

A CEMISS INTERNATIONAL RESEARCH

FROM THE ADRIATIC TO THE CAUCASUS VIABLE DYNAMICS OF STABILIZATION

Edited by Stefano Bianchini and Susan L. Woodward



A CEMISS INTERNATIONAL RESEARCH

FROM THE ADRIATIC TO THE CAUCASUS VIABLE DYNAMICS OF STABILIZATION

Edited by Stefano Bianchini and Susan L. Woodward

Longo Editore Ravenna

Scientific Committee Stefano Bianchini, George Schöpflin, Mihály Fülöp, Dušan Janjić, Alla Jaz'kova, Craig Nation, Žarko Puhovski, Rudolf Rizman, Paul Shoup, Jan Skaloud, Vera Vangeli

Editor-in-Chief: Stefano Bianchini Publications Coordinator: Marina Mantini Managing Editor: Andrea Brandani Graphic Designer: Stefania Adani

Cover Illustration: Croatian Special Soldiers (Petrinja), (Copyright Marco Bini).

This publication is the result of a research project directed by the Centro per l'Europa centro-orientale e balcanica and sponsored by the Centro Militare Studi Strategici

This volume is printed on Palatina paper from Fabriano Paper Mills

ISBN 88-8063-393-7

© Copyright 2003 A. Longo Editore Via P. Costa, 33, 48100 Ravenna Tel. (0544) 217026 Fax 217554 e-mail: longo-ra@linknet.it www.longo-editore.it All rights reserved Printed in Italy

Contents

page 9 Foreword

11 Susan L. Woodward Introduction

Part One - The Main Factors of Stabilization

- 23 George Schöpflin Stability and Instability: Theoretical Considerations in the Relationship between the West and the Non-West
- 31 R. Craig Nation

 Military Contributions to Regional Stability
- 47 Andrea Segrè
 From Conflict to Sustainability: the Contribution of
 Sustainable Development Policies to Stabilization
- 57 Fabio Zuccheri

 The Role of Education in Stabilizing Southeastern Europe and the New Independent States

Part Two - Local Actors, between Stabilization and Destabilization

- 75 Vladimir Goati Serbia: Factor for Stability in Southeastern Europe
- 93 Dušan Janjić Kosovo and its Neighbors

215

223

Index

List of Contributors

page 121 Mario Zucconi Improving the Western Ability to Manage Crises in the Balkans: Lessons of the Macedonian Armed Conflict of 2001 135 Gianni La Ferrara International Engagement and the Quest for Bosnian Stability: time for a change? Francesca Arato 155 The Case of Cyprus 169 Francesco Strazzari Nagorno-Karabakh: from Nobody's to Everybody's Intervention 187 Albert Bini The Georgian-Abkhazian Conflict: in Search of Ways Out 203 Stefano Bianchini Conclusions

FOREWORD

Beginning with their 2000 research programme, CeMISS has entrusted the Centre, under the direction of Prof. Bianchini, with a wide mandate of research. The objective was to locate and deepen our understanding of regional processes for stabilization or destabilization, above all in Southeastern Europe, so as to identify the most significant elements for consideration in crisis management and peacebuilding in fragile regions.

The very interesting results of this research at this stage will, of course, be subject to further improvement, particularly in regard to the complex mechanisms – involving both internal and external factors – by which the chain of events in crisis areas are to be explained. In the view of CeMISS, however, there is also much to be gained culturally by permitting disclosure to the international relations community of the results thus far, even while it retains rights to the intellectual property involved.



COSTITUITO ALLA FINE DEL 1993 CON IL SOSTEGNO FINANZIARIO DELL'UNIONE EUROPEA (PRO-GRAMMA HUMAN CAPITAL AND MOBILITY), IL NETWORK IN-TERNAZIONALE "EUROPE AND THE BALKANS" SI AVVALE DELLA CO-OPERAZIONE DI ALCUNI FRA I PIÙ NOTI STUDIOSI DELL'EUROPA E DEGLI STATI UNITI. IL NETWORK NASCE COME INIZIATIVA UNIVER-SITARIA E CON L'AMBIZIONE DI SVILUPPARE CONVERGENZA STRETTA FRA RICERCA SCIENTI-FICA ED ESIGENZE DI INFORMA-ZIONE QUOTIDIANA NELLA NO-STRA SOCIETÀ.

THE INTERNATIONAL NETWORK "EUROPE AND THE BALKANS" WAS ESTABLISHED AT THE END OF 1993 WITH THE FINANCIAL SUPPORT OF THE EUROPEAN UNION (HUMAN CAPITAL AND MOBILITY PROGRAMME) AND RE-LIES ON THE COLLABORATION OF SOME OF THE BEST-KNOWN EU-ROPEAN AND NORTH AMERICAN SCHOLARS. THE INMATIVE WAS CONCEIVED AS A UNIVERSITY PROJECT, AIMING TO MAKE ACA-DEMIC RESEARCH MORE REL-**EVANT TO THE WIDESPREAD** NEED FOR INFORMATION.



Università di Bologna

Following upon a previous research project on the dynamics of destabilization in the Adriatic-Caspian corridor (published in this series in 2001), this volume explores some viable conditions for its stabilization. An international team of prominent area experts reminds Western policy makers of the importance of stabilizing the countries bordering an enlarged European Union; the dangers of neglecting them in the wake of the anti-terrorist campaign that has followed the attacks against the USA on September 11th; and the relevance of key factors they identify for sustainable stabilization after a decade of instability and war. Structured as a series of thematic chapters and seven case studies (Abkhazia, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Cyprus, Kosovo, Macedonia, Nagorno-Karabakh, and Serbia), the book emphasizes the crucial interdependence of local and external factors and suggests that democratization and selective incentives are not sufficient tools if they are not supported by a long-term strategy for effective state building, regional cooperation, and the genuine prospect of EU membership for the Balkans and at least a policy of reassurance and standardization for the North-East Black Sea area. Such a framework significantly increases the prospect that controversial issues related to minorities, territories, balance of power, and a market economy - as well as the challenges of globalization to nation states - can and will gradually find solutions.



Centro Militare di Studi Strategici

The CeMiSS (Military Centre for Strategic Studies) is an organization that, under the auspices of the Ministry of Defence, organizes research on subjects of strategic matter. Founded in 1987 by a decree of the Ministry of Defence, CeMiSS carries out its' work with the help of

Italian or foreign experts that are authorized to express their own thought on the topics dealt with, in both the military and civilian field. Therefore, the content of the published studies exclusively reflects the opinion of the research group and not of the Ministry of Defence. A Scientific Committee, chaired by the Italian Minister of Defence, sets the guidelines for the Centre's activities; while the Board of Directors defines the annual programs. The Director is a Major General, a Brigadier General or an Admiral, who is assisted by an Executive Committee. CeMiSS also organizes and promotes national and international conferences and seminars dealing with general interest issues in the strategic, political, technical, scientific, industrial and sociological fields.

Cover Illustration: Croatian Special Soldiers (Petrinja), (Copyright Marco Bini).



F002220