innovative and functional mobile applications from Kosovo and on Kosovo, MFA Kosovo has teamed up with Norwegian Embassy in Kosovo, IPKO Foundation as well as British Council to stimulate local developers in producing Kosovo-themed apps



➡ Ptojmë dizajnerë, koderë dhe entuziastë të aplikacioneve të telefonave mobilë Apple dhe Android të marrin pjesë në garën e madhe kombëtare për aplikacionin më të mirë kosovar drejtuar botës së jashtme. Bëje një aplikacion për vendin tënd dhe shpërblehu me **3000 Euro** për secilën nga katër kategoritë. Fituesi i Aplikacionit më të mirë në të gjitha kategoritë do të fiton edhe udhëtim për dy persona në Kongresin e Telefonise Mobile në Barcelonë me të gjitha shpenzimet e paguara.

**Kategoritë për përzgjedhjen e Aplikacionit më të mirë:**

- Në fushën e informimit me lajme nga Kosova
- Në fushën e kulturës, trashëgimisë, traditave
- Në fushën e prezantimit të turizmit apo ekonomisë kosovare
- Si dhe, aplikacioni më i mirë zbatues me temë Kosovën (lojë, kuriozitetet, etj)

Për më shumë informata rreth kushteve dhe aplikimit si dhe AppCampit trajnujes që do të mbahet për ekipe konkurruese paraqituni në: [www.appcampkosovo.com](http://www.appcampkosovo.com) apo email: [info@appcampkosovo.com](mailto:info@appcampkosovo.com)

Shpalosja e fituesve do të bëhet në prani të zyrtarëve të kompanisë Apple dhe Google dhe do të organizohet nga ICK Kosova dhe IPKO Foundation.

Projekti organizohet në kuadër të Strategjisë për Diplomaci Digjitale të Ministrisë së Punëve të Jashtme të Republikës së Kosovës.



MINISTRIA E  
PUNËVE TË JASHTME

ipkofoundation

ICK

BRITISH  
COUNCIL

NORWEGIAN  
EMBASSY  
KOSOVO

Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Kosovo, along with its partners, the British Council, IPKO Foundation, and Royal Norwegian Embassy in Kosovo opened the competition for mobile application developers to create apps for Android and iOS platform aiming to promote best the Republic of Kosovo in four categories: 1) News and information from Kosovo, 2) Culture, Heritage, Traditions; 3) Kosovo tourism and economy; 4) Entertainment game app about Kosovo. The organizers and sponsors have envisaged

prizes for the best products. In each category best mobile application winners will be rewarded with 3000 Euros. The best of four grand national competition winners selected by jury, will obtain a participation at the Mobile World Congress 2013, that will take place in Barcelona, where they will have an opportunity to present the developed Best Kosovo App to the global industry. Best Kosovo App competition is an open opportunity for everyone and free of charge. If you have an idea or your work is in development progress of Kosovo

app, please register to participate in the competition until October 14th 11.59pm using our application form.

We invite teams to launch prototypes or developed mobile apps about Kosovo in specified categories during the event in October. For more information on rules and participation please visit Rules/FAQ section. Final prizes will be given by a panel that includes representatives of companies Google and Apple, which makes the entire event a superb occasion for advancing Kosovo's digital diplomacy.



## EMPOWERING WOMEN INTERNATIONAL WOMEN'S SUMMIT PARTNERSHIP FOR CHANGE



Message from the President of the Republic of Kosovo **Atifete Jahjaga**

### A joint platform to address the shortcomings that hold back women's empowerment

It is my great pleasure to welcome all the participants to the Republic of Kosovo, at the "Partnership for Change: Empowering Women" summit, the first of its kind in the region as we band together to celebrate the progress made in our respective countries in promoting women as equal partners and to address jointly the remaining obstacles that challenge this advancement.

This summit, which I so honorably host is made possible by the generous support of the American people through the United States Agency for International Development and the organizational support of National Democratic Institute. This event brings together dozens of women from across the region and the globe whose leadership and courage have radically transformed societies across the Balkans and beyond, contributing to security and stability as well as development and reconciliation.

The summit will assess the current situation of women in the region and around the world with the aim of identifying common issues and creating a joint platform to address the shortcomings that hold back their empowerment and the enhancement of their rights. The issues tackled in the summit by the many expert guest speakers, experienced panelists and challenging moderators will range from the impact of the global financial recess on women to property rights and security as well as women's role in mobilizing their communities to participate in politics but also in the fight against corruption, crucial to the region's European Union membership.

By coming together on a common, forward-looking agenda, the summit will pay tribute to generations of women in the region whose sacrifice to build a better future shall always be remembered and serve as an inspiration to those presently at the forefront of the positive change that is sweeping the region and a centerpiece to the future undertakings.

The summit will provide a great opportunity for each one of us to abandon our comfort zone, to blur the rigid lines that we may have drawn and to explore partnerships that would further boost women empowerment where none existed before: between academia and policy-makers, between private enterprises and public offices, between nations and neighbors. Only through such commitment we will be able to truly find lasting solutions.

**This event brings together dozens of women from across the region and the globe whose leadership and courage have radically transformed societies across the Balkans and beyond**

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### Kosovo gains full sovereignty

The former U. S. President Bill Clinton, addressing the conference via video link, said that the end of supervision of independence is a key step and a tremendous opportunity to determine your role in the region, in Europe and in the world

"The supervision of Kosovo is finished. The International Steering Group has decided to end the period of Kosovo's supervised independence", formerly serving as the European Union Special Representative (EUSR) and as the International Civilian Representative in Kosovo, told a press conference.

President Martti Ahtisaari stated: "The institutions and values that have begun to develop over the last four years must now be applied. Kosovo must start to act as the independent, sovereign state it has become - not only with the status and dignity of such a state, but with the maturity and responsibility that statehood implies".

"End of supervision of independence is a key step and a tremendous opportunity to determine your role in the region, in Europe and in the world", said former U. S. President Bill Clinton, addressing the conference via video link.

The President of the Republic of

Kosovo Atifete Jahjaga said that the conclusion of Kosovo's supervised independence is an important and historic moment for Kosovo: "This is an achievement of the citizens, institutions of Kosovo and international factors that always stood by Kosovo in the path of state building," said Jahjaga, adding that Kosovo is ready to take on all responsibilities to continue strengthening of the state and democracy.

The Prime Minister of the Republic of Kosovo Hashim Thaçi declared that "the international community gave full support to the Kosovo Institution for the conclusion of supervised independence. This is a historical and important moment for the state of Kosovo, which is being reinforced each day".

The Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Kosovo, Enver Hoxhaj, said that "the Kosovo case has proven that the process of state building and institutions together with political transition, transformation and consolidation are three different but interrelated aspects of a comprehensive process of democratization. The Republic of Kosovo represents a clear example of a state built based on the political will of the majority of its people".

## EMPOWERING WOMEN INTERNATIONAL WOMEN'S SUMMIT PARTNERSHIP FOR CHANGE

PRISTINA, KOSOVO, OCTOBER 4-6, 2012  
**DRAFT AGENDA**

#### Thursday, October 4

5:00 - 6:00 Opening remarks  
6:00 - 8:00 Welcome reception

#### Friday, October 5

9:00 - 9:20 Keynote address on Women's Economic Empowerment and Political Participation  
9:30 - 11:15 Three concurrent panel discussions  
Economic Empowerment  
Property Rights and Access to Resources  
Constitutional and Electoral Barriers to Political Participation  
11:15 - 11:30 Coffee break  
11:30 - 12:15 Plenary overview and summary of the three Women's Economic Empowerment and Political Participation panel discussions  
12:15 - 1:45 Lunch

1:45 - 2:05 Keynote address on Women's Security, the Rule of Law and Justice  
2:15 - 4:00 Three concurrent panel discussions  
Anticorruption  
Security and Justice  
Security Sector Reform  
4:00 - 4:15 Coffee break  
4:15 - 5:00 Plenary overview and summary of the three Women's Security, the Rule of Law and Justice panel discussions  
7:00 - 9:00 Dinner

#### Saturday, October 6

10:00 - 11:20 Plenary Session  
11:20 - 11:45 Coffee break  
11:45 - 12:15 Final Plenary Session  
12:20 - 13:45 Lunch  
13:45 - 14:30 Closing remarks



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Message from U.S. Ambassador **Tracey Jacobson**

## Women's Summit reflects Kosovo's tremendous potential and commitment to the future

Welcome to Kosovo! I am so pleased you will be participating in this regional event with global leaders, including former Secretary Albright, Ambassador Verveer and leaders from the United States and the world. With the end of Kosovo's period of supervised independence last month, now is a particularly exciting time, and this important summit reflects Kosovo's tremendous potential and commitment to the future. Kosovo deserves to be proud of its accomplishments and of its willingness to tackle the work that lays ahead to build a strong, democratic and multiethnic society. The United States remains a committed partner in this process. We will continue to partner with Kosovo to help it realize its economic potential and European future. This summit presents a unique opportunity, bringing together different leaders from across society to help draw attention to key priorities, including economic development and rule of law. President Jahjaga has assembled an impressive group of talented, successful people from the region and beyond to take a look at some of the issues facing women in the Balkans today, in

particular economic empowerment, property rights and access to resources, barriers to political participation, anti-corruption, security and justice, and security sector reform. With so many motivated, creative participants, I can't help but be excited for the discussions and exchanges that will take place and the ideas and recommendations that we, together, will generate. Summits talking about improving the lives of women are not new, yet this specific gathering of the right mix of political, civil society, and business leaders creates real opportunity to move this conversation forward into practical, tangible improvements.

We are honored to be part of this important forum and are very thankful to President Jahjaga and the people of Kosovo for hosting the event. They have done an impressive job of organizing the Summit. I look forward to the upcoming exchange of ideas and the outcomes that will contribute in concrete ways to the region and help Kosovo on its path toward economic security and rule of law – a goal that requires the full participation of all of Kosovo's citizens.

**We are honored to be part of this important forum and are very thankful to President Jahjaga and the people of Kosovo for hosting the event.**



## SUMMIT THEMES

**Women's Economic Empowerment and Political Participation:** This discussion will examine the causes of the socio-economic divide between men and women; the impact of globalization on developing economies; the links between economic empowerment and political participation; and the integration of women's voices into political discourse. Specific subthemes under this topic include:

- **Economic empowerment:** Why is women's economic empowerment important and how is it being improved? How developing countries move from transition to transformation by reducing the gender gap, spurring innovation and creating business opportunities for women.

- **Property rights/access to resources:** What are the current challenges to securing women's rights to land and access to credit and technology, and what is being done to address these challenges?

- **Constitutional, electoral barriers to women's political participation:** What barriers exist? How have they/are they being overcome? Are quotas effective? Is local government the best entry point for women seeking representative office? What are other factors to be addressed in increasing women's political participation?

- **Women's Security and the Rule of Law and Justice:** This

discussion will examine the impact of corruption on women's economic growth and prosperity; the effect of insecurity on the economic and democratic development of a country; and

- **Anticorruption:** There is an abundance of research indicating women in leadership roles are less corruptible than men. If this is the case do women have a greater responsibility to fight corruption? Is there a role women leaders can play, or skills they bring to this fight, that men cannot? What are the mechanisms women need to develop for more transparency and how do women implement them?

- **Security and Justice:** Studies show women perceive security differently, in particular, with respect to cases of domestic violence and protection of the family. Women see security in terms of neighborhood and home. What laws, regulations and mechanisms need to be strengthened and implemented to protect women and their families from all forms of violence and crime?

- **Security Sector Reform:** How can women better influence decision making in reforming the security sector (from victims to agents of change)? Should more women pursue non-traditional careers in law enforcement and the security services? What are the challenges to this and what actions can women take to overcome these challenges?

Closed Chapter in the Balkans



# KOSOVO GAINS FULL SOVEREIGNTY





# Kosovo must act as an independent state, with maturity and responsibility that statehood implies

Key note speech by **President Ahtisaari** to Kosovo MFA Conference 'Chapter closed in the Balkans'

Yesterday, five and a half years after I submitted to the United Nations Secretary-General a plan for the establishment of the structures of a functioning multi-ethnic democracy here in Kosovo, I had the great pleasure of celebrating the completion of that process.

The success of the process will not be proved in ceremonies alone, but in the protection of those institutions, in the sustained implementation of those policies, and in the upholding of those values included in the plan.

Nevertheless, the organisers of this conference are fully justified in describing the closing of a chapter in the Balkans.

Kosovo was the first and the last of the challenges of the break-up of the old Yugoslavia. I hope we can describe that chapter as firmly closed. With the end of supervised independence, I hope that we can also close the chapter of Kosovo's existence as an incomplete state, a special case to be treated with special measures.

Today, it's my pleasure to join the celebration of the opening of a new chapter. This new chapter is one that builds on the successes of the old. The institutions and values that have begun to develop over the last four years must now be applied. Kosovo must start to act as the independent, sovereign state it has become - not only with the status and dignity of such a state, but with the maturity and responsibility that statehood implies.

This is the chapter of Kosovo playing its proper, constructive role in the region; of Kosovo in a full relationship with the European Union and the rest of the world community.

I should first of all say that there are other people and other institutions better-placed to discuss Kosovo's future role. For Kosovo, the period of ad hoc interventions and special plans is over. Kosovo is now feeling the gravitational pull of the European Union. So if you wish to learn more of Kosovo's path for the coming years, you must talk to Mr Zbogor the European Union's Special Representative here, and to Miss Citaku Kosovo's Minister for

European Integration. Perhaps I should make one observation on Kosovo's European prospects, as someone who has observed the development of the Union over decades, and been involved in the stabilisation of transitional states like Kosovo.

Some have questioned whether the EU's internal challenges - the eurozone crisis, and doubts about further enlargement - combined with Kosovo's challenges in meeting all of the required standards for membership, make a European perspective so distant as to be invisible. I must say that these factors are, in the end, not relevant.

Kosovo and the European Union are inevitably parts of each other's future.

Not because of pressure or reluctant necessity, or as a merely political calculation. But because of the unchangeable reality of Kosovo's position, and the unchangeable reality of the nature and role of the European Union. Economically, culturally, socially, politically and diplomatically, Kosovo is inescapably part of the European Union's strategic environment.

The EU must find a way to engage whole-heartedly with these two million people living next door. Some people persist in seeing Kosovo as a problem for the Union; I hope that many more see it as an opportunity. But either way, Kosovo is here, and the Union must make Kosovo part of its economic and political network. Not to do so would be to leave a permanent problem on the edge of the European vision.

There are of course substantial challenges for the EU in its relationship with Kosovo. They must be addressed, actively. By the Lisbon Treaty the EU defined for itself a new, more coherent and more dynamic role in international diplomacy - and many of us welcomed this development. If the Union is to succeed in this aspiration, it must seek the paths by which a common and forward-leaning policy is a desirable and real goal for all members. EU diplomacy must be a focusing of diverse talents and strengths, not a reduction to the lowest common denominator of policy accep-



Martti Ahtisaari

tability. A Union that cannot overcome internal division in the creation of external policy, is no kind of Union.

Kosovo should be an EU success - and I trust it will be. A clearly European issue, as all stakeholders internally and internationally acknowledge. An issue which the EU needs to solve, and an issue which the EU has all the right tools to solve. As Kosovo continues to demonstrate through occasions like this today - and through the exceptional young Kosovar officials and politicians - it can be a committed and positive force. I hope that all EU members will come to find that Kosovo must be respected as a European partner, and as a state.

For Kosovo the position is the same. The European Union is not a club which you may choose to join or not. The European Union is a powerful, positive and permanent part of the landscape of this region. Its networks of trade, of investment, of culture and of diplomacy are inherently part of the fabric. More powerfully than any other comparable entity in history, the EU has fostered a vision for a progressive future. Born itself out of division and bloodshed, the EU offers a possibility of unity and peace, and continues to export that vision.

Kosovo does not choose the EU, yes or no. Kosovo's choice is between on the one hand a passive, backward-looking failure to come to terms with its own relationship with the EU, and on the

other hand a dynamic, forward-looking engagement with the Union - with all of the challenges and demands that that brings. Kosovo cannot change the fact that it has a relationship with the EU; but it can change the tone, and the meaning, and the strength of that relationship.

More immediately, and as a first page in this new chapter, Kosovo must continue to build a functioning relationship with its own diverse society, and with its neighbours.

If I may offer a personal perspective on this challenging but essential process: the idea of the Nobel peace prize - that list of men and women - gives the misleading impression of a series of problems that have been solved: a 'to do' list of world diplomacy, being ticked off year by year. This is not so. Peace is not a tidy and final conclusion; peace is not a treaty, a signature or handshake. 'Peace' among the citizens of Kosovo, or between Kosovo and Serbia, will not be found in a single occasion. This is what the new chapter means. Peace is a commitment to relate to each other in a different way.

Peace is a new tone of rhetoric, in Embassies but also in classrooms. It is the conviction, encouraged by leaders but responding to frustration among the people, that the past was destructive, and that a new and better way must be possible. Peace is Serb citizens here beginning to find ways to live and prosper within

an independent Kosovo, it is the government and people of Kosovo recognising that such people are their fellow-citizens, and reaching out to them. Peace is not Kosovo and Serbia forgetting their past, but recognising that their future can and must be different.

This is a lesson for international diplomats as well. Real success is not found in the negotiating chamber or the signing of an agreement. It is found in the behaviour of people, ministers, officials, teachers, and neighbours alike. We must talk less of the final achievement of peace, and more of the attitudes and habits of peace.

This date, the 11th of September, has become notorious for a single act of intolerance between cultures, and it has become a shorthand for all the unrests that have followed. But I believe that the 11th of September also marked the beginning of a new attentiveness to the challenges of establishing relationships, and fostering greater understanding, between communities and cultures. Out of terror, came an awareness that civilisation must do better to be worthy of its name. That is the thought I wish to leave you with, as we gather today to celebrate the important achievements made by the citizens of Kosovo in starting to revive the necessary co-operation, and as we look forward to the progress that will be made in the future.

## Closed Chapter in the Balkans



# The granting of full sovereignty to Kosovo is a clear sign of confidence in Kosovo's institutions, leaders and people

Speech by Austrian Vice-Chancellor **Michael Spindelegger** to Kosovo's Assembly ahead of the MFA Conference 'Chapter closed in the Balkans'

Today is a historic day for the Republic of Kosovo, its citizens as much as for the friends of Kosovo and the International Community.

With the legal and constitutional decisions of this Parliamentary Assembly the international supervision of Kosovo's independence is coming to an end.

Kosovo is opening a very new chapter in its statehood.

The Kosovars can be proud of what they have achieved in those few years since declaring independence.

Austria is honored to have been able to accompany Kosovo on its path to statehood as a close partner and advocate of your rightful aspirations.

From the very beginning – the dark days of the Milošević suppression – through the most difficult times of war, and in the state formation, we have always walked alongside our Kosovar friends, giving them every support possible.

Let me just mention one small example: when Kosovar students were driven out of universities into underground facilities, it was Austrian universities offering them study places. It is with pride that I note that also many government members and parliamentarians present here have benefited from these opportunities.

Or our contribution to a safe and secure environment all over

Kosovo through KFOR, where Austria is the largest troop contributor from a non-NATO country.

Or Austria's diplomatic engagement: Ambassadors Wolfgang Petritsch and Albert Rohan are two most known personalities in this respect.

Given our commitment for Kosovo it was only logical that we offered President Martti Ahtisaari to host his office in Vienna. Thus the bilateral talks with Serbia were conducted and the Comprehensive Settlement Proposal (CSP), the basis for the independence of your country, was drafted in our capital. Equally, it was in Vienna, two months ago, where the International Steering Group determined that Kosovo had implemented the CSP, so that we could all meet here to celebrate. It is thus with great satisfaction that I can state that what was started in Vienna could also be successfully closed in Vienna.

The path Kosovo took over the past years is indeed remarkable. This was also due to the support the young state has received from the many countries represented in this Assembly Hall today.

And it was to a large part thanks to the vision, skills and dedication of President Ahtisaari and his team. Let me thus take this opportunity, as representative of the International Community, to express our profound

gratitude and appreciation to President Ahtisaari. Thank you so much, Mr. President! (Applaus).

I would also like to take the opportunity and acknowledge the man, who as our International Civilian Representative successfully led the international efforts, together with the institutions of Kosovo, to implement the so-called "Ahtisaari-Plan": Mr. Pieter Feith. Pieter, many thanks to you and all your colleagues! (Applaus).

But foremost, Kosovo's progress and development since the adoption of the Comprehensive Settlement Proposal are not owed to us internationals, but to the functioning of your institutions, to the work and guidance by your leaders and, most importantly, by you, the citizens of this young country. Dear citizens of Kosovo,

With the departure of the International Civilian Representative and the closure of the International Civilian Office, the International Community is not going to leave Kosovo. On the contrary, we are here to stay. Only the quality of our relationship is going to change fundamentally. Today, the international community is transferring full sovereignty from the international to the national level. We Austrians can feel with you. Following World War Two it took ten years until we regained our full sovereignty. But we look

back on Austria's foreign supervision as a benefit creating the solid base for what Austria developed in today.

A transitional period has ended for Kosovo and a new era starts in earnest, your path towards the EU.

Some day in the not so distant future it will be Kosovo herself transferring in turn some of her regained sovereignty to a supranational authority, or in the words of late President Ibrahim Rugova: "My vision is that our country should be integrated in the EU, to transfer a part of our independence there."

With the European Union Special Representative, my former colleague and friend Samuel Zbogar, with EULEX and with our embassies – we will, supported by our American friends, continue seconding you actively on your Euro-Atlantic path.

Whether it is your reforms towards visa liberalization, your strife for contractual relations with the EU, your quest for more recognitions and for membership in international organizations – you can count on the continued assistance of Austria in this respect!

The granting of full sovereignty to Kosovo is a clear sign of confidence in Kosovo's institutions, leaders and people. But with this empowerment and ownership comes also full re-

sponsibility. And the challenges ahead are manifold: managing the dialogue with Serbia, the integration of the North, consolidating the democratic institutions and state structures, the fight against widespread corruption and organized crime, creating a more favorable economic and investment climate.

There is no time to lean back now. Be ambitious in your reform path. Not to please us internationals, but to create a better life for your citizens. A life in safety and dignity for all, regardless of ethnicity, creating jobs and opportunities including for the many young, ambitious and talented people you have in your country - in short: build a positive perspective for the future.

In the light of this new beginning, I am reminded of the words of Mother Teresa when she said:

"Yesterday is gone. Tomorrow has not yet come. We have only today. Let us begin."

In this sense, dear friends, let me congratulate you once again on this day. Let me commend you for your hard work, your passion, your endurance.

Continue in the same spirit when tackling the challenges ahead. With the clear vision of becoming a part of the united Europe. I can assure you that Austria will stand by your side also in this endeavor!



## The end of the supervised independence does not change the big truth that we are all living in an interdependent world

Speech by Kosovo Prime Minister **Hashim Thaci** to Kosovo MFA Conference 'Chapter closed in the Balkans'

Following there is the full welcome speech by Prime Minister Thaci in an international conference called "Closed chapter in the Balkans," being held as part of the activities marking the end of the supervised independence of Kosovo.

The end of the supervised independence of Kosovo is a new major beginning for the Republic of Kosovo.

It is the moment marking our political maturity and increasing of our social responsibilities.

And like ever before, these two categories walk hand in hand, the maturity is achieved only through giving of responsibilities and the other way around.

Today is the first day of this historical start for us. From now on, there will be many and new challenges ahead on the road of the new state of Kosovo, however, these are ordinary challenges for independent states and responsible societies. They are reasonable challenges, acceptable and surmountable.

I see this moment as very important in the recent history of our new state. It is the moment when we succeeded to be treated equally with the others and to consider ourselves as equal with all the others.

The formal ending of the supervised independence allows

this. Through equal treatment it promotes raising of awareness for joint responsibilities that we have towards the people, neighbourhood and the entire democratic world.

From now on, Kosovo will not have the International Steering Group supervising it, but it will also not have room to justify. Our future successes will be rewarded, as the failures will be punished. We are aware that the end of the supervised independence does not change the big truth that we are all living in an interdependent world.

The fact that state borders are just a matter of political and administrative agreements between societies and nations is always reminded to us every time epidemics, earthquakes or economic crisis strike. They remind us of how fragile administrative borders are and how vulnerable the people within them are.

Eleven years ago exactly, on this very day, the killing of thousands of innocent people in terrorist actions against the United States of America, against civilization, reminded our globe of the relativity of borders and vulnerability of nations.

Perhaps it was not until the 9/11 attacks that we fully realized that in a common world the risks are common. And that there

should be global responsibilities and joint values for everyone in a globalized world.

I feel proud that the new state of Kosovo is part of global responsibilities.

On 11 September 2001 I was travelling from Prishtina to Vienna en route to the United States of America where I was to meet the State Secretary, Madeleine Albright, who I would also like to thank today for her outstanding contribution to the freedom and independence of Kosovo, and I cannot also help remembering today the great friend of peace and stability, which I was scheduled to meet those days in Washington, the late Ambassador Richard Holbrooke.

I think that it is exactly the accomplishment of our full independence that will help us rightly understand how interdependent we are with the neighbours and the entire world. It is from today on that we should be more aware that the misfortune of the others does not bring fortune to us and the other way around. Above all, I believe that today, Kosovo is also formally equal.

It is the message which the international friends put across through ending of the supervision. And as equal, other important processes should continue related to normalization of life in

this peninsula struck by long legacies of misfortune.

Dialogue and understanding should continue, solutions must be found and people must be reconciled.

Needless to say, a chapter of emergency, assistance and supervision just concluded yesterday in the Balkans. But, making way to a new chapter of development, reconciliation and cooperation between people and states.

Let these principles be fundamental in defining this new chapter in the Balkans, which is the chapter of the Europeanization of the region. This for the fact that it is these very principles that continue to remind us of the great truth about our economic, political and cultural interdependence.

There can be no economic and social development in a state if it is surrounded by poverty, deficiencies and animosities. A poor neighbour is a misfortune, not an opportunity.

There can be no reconciliation and peace in one state if it is surrounded by animosities, because poverty and hatred are not confined by borders.

There can be no cooperation if you are alone on this. National pride in the Balkan societies can be high, but the states are small and vulnerable.

They have no chance of surviv-

ing on their own, but only integrated. Moreover, they cannot cooperate and coexist if they are not treated equally.

Let us focus on this huge opportunity given today to the Republic of Kosovo, to its society and to this part of the Balkans, an opportunity to open a new and successful chapter of our future, a chapter of free people, equal people within independent states that protect and respect each other through development, peace and cooperation.

Let us now focus on turning these ambitious objectives into social facts. Let us focus on assuring that this new chapter of understanding and cooperation is crowned with more successes as soon as possible.

Rightly put it, from now on, a new story for all the Balkans will begin, that of integration in the European Union and in NATO, where we will enter as democratic and multi-ethnic states, as independent states that are part of the great family of equals.

Any other word would be redundant, as the reality speaks for itself. Let each and every one of us reflect for one moment where Kosovo and the region were 13 years ago. Let us recapitulate all the achievements made and where Kosovo and the region are today.

## Closed Chapter in the Balkans



# After Supervised Independence: What is next for Kosovo and the Western Balkans?

When, on that freezing day in February 2008 Kosovo declared independence, all those who cared for the region held their breath. Would there be violence? Would there be an exodus of Serbs? How many countries would recognise the new state? Ups and downs there have most certainly been, but few, except for Kosovo's foes, would deny that on balance, the years since then have been far more positive than many dared to hope for.

So, the ending of "supervised independence" on September 10 this is a sign of confidence and trust in Kosovo's institutions. The first post-independence chapter is closing. Nevertheless it is clear that, in a troubled Europe in a troubled world, Kosovo's leaders will need great skill to navigate through the rough seas, which will be the years to come. Kosovo has its own challenges to deal with, but these cannot be separated from those of the region and those in turn cannot be separated from those of Europe, and in turn those of the rest of the world.

Kosovo's own challenges are clear. They are dealing with the outstanding issue of the north and the issue of relations with Serbia in general, tackling deep-



rooted economic problems and consolidating its weak institutions.

Whatever politicians say, it would take genius and leaders on both sides with great courage, to resolve once and for all, the question of the north. At best it must continue to be managed and violence avoided, lest it spread.

Despite a shift rightwards on the nationalistic spectrum in Serbia we can expect, at least until Serbia opens formal negotiations with the European Union on accession, that it will continue to cooperate in whatever new form the EU-sponsored dialogue takes.

Kosovo's economic problems, ie., unemployment above all, must be a priority but, with limited resources in a Europe of contracting sources of finance, this will be an ever harder challenge.

Consolidating weak institutions, especially in the field of the judiciary is a clear priority.

If the rest of Europe was at

rights and the world along with it, then Kosovo's problems might be relatively easy to deal with. This is why I say that it will take great skill to take care of the interests of all Kosovars in the next few years.

There was a time when Kosovo, Bosnia and Serbia were each in their turn labelled the "black hole" of the Balkans. Now that unenviable epithet has been awarded to Greece, a longstanding member of the EU, NATO and all western institutions.

In the past, the rest of Europe and the US, applied solutions in the Balkans because they wanted to stabilise the region and prevent it from exporting instability. Now the rest of Europe, thanks to the eurozone crisis, is exporting its problems to the Balkans. Historically the region has prospered when the rest of Europe prospered and been struck down when the rest of Europe was struck down. That was true as true in the 1930s as it is today.

Thus economies across the region are in recession, unemployment is shooting up and remittances are falling. On top of that populations are ageing and declining precipitating pensions' crises or, as in Albania and Kosovo, people are emigrating (or have

emigrated,) especially the most skilled and educated of the workforce.

So, each country in the region must deal with its own profound domestic problems, then unfinished business with the neighbours and then an economic crisis which began as far back as 2007 and which some experts now believe may drag on for a decade or more.

And so diminishes the promise of European integration. Greece, which joined the EU in 1981 is proof that simulating Europeanisation is fatal. Either your institutions, economy and politicians are mature enough or eventually the whole system comes crumbling down around your ears. Even Slovenia, much trumpeted as an example for the rest of the former Yugoslavia, is now seen to have simply swept its deep structural problems under the carpet and hoped for the best. It did not work.

When Croatia joins the EU in July 2013 it will have taken exactly 12 years and 4 months for it to do so. Kosovo is not even at the starting line however. But, never mind. The problem is what sort of Europe there will be by the end of the year, let alone by

the time Kosovo is ready to join the EU? Will there be one tight inner core with a second tier of non-euro members and then perhaps a third tier for countries like Kosovo? No wonder terms like "the periphery of the periphery" and the "superperiphery" have become fashionable. So, what can we say for the future? In the years before the crisis it was possible to make educated guesses about where countries would be in the years to come. Now that is no longer the case. It is ever clearer that the crisis in Europe is so deep-seated that we will not see an end for years to come. And, if that was not bad enough, an economic slowdown in China, or a planetary financial meltdown perhaps sparked off by Israel going to war with Iran, means that we live in the most dangerous of times. Countries like Kosovo can have absolutely no influence on the course of events, but can only hope to survive the turmoil with the least harm possible. None of the old certainties and recipes apply anymore. Given that Kosovo has reached the end of "supervised independence" in relatively good shape, there is room for hope, but it is a tough world out there and it is going to get tougher.



# EU, the Balkans and Kosovo's Future

These are days when shrinking, not further expansion, looks as a likelier prospect for the European Union (EU). Unless the euro crisis is resolved the odds are that states might be exiting the common currency, if not the EU as a whole. Yet, in actual fact, enlargement is far from over. Croatia is poised to become the Union's 28th member state in 2013, Montenegro embarked on membership talks back in June, while Serbia was upgraded into a candidate in March. Even the laggards are not doing that badly. Bosnia and Herzegovina might apply for membership by the end of this year if it implements landmark constitutional reforms. Largely unnoticed, enlargement has recovered some of its lost luster in the case of Turkey too. Ankara and Brussels initialed a readmission agreement which is a first step towards lifting the visa regime, a long-standing grudge in Turkey. Enlargement Commissioner Stefan Füle has inaugurated a "positive agenda" to resuscitate stalled accession talks.

Trouble is that institutional realities, encouraging though they may be, are at odds with day-to-day politics. As argued in a recent ECFR brief entitled *The Periphery of the Periphery*; the Western Balkans and the euro crisis, the region is beset by an economic downturn which is only exacerbated by the cold winds blowing from the EU, its principal trading and investment partner. Star performer Croatia is in recession while most others' growth rates are anemic. As Italian, Austrian, Greek and Slovene banks are struggling to weather the financial storm sweeping across the continent the Balkans are living through a credit crunch. Migrant remittances and FDI haven't quite recovered from the slump in the early days of the crisis in 2008-9. Unemployment is on the rise. Integration into the EU was supposed to push up living standards and open new opportunities. In reality, exposure to Europe's malaise in combination with delayed reforms at home are deepening stagnation. In politics, populists reap the benefits by harness-



ing social discontent. One needs look no further than Serbia, the largest country in the neighbourhood.

But such challenges shouldn't dampen EU's resolve. Understandably Western Balkan woes do not top the agenda now that the euro hangs in the balance and Syria is in flames. But neglecting the region would effectively write off gains made since the 1990s. European foreign policy started in the Balkans, it would be a shame if it ended there as well. The principal risk is slow erosion not a sudden death. Officials and pundits alike tend to see the Western Balkans as the Union's backyard: wrapped in EU territory, economically and politically dependent on Brussels. Interdependence is not destiny however. There is a widening gulf between the pro-EU rhetoric of the elites in power and the routine of patronage, corruption and rent-seeking that shapes the politics of the region. Lack of pressure from Brussels only sends of encouraging signal to those who talk the European talk, but rarely walk the walk. And they will surely find allies and business partners in a Europe that is no longer unipolar. Symptomatically, Tomislav Nikolic, Serbia's newly elected president, chose Moscow, not Brussels as the destination of his first trip abroad. And Turkey's economic prowess shows that EU membership is not the only choice available.

To be more effective in pursuing its goals the EU has to first change its narrative about the Western Balkans. Once it was all about security and conflict management; today, by contrast, the

region's problems mirror those of Europe as a whole. The key to success therefore is reclaiming the role of engine for growth and development. Granted, much depends on whether and how the EU manages to deal with its own internal mess. But there is more. The crisis changes the shape of integration, with the Western Balkans risking to be consigned to the outer circle in a future multi-layered Europe. Some would see such an outcome as a blessing as it lowers the costs of accession. It could be a curse too: peripheral attachment to the EU could equally mean lack of meaningful political, economic and institutional modernisation in the countries. Enlargement has to continue being a process of gradual inclusion based on convergence criteria. Lastly, the EU has to deploy more efficiently its scarcer resources in the next budgetary period and bolster growth in the Western Balkans through helping build export capacity, drawing in FDI and strengthening regional co-operation. Only then will the EU show to the region that Europeanisation remains the best bet for the future.

Kosovo will benefit greatly from a reinforced EU policy in the region. Right in the middle of the Western Balkans, the progress neighbours make inevitably creates positive spillovers in terms of stability. Serbia's EU ambition has led to a more cooperative stance, reflected in the progress made in the bilateral talks thus far. What is more, Kosovo is already advancing on its EU path. The European Commission has started work on a feasibility study which, over time, might lead to an association agreement. Prishtina implements a roadmap which will ultimately result in the liberalization of the visa regime with the EU. Despite the fact that five of the EU member states haven't recognised Kosovo's independence pragmatism prevails. That's good news for both Kosovo and EU policy in the region. It is incumbent on Kosovo, its neighbours and the Brussels institutions to keep the momentum.

**Undoubtedly Western Balkan woes do not top the agenda now that the euro hangs in the balance and Syria is in flames**

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 02

Kosovo always has a special place in the hearts of all Turkish people

We have given extensive support to Kosovo not only since the independence but before as well. Turkey attaches utmost importance to the territorial integrity and sovereignty of the Republic of Kosovo. We are of the opinion that lasting peace and stability in the Balkans cannot be achieved without the integration of Kosovo to the European and Euro-Atlantic institutions. Therefore, we promote Kosovo's independence in both bilateral and multilateral fora. We have a strong will to further develop our relations with Kosovo in all fields. Our state and people have a sincere wish and generous efforts in this direction. And we gladly observe that the Kosovar side has the same attitude towards Turkey. We believe that the future of Kosovo and Turkey will be a shared one within the Euro-Atlantic organizations. Since its independence, Kosovo has undertaken substantial progress in establishing its primary institutions and building a democratic environment on the basis of the rule of law. The preservation of the multi-ethnic, multi cultural and multi religious fabric of Kosovo as well as integration of all communities is vitally important. On this occasion, I would like to stress that the end of Kosovo's supervised independence in September, 2012, presents a great achievement for young Kosovo and we welcome this development. We are of the opinion that Kosovo will be able to face all the coming challenges through determination and hard work. Turkey will always provide extensive and continuous support to Kosovo in this direction.

## 4 What is your favourite part of Kosovo?

For me Kosovo is one of the most beautiful countries. I find it difficult to pick a favorite place out of the many lovely cities, towns and villages of Kosovo. Prishtina, Prizren, Mamusha, Mitrovica, Peja, Rugova Valley, Gjakova, Vushtrri, Gjilan, Dragash, Brod, Vitia, Janjeva, Restelica, Ferizaj and many other places have tale-like panorama and very friendly people. I really feel home here.

## 5 What is your current reading list?

My reading list is always divided into two parts. The books, which I have read and kept since my youth. I frequently read certain parts, scenes and sentences of these books, which have influenced my personality. The books of Bertrand Russell and Franz Kafka are on the top of this list. The second part is my daily reading list, which necessarily consists of biographies, history books and novels. At present, I am reading 'Atatürk: An Intellectual Biography' by Sukru Hanioglu, published by Princeton University last year. A few days ago, I have finished reading a biography of Charles Bukowski, by Howard Sounes. I am also reading the world-famous economist Daron Acemoglu's and James Robinson's 'Why Nations Fail', which I strongly advise to all readers. As for novels, I have also recently finished reading 'The Confession' by John Grisham and currently I am reading 'The Other Wes Moore' by Wes Moore.



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## About Us

# A year of Kosovo's public diplomacy

## Mini-interview with Minister Enver Hoxhaj

By Geneva Harland

Last year, Foreign Minister Hoxhaj envisaged introducing public diplomacy as a new tool in Kosovo's advocacy efforts, as a part of the new foreign policy strategy. What has been done and what more can be done to engage in public diplomacy? We asked him how does he think MFA fared, one year after launching public diplomacy program?

### **KND: Minister, why did you start using public diplomacy?**

Kosovo's birth as a nation is one of the great diplomatic challenges at the shift of two centuries for world diplomacies. The young republic is half

the size of New Jersey. We are living in challenging times, with financial crisis, Arab Spring, as well

as numerous challenges on local level that can spill over. Kosovo must both seek actively bilateral recognitions, as the UN membership is a long-term perspective, but it also must work better to explain what Kosovo is and how is it doing? We must engage in a three-pronged effort: to introduce Kosovo as a responsible member of international community, to dispel the propagandistic claims put forth by nationalist narratives in Belgrade as well as make Kosovo an attractive proposition for travel, business, work. In all these elements, we need to talk to the wider public of the countries. Classical diplomacy works for finding solutions to great Balkan problems, but public diplomacy is now needed to develop a better understanding of our story, our hopes and our role in the region and beyond.

### **KND: What are the actions behind the strategy? Have you achieved a better understanding of Kosovo's story?**

I am proud to say that we have a first-class team working on the public diplomacy efforts. My Deputy Minister Petrit Selimi has done a superb job in making innovative proposals and partnering across the civic and diplomatic landscape. We have forged partnerships and worked in projects with Europe-

an Council of Foreign Relations, British Council, Soros Open Society Foundation, Aspen Institute, Alpbach Forum, Tony Blair Faith Foundation, and many foreign ministries across Auro-Atlantic space. We have organized several large-scale events where foreign ministers, diplomats, editors, have visited Kosovo and discussed global issues at stake. We have engaged in inter-faith dialogue and most recently, we have also launched a digital diplomacy project. Over 200 internet experts have participated in our competition with best mobile app from Kosovo. Has it helped? People say it has. Kosovo has progressed in its Euro-Atlantic agenda and we have explained better our

positions. We have been successful in explaining and justifying actions in north to establish full sovereignty.

Number of recognition has steadily increased. We have doubled the number of bilateral agreements in all walks of life.

### **KND: Has image of Kosovo changed for better? Kosovo is sometimes seen through memories of war, refugees, post-war transition?**

In 12 months we can not remedy the decades of neglect, but independent observers do tell us that Kosovo has matured and is able to project a state with a foreign policy that exports peace and is part of the solution of the Balkan chapter of EU integrations. Most of it is through good work in reforms and in EU integrations, but our overall message has also improved through numerous conferences, trainings, publications, visits, exchanges. I see more positive articles on Kosovo sports, culture, even tourism then ever before. I am happy that some of the trickle of positive news from Kosovo is based on our efforts. This provide balance against lack of information. That being said, we still have a very long path. We can promote the truth, and the reforms have to continue being truthful. We can have good bilateral meetings with our peers around the world, but we also need to sustain the interest and increase overall interaction.



## NEW DIPLOMATS



### **ARION KRASNIQI**

■ **What do you do, where are you based?** I am appointed as First Secretary at the Embassy of the Republic of Kosovo in London, United Kingdom. ■ **What is the most you like about the job you do?** Working in a traditional diplomatic hub like London represents a unique opportunity in interacting with people from various walks of life and influence. Promoting and making my country's voice heard in the many circles of diplomacy, government, as well as academic and cultural environments are some aspects of my job that I immensely enjoy and feel passionate about. ■ **What is the best thing about the city you live in?** London, one of the largest metropolitan cities in the world, with its peculiar architectural epitomes and enthusiasm for the arts, history and tradition, is a cauldron of diverse cultures, offering one the freedom to live life differently. "When a man is tired of London, he is tired of life; for there is in London all that life can afford" – as Samuel Johnson has so eloquently expressed.



### **GULSEN BOLUKBASI**

■ **What do you do, where are you based?** I am First Secretary at the Embassy of the Republic of Kosovo in Turkey, based in capital city Ankara. ■ **What is the most you like about the job you do?** Being a part of a mission that represent and promote our state and that can develop and strengthen the relations and reduce the geographical distances between the countries is one of the most important thing that I like. Apart from these I like the fact that we are able to extend the helping hand of our state to the citizens of Kosovo in Turkey and in this region and with the collaboration with the institutions of Turkey which are very supportive of Kosovo to enable them to extend their helping hand to our citizens in Kosovo. In fact to serve as a bridge, considered as a symbol of peace, between two countries that have very strong historical and cultural ties. ■ **What is the best thing about the city you live in?** Ankara is a city whose history is incredibly rich stretching back to the Hatti civilization of the Bronze Age which was succeeded by the Hittites, Phrygians, Lydians, Persians, Macedonians, Galatians, Romans, Byzantines, Seljuks and Ottomans. What fascinates me the most is the fact that it lies in the region where man's earliest civilisation flourished and the reality that east and west fuse together perfectly in this city of Anatolia. It should be mentioned that Ankara is a city that has gained prominence under the leadership of Ataturk. The building that impresses me the most in this city is the Mausoleum of Ataturk, Anitkabir. It is a dynamic city where the heart of diplomacy beats. It has many museums, the beautiful parks, very qualified universities, etc. The whether of Ankara, fellow citizens that you can meet here, friendly and very hospitable people, the street named Kosovo makes you feel like you are in Kosovo, especially when you miss your country.



### **JASON CHAPMAN**

■ **What do you do, where are you based?** A: I am currently an intern for the Minister of Foreign Affairs's Cabinet (Foreign correspondence, publication editing, and country briefs). ■ **What is the most you like about the job you do?** A: The aspect about my job that I find to be the most interesting is dealing with Kosovo's unique current situation regarding international recognition. Aiding draft correspondence letters between the Kosovar government and other foreign governments as Kosovo attempts to develop further friendships with countries around the globe has been a fascinating and unique opportunity. Because I am studying international relations at university, I am deeply intrigued by Kosovo's special position in the international community with half of the countries in the world acknowledging it as a country and half either denying or refraining from recognition. I enjoy aiding this Ministry achieve its goals and objectives in whatever way that I can in its pursuit of further recognition. ■ **What is the best thing about the city you live in?** A: The best part about Pristina is that the people go out nearly every night to the cafes and bars that cover the entire city. If you walk on Mother Teresa Boulevard on a random weeknight you will find the streets filled with adolescences, young professionals, and families. The strong sense of community that prevails in the city is another trait that I find makes Pristina a positive to live in.



### **KALTRINA ADEMI**

■ **What do you do, where are you based?** I am Officer for Consular Policy within the Consular Department, Ministry of Foreign Affairs. ■ **What is the most you like about the job you do?** Being part of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Institution that promotes the values and represents the country abroad is a privilege. As part of the Consular Department I have the opportunity to support and facilitate in different matters the citizens living abroad by being in contact in daily basis with all the Diplomatic and in particular Consular Missions representing Kosova. ■ **What is the best thing about the city you live in?** The young, friendly and optimistic people are what amazes me in Prishtina, the city where I am born. I am happy to be part of Prishtina and experience the transitional period on social, cultural and economic level and I am also proud that my city is becoming bigger and more powerful every day. And I love macchiato only in Prishtina!

# KOSOVAN COUSINE

For historical reasons, the cuisine of Kosovo has been developed consisting of dishes from various regional influences such as: Albanian, Serbian, Turkish, Greek and Italian. The Kosovan cuisine includes various meat dishes and pastries. **In this edition, we are presenting Elbasan Tava and Bakllasarma.**

## Elbasan Tava

Elbasan Tava is a traditional casserole dish with lamb and yogurt. As the name suggests its origin is from the city of Elbasan in Middle Albania.

### Ingredients

1-2 kg lamb  
6 eggs  
1l yogurt  
4 spoons of corn flour  
200 gr. butter  
1 little onion  
3-5 cloves of garlic  
salt and pepper  
Preparation

Lamb meat is cut in pieces and cooked with the onion and some salt. In the casserole the eggs are beaten together with corn flour, yogurt and garlic. Three glasses of water from the cooked lamb are added to the mixture and the casserole is put in the preheated oven. Half an hour after, when the mass in the casserole is thickened the lamb pieces are added and the casserole comes into the oven again for an hour.



## Bakllasarëm

A salty pie with yoghurt and garlic covering.

### Ingredients

- 1kg flour  
- 500 ml water  
- 1 + 1 spoon salt  
- 1dl vegetable oil  
- 150 gr butter  
- 1l yogurt  
- 2 garlic cloves

## Preparation

The pie dough consisting of water, 1 spoon of salt and flour is cut into 18 pieces. The dough pieces are rolled and flattened and each three of them are placed on top of each other, sparkled with a tablespoon of oil. The six patties are flattened further to the size of the baking pan. The patties are sparkled with 2 tablespoons of oil and are rolled in circle and put in the pan. The pie has to be left to bake for 50 min in 200 C. Add to the natural yoghurt a tablespoon of salt and 1-2 garlic cloves. The salted yoghurt is put on top of the freshly baked pie, which is put in the oven for another 10 minutes.

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## World Press

## Nathan Coley's Kosovan sculpture: a beacon in bulbs

Artist Nathan Coley has installed his latest work in a patch of dusty scrubland in Kosovo's capital. The fledgling country's young leaders tell Charlotte Higgins why they don't want to give it back

Nathan Coley was listening to Radio 4 when he heard a phrase. The next moment, he was darting up and down his Glasgow flat looking for a pen and paper so he could write it down. The date was 11 September 2011, and the station was broadcasting the memories of people who had been caught up in the 9/11 New York attacks.

Coley, who was shortlisted for the 2007 Turner prize, tells me this a year to the day afterwards, as we sit on the steps of the university library of Pristina, a glorious piece of Soviet architecture. «A woman came on and talked about her memory of sitting in the New York subway about a week after the attacks,» says Coley. «She is going back to work – tired, uncertain and not a little frightened. Sitting opposite her is a Sikh man in an orange turban, and her fellow passengers are exhibiting a blatant hatred towards him. He's not returning anyone's gaze, and he's quietly sobbing. Finally, the man gets up at his stop and walks to the door. Standing there is a young black woman holding a baby. The man takes a handful of money and shoves it into the baby's clothing. And at that moment, the woman said she realised that for New York to be the beautiful place we know, it had to find a way to become a place beyond belief.»

Across the park – between the new government education offices, the Kosovo Art Gallery, and the half-built, half-ruined Orthodox church raised by Slobodan Milosevic in the 1990s – the phrase that so struck Coley is writ large, picked out in lightbulbs and mounted on a scaffolding frame seven metres tall: «A PLACE BEYOND BELIEF.» It is the latest in a series of found-text sculptures by 43-year-old Coley. Placed here, the phrase loses its original context and goes out into the world to find a new life.

The setting is mid-way between reconstruction and ruin: students hurry past between lectures, and newly planted trees grow in spite of the drought. At the same time, the



church – a symbol of Serbian oppression to the majority Muslim, ethnic Albanian population – is gradually decaying, weeds filling its cracked brickwork. Tim Judah, a writer and Balkans expert, remembers the church in the immediate aftermath of the 1999 Nato bombing campaign against the Serbians. Inside the shell of the empty building, British troops were encamped «to stop it being destroyed. Of all the things I saw at that time, it was perhaps the most surreal: soldiers watching EastEnders, the Sun on a coffee table – a sort of British living room, in a tent inside this ruin.»

Coley's A Place Beyond Belief officially opened earlier this month, in the presence of diplomats and politicians including Martti Ahtisaari, the Finnish ex-president and Nobel laureate who drew up Kosovo's independence plan. These were «the black cars and the grey suits», as Coley puts it, who gathered in the capital to mark another step on Kosovo's road to mature

nation-statehood: the end of supervised independence, the system by which, since 2008, Kosovo's political institutions have been overseen.

The sculpture offers a challenge: can this place become a place beyond belief? It hints at an unattainability. «It's somehow the hill beyond the hill you can see,» says Coley. This is appropriate in a young country that has its problems: a deeply fragile relationship with Serbia; unanswered questions about the future of its minority Serbian population; corruption and organised crime.

The idea of placing Coley's sculpture here for a month came from Petrit Selimi, Kosovo's deputy minister for foreign affairs. At just 33, he is one of four ministers in Kosovo's government under 35; the president himself is only 36. When, in the early 1990s, Serbia banned ethnic Albanians (about 90% of the Kosovan population) from holding state jobs, and closed Albanian schools and its university, he and his peers were educated by a sort of shadow state, a parallel underground system.

Selimi was politicised early: he made his debut aged 13, speaking at a youth conference in Vienna. He talks about art with a fluency that is rare in a British politician. «A Place Beyond Belief is multivocal,» he says, «it could even be read as antagonistic. At the same time, sited by the church that Milosevic started to build, it stands as a

testimony not to religious belief, but the misuse of religious belief. It is also next to the library: between a beacon of hope and a beacon of destruction.»

The Kosovo Art Gallery, which organised the installation, is run by Erzen Shkololli, another young man educated in this parallel system. «I was 11 when Milosevic came to power,» he says. «I was of the generation who saw the protests and watched Albanian soldiers returning from the war. I've been the witness of so many things that sometimes I feel 66, not 36.»

Until a year ago, Shkololli was working in Berlin, a successful artist whose work had been shown internationally. «But if you survive all this, if you get through all these traumas, in the end you want to be here, to contribute here,» he says. His role now is to try to nurture a Kosovan art scene: bringing in artists from outside, showing their work alongside that of Balkan artists.

Coley's work represents a significant step forward: recent bits of public sculpture in Pristina include a bronze of Bill Clinton who, in the manner of social realist Soviet sculptures, waves benignly in Bill Clinton Boulevard. It's a reminder of how much he (and Tony Blair) are revered in Kosovo, thanks to the 1999 NATO intervention: Selimi says a surprising number of 13-year-old Kosovans are named Tony Blair.

Selimi sees culture as a vital

tool for nation-building, a way for Kosovo to present a more mature face to the world. «What do people outside know about Kosovo? They think it's still a war zone, they think of refugees. [Norwegian mass murderer] Anders Breivik mentioned it frequently as a bridge for Islam into Europe. We need to connect to a wider world, and put our story into a greater European and international narrative.»

This is of crucial importance to a nation whose sovereignty is not recognised by five EU states, not to mention major powers including China and Russia. It is no surprise that Selimi's career pre-politics was in PR (he promoted 50 Cent's first Kosovan gig). «When I was 13, Kosovo was the appendix to nowhere,» he says. «We can never again afford to be invisible.» He adds, in all seriousness: «For Kosovo to be in the Eurovision Song Contest would be a major victory.»

Selimi and Shkololli have a plan: they want to persuade the government to buy a version of A Place Beyond Belief, and to put it permanently on show in the Kosovo parliament building. As a plea to politicians of all stripes not to repeat the terrible mistakes of the past, it's hard to think of a more eloquent message.

• Another version of Nathan Coley's A Place Beyond Belief features in his current exhibition at Haunch of Venison, London W1, until 3 October.

# Strategies for Kosovo's Nation Branding and Public Diplomacy

The development of a nation-brand and public diplomacy tools is highly important for Kosovo in this critical transition period. Now that international supervision has ended in Kosovo and Kosovo has achieved a status of full independence, it is time for Kosovo to develop its own distinct and significant political image and a nation brand that publicizes and promotes the unique value and potential that lies within this country in the heart of the Western Balkans.

The Kosovo Foundation for Open Society in cooperation with Group for Legal and Political Studies held a workshop in Durres on 1 and 2 June 2012 with key domestic and international stakeholders as well as experts in nation-branding and public diplomacy. The workshop aimed to identify the valuable and unique characteristics of Kosovo's political sphere that distinguish Kosovo as a progressive democratic state and valued partner in international politics and that exemplify Kosovo's comparative advantage and identity as a young, driven, vibrant and progressive European state.



The workshop focused on identifying, illustrating, and highlighting the unique and valued features of Kosovo's political state that could improve image in international and European politics. These valued characteristics included:

- a) Kosovo's constitutional regime based on tolerance and acceptance of European norms, values, rules and principles
- b) "Young Europeans" -- Ko-

sovo's young and highly educated population

- c) Kosovo's pro-European and optimistic citizenry

- d) Kosovo's dedication to state-building and timely democratization at home and abroad

- e) Inter-faith tolerance and multiculturalism

- f) Kosovo as an important partner for regional security

The workshop included a specific focus on establishing mechanisms to improve Kosovo's political position in European politics and to promote Kosovo as a valued partner for the European Union. Kosovo's politics and citizenry are highly pro-European, committed to integration, Europeanization, and peace and progress for the entire region. As such, many of Kosovo's political aims exist in relation to acceptance by and integration with Europe. In the most immediate sense, this means political and official recognition by the entirety of the EU, increased partnership with the EU and EU member-states, and visa-liberalization.

Already Kosovo has joined multiple international organizations such as the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank Group. Now Kosovo would like to focus its efforts on integrating and partnering with the rest of its European community. The workshop hosted by Kosovo Foundation for Open Society and the Group for Legal and Political Studies laid the foundations for the establishment of a valuable and inviting nation-brand and public diplomacy tool for Kosovo.

Building upon these foundations, Kosovo Foundation for Open Society and Group for Legal and Political Studies, with the help of international nation-branding experts, has begun to construct a nation-branding and public diplomacy document for Kosovo that will highlight the valued characteristics of Kosovar political society and illustrate Kosovo's comparative advantage and value as a strategic partner in European and international politics.



## Public art in the Balkans A break from tradition

WHEN talking about pioneers of the art world the capital of Kosovo is not normally top of the list. But this autumn, Pristina is host to a public sculpture by Nathan Coley, a contemporary British artist. (A second version is simultaneously on display in London.) The installation in lights, which reads "A Place Beyond Belief" (pictured above) was unveiled on September 11th. The event was part of the fanfare surrounding the ending of Kosovo's so-called «supervised independence», but it was also apt because the words were inspired by a 9/11 survivor. To view it in the antiseptic white of a gallery would be interesting, but to see it unveiled outdoors in the centre of Kosovo's capital is striking.

For the last two decades public art across the former Yugoslavia has been dominated by sculptures of men on horseback and nationalist heroes. The ideology behind "A Place Beyond Belief" is less clear. It carries "a degree of ambiguity," says Mr Coley. "You think you know what it means and then it falls through your fingers." But it is making waves because of where it is situated. The installation, organised by the Kosovo Art Gallery, is set up on a patch of empty land by Pristina University—a place sodden with history, blood and symbolism, such as the white domes of the iconic National Library, completed in 1981, that resemble traditional Albanian felt hats. Student demonstrations here in 1981 were hugely important in

The Economist

shaping Kosovo's modern history, and the university was the spiritual home of Kosovo Albanian nationalism.

During the years of direct Serbian rule in the 1990s only Serbs studied at the university. They began building a Serbian Orthodox Cathedral, but it was never finished and now stands as an empty hulk. Only a handful of Serbs remain in Pristina. In the immediate post-war years, after NATO-led troops moved into Kosovo in 1999, British soldiers lived in a tent inside the cathedral to protect it from revenge attacks including any attempts by Albanians to blow it up. Several Serbs were murdered in the administration building in the days following the troops' arrival.

Until 1999 there were statues nearby of two 19th-century figures—Vuk Karadzic, a key player in the reform of the Serbian language, and Njegoš, a poet and prince-bishop of Montenegro. These were toppled and removed after Serbian rule ended. Albanians then erected statues to their own heroes in central Pristina. These include Skanderbeg, who fought the Ottomans in the 15th century, Mother Teresa, who was a Macedonian-born Albanian, and Zahir Pajaziti, one of the first Kosovo Albanian members of the early Kosovo

Liberation Army to die in action in 1997.

Following independence in 2008, the new state stepped away from such traditional works of public art towards contemporary, optimistic pieces. It erected a giant yellow sculpture that reads "Newborn" which the public was encouraged to sign. The sculptor, Fisnik Ismaili, is now active in Kosovo's opposition and claims that Mr Coley has been "scammed" into producing propaganda. In a semantic slight, Mr Ismaili suggests that he should correct his mistake by changing the words to read: "A Place Beyond Repair". At the unveiling, however, Mr Coley seemed delighted to have his sculpture in Pristina. There had been some discussion of exhibiting another of his works, "There Will Be No Miracles Here", but this unequivocal message seemed starkly inappropriate.

From one end of the former Yugoslavia to the other public art is always the subject of debate, not least because it has traditionally reflected the ideological concerns of the government in power. In Skopje, the capital of Macedonia, less than two hours drive away, the authorities have been busy erecting dozens of statues including a giant Alexander the Great. This has predictably infuriated the Greeks who accuse the Macedonians of stealing what they regard as their history. Perhaps both Greece and Macedonia should follow Kosovo's lead and erect a Coley installation too.

# Promotion

NATHAN COLEY  
A PLACE BEYOND BELIEF  
11.09 — 11.10.2012  
PRISHTINA, KOSOVO

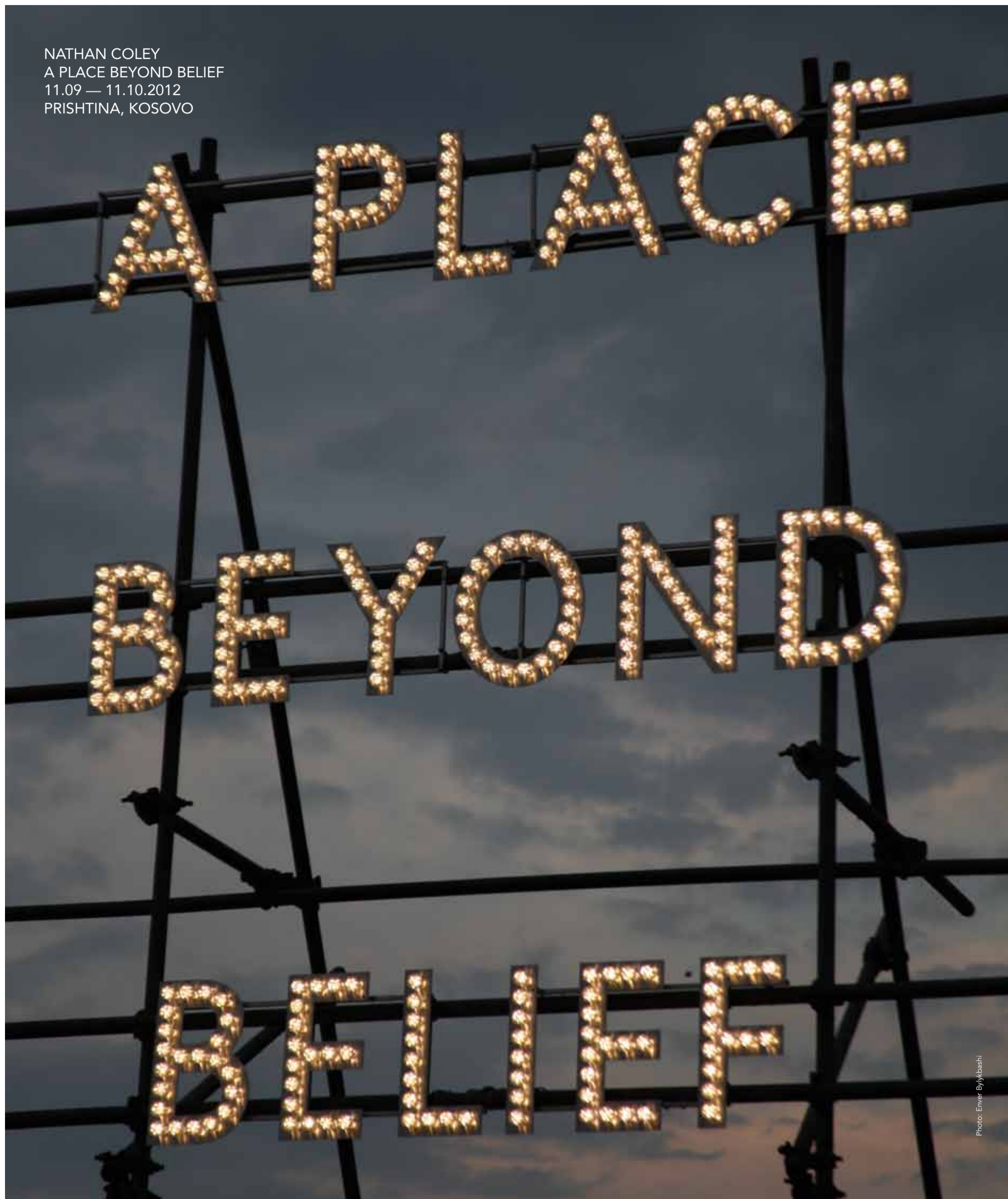


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