

# G8 Conclusions on the Balkans, 1975-2009

Zaria Shaw

Senior Researcher, G8 Research Group, January 3, 2010

## Summary of Conclusions on the Balkans in G8 Summit Documents

| Year    | Total Words | % of Total Words | # of Paragraphs | % of Total Paragraphs | # of Documents | % of Total Documents | # of Dedicated Documents |
|---------|-------------|------------------|-----------------|-----------------------|----------------|----------------------|--------------------------|
| 1975    | 0           | 0                | 0               | 0                     | 0              | 0                    | 0                        |
| 1976    | 0           | 0                | 0               | 0                     | 0              | 0                    | 0                        |
| 1977    | 0           | 0                | 0               | 0                     | 0              | 0                    | 0                        |
| 1978    | 0           | 0                | 0               | 0                     | 0              | 0                    | 0                        |
| 1979    | 0           | 0                | 0               | 0                     | 0              | 0                    | 0                        |
| 1980    | 0           | 0                | 0               | 0                     | 0              | 0                    | 0                        |
| 1981    | 0           | 0                | 0               | 0                     | 0              | 0                    | 0                        |
| 1982    | 0           | 0                | 0               | 0                     | 0              | 0                    | 0                        |
| 1983    | 0           | 0                | 0               | 0                     | 0              | 0                    | 0                        |
| 1984    | 0           | 0                | 0               | 0                     | 0              | 0                    | 0                        |
| 1985    | 0           | 0                | 0               | 0                     | 0              | 0                    | 0                        |
| 1986    | 0           | 0                | 0               | 0                     | 0              | 0                    | 0                        |
| 1987    | 598         | 11.8             | 8               | 10.9                  | 1              | 14.2                 | 0                        |
| 1988    | 194         | 4                | 3               | 4.6                   | 1              | 33.3                 | 0                        |
| 1989    | 338         | 4.7              | 3               | 2.5                   | 1              | 9                    | 0                        |
| 1990    | 61          | 0.8              | 1               | 0.81                  | 1              | 25                   | 0                        |
| 1991    | 0           | 0                | 0               | 0                     | 0              | 0                    | 0                        |
| 1992    | 2,418       | 32.1             | 36              | 21.3                  | 4              | 100                  | 1                        |
| 1993    | 368         | 11               | 2               | 4.7                   | 2              | 66.6                 | 0                        |
| 1994    | 197         | 4.7              | 6               | 8.8                   | 1              | 50                   | 0                        |
| 1995    | 499         | 6.8              | 9               | 69.2                  | 2              | 66.6                 | 1                        |
| 1996    | 1,417       | 9.2              | 32              | 14                    | 2              | 50                   | 1                        |
| 1997    | 781         | 6                | 11              | 7.8                   | 2              | 40                   | 1                        |
| 1998    | 367         | 6                | 5               | 7.8                   | 1              | 25                   | 0                        |
| 1999    | 850         | 8.4              | 9               | 10.4                  | 1              | 33.3                 | 0                        |
| 2000    | 384         | 2.8              | 3               | 2                     | 1              | 20                   | 0                        |
| 2001    | 217         | 3.5              | 1               | 1.3                   | 1              | 14.2                 | 0                        |
| 2002    | 0           | 0                | 0               | 0                     | 0              | 0                    | 0                        |
| 2003    | 0           | 0                | 0               | 0                     | 0              | 0                    | 0                        |
| 2004    | 0           | 0                | 0               | 0                     | 0              | 0                    | 0                        |
| 2005    | 0           | 0                | 0               | 0                     | 0              | 0                    | 0                        |
| 2006    | 0           | 0                | 0               | 0                     | 0              | 0                    | 0                        |
| 2007    | 59          | .2               | 1               | .36                   | 1              | 8.3                  | 0                        |
| 2008    | 0           | 0                | 0               | 0                     | 0              | 0                    | 0                        |
| 2009    | 0           | 0                | 0               | 0                     | 0              | 0                    | 0                        |
| Total   | 8748        | 112              | 130             | 166.4                 | 22             | 555.5                | 4                        |
| Average | 249.9       | 3.2              | 3.7             | 4.7                   | 0.62           | 15.8                 | 0.11                     |

Notes:

Data are drawn from all official English-language documents released by the G8 leaders as a group. Charts are excluded.

"# of Words" is the number of subjects related to the Balkans for the year specified, excluding document titles and references. Words are calculated by paragraph because the paragraph is the unit of analysis.

"% of Total Words" refers to the total number of words in all documents for the year specified.

"# of Paragraphs" is the number of paragraphs containing references to the Balkans for the year specified. Each point is recorded as a separate paragraph.

"% of Total Paragraphs" refers to the total number of paragraphs in all documents for the year specified.

"# of Documents" is the number of documents that contain subjects related to the Balkans and excludes dedicated documents.

"% of Total Documents" refers to the total number of documents for the year specified.

"# of Dedicated Documents" is the number of documents for the year speaks that contain a Balkans-related subject in the title.

## **Introduction**

This report catalogues all conclusions in official G8 documents related to the issue area of the Balkans. It refers to all official statements and annexes released by the leaders, as a group, at each annual G8 summit from 1975 to 2009. Official documents include the communiqués (i.e., the main document released by the leaders on the final day of each summit), the chair's summaries and the political declarations and statements.

The Balkans have been on the G8 agenda since the last years of the Soviet Union, when concerns about democracy, freedom and rule of law in Eastern Europe were discussed. Since the break-up of the Soviet Union circa 1991, there has been political and social upheaval in the Balkans, particularly among Serbs, Croats and Muslims after the breakup of Yugoslavia. In 1999 Serbia lost control of Kosovo after NATO launched air attacks against Serb forces fighting Albanian guerrillas. Kosovo's independence has been recognized by 62 countries, despite Serbia's objection. Ongoing issues include the international criminal trials of Bosnia, Albanian-Serbian relations in Kosovo, the protection of civil and human rights, and regional stability.

## **Definition of Issue Area**

The Balkans is a geopolitical and cultural region of southeastern Europe and includes the countries of Albania, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Bulgaria, Croatia, Greece, Kosovo, Macedonia, Montenegro, Serbia, Slovenia, Romania and Turkey.

## **Search Terms**

The following keywords were used for this report.

Albania, Balkans, Bosnia, Bulgaria, Croatia, East(ern) Europe, Greece, Herzegovina, Kosovo, Macedonia, Montenegro, Romania, Serbia, Slovenia, Southeast(ern) Europe, Turkey.

## **Conclusions on the Balkans in G8 Summit Documents**

### **1975 Rambouillet, France**

No references.

### **1976 San Juan, Puerto Rico, United States**

No references.

### **1977 London, United Kingdom**

No references.

### **1978 Bonn, Germany**

No references.

### **1979 Tokyo, Japan**

No references.

### **1980 Venice, Italy**

No references.

### **1981 Montebello, Canada**

No references.

### **1982 Versailles, France**

No references.

### **1983 Williamsburg, United States**

No references.

### **1984 London II, United Kingdom**

No references.

### **1985 Bonn II, Germany**

No references.

### **1986 Tokyo II, Japan**

No references.

## 1987 Venice II, Italy

### Statement on East-West Relations

1. We, the Heads of State or Government of seven major industrial nations and the Representatives of the European Community, have discussed East-West relations. We reaffirm our shared principles and objectives, and our common dedication to preserving and strengthening peace.

2. We recognize with pride that our shared values of freedom, democracy and respect for human rights are the source of the dynamism and prosperity of our societies. We renew our commitment to the search for a freer, more democratic and more humane world.

3. Within existing alliances, each of us is resolved to maintain a strong and credible defense which threatens the security of no one, protects freedom, deters aggression and maintains peace. We shall continue to consult closely on all matters affecting our common interest. We will not be separated from the principles that guide us all.

4. Since we last met, new opportunities have opened for progress in East-West relations. We are encouraged by these developments. They confirm the soundness of the policies we have each pursued in our determination to achieve a freer and safer world.

5. We are following with close interest recent developments in the internal and external policies of the Soviet Union. It is our hope that they will prove to be of great significance for the improvement of political, economic and security relations between the countries of East and West. At the same time, profound differences persist; each of us must remain vigilantly alert in responding to all aspects of Soviet policy.

6. We reaffirm our commitment to peace and increased security at lower levels of arms. We seek a comprehensive effort to lower tensions and to achieve verifiable arms reductions. While reaffirming the continuing importance of nuclear deterrence in preserving peace, we note with satisfaction that dialogue on arms control has intensified and that more favorable prospects have emerged for the reduction of nuclear forces. We appreciate U.S. efforts to negotiate balanced, substantial and verifiable reductions in nuclear weapons. We emphasize our determination to enhance conventional stability at a lower level of forces and achieve the total elimination of chemical weapons. We believe that these goals should be actively pursued and translated into concrete agreements. We urge the Soviet Union to negotiate in a positive and constructive manner. An effective resolution of these issues is an essential requirement for real and enduring stability in the world.

7. We will be paying close attention not only to Soviet statements but also to Soviet actions on issues of common concern to us. In particular:

- We call for significant and lasting progress in human rights, which is essential to building trust between our societies. Much still remains to be done to meet the principles agreed and commitments undertaken in the Helsinki Final Act and confirmed since;

- We look for an early and peaceful resolution of regional conflicts, and especially for a rapid and total withdrawal of Soviet forces from Afghanistan so that the people of Afghanistan may freely determine their own future; and

- We encourage greater contacts, freer interchange of ideas and more extensive dialogue between our people and the people of the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe.

8. Thus, we each seek to stabilize military competition between East and West at lower levels of arms; to encourage stable political solutions to regional conflicts; to secure lasting improvements in human rights; and to build contacts, confidence and trust between governments and peoples in a more humane world. Progress across the board is necessary to establish a durable foundation for stable and constructive relationships between the countries of East and West.

## **1988 Toronto, Canada**

### *Securing Democracy*

8. Genuine peace cannot be established solely by arms control. It must be firmly based on respect for fundamental human rights. We urge the Soviet Union to move forward in ensuring human dignity and freedoms and to implement fully and strengthen substantially its commitments under the Helsinki process. Recent progress must be enshrined in law and practice, the painful barriers that divide people must come down, and the obstacles to emigration must be removed.

9. We pay special attention to the countries in Eastern Europe. We encourage them to open up their economies and societies, and to improve respect for human rights. In this context we support the continuation and strengthening of the Helsinki process.

10. We take positive note of Eastern countries' growing interest in ending their economic isolation, for example in the establishment and development of relations with the European Community. EastWest economic relations can be expanded and serve our common interests so long as the commercial basis is sound, they are conducted within the framework of the basic principles and the rules of the international trade and payments system, and are consistent with the security interests of each of our countries.

## **1989 Paris, France**

### *Declaration on East-West Relations*

4. We call upon the Soviet Government to translate its new policies and pronouncements into further concrete action at home and abroad. Military imbalances favoring the Soviet Union, both in Europe and in Asia, remain an objective threat to each of us. Our Governments must therefore continue to be vigilant and maintain the strength of our countries. For the foreseeable future, there is no alternative for each of us, within existing alliances, to maintaining a strategy of deterrence based upon an appropriate mix of adequate and effective nuclear and conventional forces. In order to hasten the advent of a world in which the weight of arms and military strength is reduced, we recommit ourselves to the urgent pursuit of a global ban on chemical weapons, a conventional forces balance in Europe at the lowest possible level consistent with our security requirements, and a substantial reduction in Soviet and American strategic nuclear arms.

5. We offer the countries of the East the opportunity to develop balanced economic cooperation on a sound commercial basis consistent with the security interests of each of our countries and with the general principles of international trade. We have noted developments of relations between the EEC and countries of the East, in particular the conclusion of an agreement with Hungary, the progress already achieved during the current discussions with Poland and the opening of negotiations with the Soviet Union.

6. We welcome the process of reform underway in Poland and Hungary. We recognize that the political changes taking place in these countries will be difficult to sustain without economic progress. Each of us is prepared to support this process and to consider, as appropriate and in a coordinated fashion, economic assistance aimed at transforming and opening their economies in a durable manner. We believe that each of us should direct our assistance to these countries so as to sustain the momentum of reform through inward investment, joint ventures, transfer of managerial skills, professional training and other ventures which would help develop a more competitive economy.

### **1990 Houston, United States**

#### *Securing Democracy*

We welcome the replacement of repressive regimes in Central and Eastern Europe by governments freely chosen by their peoples. We applaud the introduction of the rule of law and the freedoms that are the bedrock of a democratic state. We urge Romania, following recent events, to adhere to the positive trend taking place in other countries of Central and Eastern Europe.

### **1991 London III, United Kingdom**

No references.

### **1992 Munich, Germany**

#### *Communiqué: Economic Declaration: Working Together for Growth and a Safer World*

##### Central and Eastern Europe

24. We welcome the progress of the democracies in Central and Eastern Europe including the Baltic States (CEECs) towards political and economic reform and integration into the world economy. The reform must be pursued vigorously. Great efforts and even sacrifices are still required from their people. They have our continuing support.

25. We welcome the substantial multilateral and bilateral assistance in support of reform in the CEECs. Financing provided by the EBRD is playing a useful role. Since 1989, total assistance and commitments, in the form of grants, loans and credit guarantees by the Group of 24 and the international financial institutions, amounts to \$52 billion. We call upon the Group of 24 to continue its coordination activity and to adapt it to the requirements of each reforming country. We reaffirm our readiness to make fair contributions.

##### New Independent States of the Former Soviet Union

30. The far-reaching changes in the former Soviet Union offer an historic opportunity to make the world a better place: more secure, more democratic and more prosperous. Under President Yeltsin's leadership the Russian Government has embarked on a difficult reform process. We look forward to our meeting with him to discuss our cooperation in support of these reforms. We are prepared to work with the leaders of all new States pursuing reforms. The success is in the interest of the international community.

31. We are aware that the transition will involve painful adjustments. We offer the new States our help for their self help. Our cooperation will be comprehensive and will be tailored to their reform progress and internationally responsible behaviour, including further reductions in military spending and fulfilment of obligations already undertaken.

32. We encourage the new States to adopt sound economic policies, above all by bringing down budget deficits and inflation. Working with the IMF can bring experience to this task and lend credibility to the efforts being made. Macroeconomic stabilisation should not be delayed. It will only succeed if at the same time the building blocks of a market economy are also put into place, through privatisation, land reform, measures to promote investment and competition and appropriate social safeguards for the population.

33. Creditworthiness and the establishment of a dependable legal framework are essential if private investors are to be attracted. The creditworthiness of the new States will in particular be assessed by the way in which they discharge their financial obligations.

34. Private capital and entrepreneurial commitment must play a decisive and increasing part in economic reconstruction. We urge the new States to develop an efficient private business sector, in particular the body of small and medium-sized private companies which is indispensable for a market economy.

35. Rapid progress is particularly urgent and attainable in two sectors: agriculture and energy. These sectors are of decisive importance in improving the supply situation and increasing foreign exchange revenue. Trade and industry in our countries are prepared to cooperate. Valuable time has already been lost because barriers to investment remain in place. For energy, we note the importance of the European Energy Charter for encouraging production and ensuring the security of supply. We urge rapid conclusion of the preparatory work.

36. All Summit participants have shown solidarity in a critical situation by providing extensive food aid, credits and medical assistance. They also have committed technical assistance. A broad inflow of knowhow and experience to the new States is needed to help them realise their own potential. Both private and public sectors can contribute to this. What is needed most of all is concrete advice on the spot and practical assistance. The emphasis should be on projects selected for their value as a model or their strategic importance for the reform process. Partnerships and management assistance at corporate level can be particularly effective.

37. We stress the need for the further opening of international markets to products from the new States. Most favoured nation treatment should be applied to trade with the new States and consideration given to further preferential access. The new States should not impede reconstruction by setting up barriers to trade between themselves. It is in their own interest to cooperate on economic and monetary policy.

38. We want to help the new States to preserve their highly developed scientific and technological skills and to make use of them in building up their economies. We call upon industry and science in the industrial countries to promote cooperation and exchange with the new States. By establishing International Science and Technology Centres we are helping the redirect the expertise of scientists and engineers who have sensitive knowledge in the manufacture of weapons of mass destruction towards peaceful purposes. We will continue our efforts to enable highly qualified civil scientists to remain in the new States and to promote research cooperation with western industrial countries.

39. We welcome the membership of the new States in the international financial institutions. This will allow them to work out economic reform programmes in collaboration with these institutions and on this basis to make use of their substantial financial resources. Disbursements of these funds should be linked to progress in implementing reforms.

40. We support the phased strategy of cooperation between the Russian Government and the IMF. This will allow the IMF to disburse a first credit tranche in support of the most urgent stabilisation measures within the next few weeks while continuing to negotiate a comprehensive reform programme with Russia. This will pave the way for the full utilisation of the \$24 billion support package announced in April. Out of this, \$6 billion earmarked for a rouble stabilisation fund will be released when the necessary macroeconomic conditions are in place.

41. We suggest that country consultative groups should be set up for the new States, when appropriate, in order to foster close cooperation among the States concerned, international institutions and partners. The task of these groups would be to encourage structural reforms and to coordinate technical assistance.

#### Safety of Nuclear Power Plants in the New Independent States of the Former Soviet Union and in Central and Eastern Europe

42. While we recognise the important role nuclear power plays in global energy supplies, the safety of Sovietdesign nuclear power plants gives cause for great concern. Each State, through its safety authorities and plant operators, is itself responsible for the safety of its nuclear power plants. The new States concerned of the former Soviet Union and the countries of Central and Eastern Europe must give high priority to eliminating this danger. These efforts should be part of a marketoriented reform of energy policies encouraging commercial financing for the development of the energy sector.

43. A special effort should be made to improve the safety of these plants. We offer the States concerned our support within the framework of a multilateral programme of action. We look to them to cooperate fully. We call upon other interested States to contribute as well...

#### *Political Declaration: Shaping the New Partnership*

1. We, the leaders of our seven countries and the representatives of the European Community, support the democratic revolution which has ended the EastWest confrontation and has fundamentally changed the global political landscape. Since we last met, further dramatic changes have accelerated progress towards democracy, marketbased economies, and social justice. The way has been opened for a new partnership of shared responsibilities, not only in Europe which at long last is reunited, but also in the AsiaPacific region and elsewhere in the world. We are entering an era where confrontation has given way to cooperation.

2. This new partnership will take many forms. The former adversaries of East and West will cooperate extensively on economic, political and security issues. We look for the worldwide development of similar patterns of cooperation within regions and between regions. As developed countries, we offer continuing support and assistance to developing countries. We believe that transnational problems, in particular the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, can be solved only through international cooperation. Partnership will flourish as common values take root, based on the principles of political and economic freedom, human rights, democracy, justice and the rule of law. We believe that political and economic freedom are closely linked and mutually reinforcing and that, to that end, good governance and respect for human rights are important criteria in providing economic assistance.

3. The countries of Central and Eastern Europe and the new States of the former Soviet Union can now seize unprecedented opportunities but they also face enormous challenges. We will support them as they move toward the achievement of democratic societies and political and economic freedom. We encourage them to create a stable constitutional and legal framework for their reform programmes and commend their efforts to cut substantially the proportion of public spending devoted to the military sector.

4. The Treaty signed at Maastricht by the twelve members of the European Community is a historic step on the way to European Union. Its implementation will enhance political stability on the European continent and open up new opportunities for cooperation.

5. Since we last met, the creation of the North Atlantic Cooperation Council has enhanced the cooperative relationship of the North Atlantic Alliance with countries in Central and Eastern Europe and with the States of the former Soviet Union. WEU, too, is strengthening its relationship with countries in Central and Eastern Europe.

6. The need for international cooperation has also been underlined by new instabilities and conflicts due to resurgent nationalism and interethnic tensions. Communal and territorial disputes are being settled by force, causing death, destruction, and widespread dislocation of innocent people throughout the former Yugoslavia, in parts of the former Soviet Union and elsewhere in the world.

#### *Chairman's Statement*

We observe with deep concern the escalation of the conflict on the left bank of the Dniestr in the Republic of Moldova. We urgently appeal to all parties concerned to cease hostilities at once and to refrain from any attacks.

We support the efforts to achieve a peaceful settlement made by the Presidents of the Republic of Moldova, Romania, the Russian Federation and Ukraine at the summit meeting of littoral States of the Black Sea in Istanbul on 25 June 1992, and support their appeal to the CSCE to help find a solution.

We appeal to all countries to allow no steps which might serve, politically or materially, to sustain the fighting.

#### *Declaration on the Former Yugoslavia*

We, the leaders of our seven countries and the representatives of the European Community, are deeply concerned about the ongoing Yugoslav crisis. We strongly condemn the use of violence in the former Yugoslavia and deplore the suffering inflicted upon its population. We particularly deplore those actions directed against civilian populations as well as the forced expulsion of ethnic groups. Although all parties have contributed to this state of affairs the Serbian leadership and the Yugoslav Army controlled by it bear the greatest share of the responsibility.

We support the EC Conference on Yugoslavia chaired by Lord Carrington as a key forum for ensuring a durable and equitable political solution to the outstanding problems of the former Yugoslavia, including constitutional arrangements for Bosnia and Herzegovina. We call on all parties to resume negotiations in that Conference in good faith and without preconditions. We also welcome close consultations between the Conference chaired by Lord Carrington, the EC, the UN and the other parties concerned with the Yugoslav crisis. These consultations could lead

to the holding of a broader international conference to address unresolved questions, including issues related to minorities. We stress the absolute need for the parties in former Yugoslavia to show the will for peace, which is indispensable to success and without which the peoples of former Yugoslavia will continue to suffer.

The tragic humanitarian situation especially in Bosnia and Herzegovina is unacceptable. We fully endorse the efforts of the international community to provide relief. We welcome the efforts made in achieving the opening of the airport of Sarajevo and we support actions taken by UNPROFOR to secure the airport. The blockade of Sarajevo must be lifted and the shelling of the town stopped in order to sustain a comprehensive relief operation.

We express our gratitude to all participants in the airlift to Sarajevo and the supply of its population. We appeal to all parties in Bosnia and Herzegovina not to imperil the humanitarian effort. We firmly warn the parties concerned, including irregular forces, not to take any action that would endanger the lives of those engaged in the relief operation. Should these efforts fail due to an unwillingness of those concerned to fully cooperate with the United Nations we believe the Security Council will have to consider other measures, not excluding military means, to achieve its humanitarian objectives.

The airlift to Sarajevo can only be the beginning of a larger humanitarian effort. Safe access by road to Sarajevo as well as to other parts of Bosnia and Herzegovina in need must be guaranteed.

The needs of hundreds of thousands of refugees and displaced persons require further significant financial support. We are willing to contribute and ask others also to make fair contributions.

We underline the need for Serbia and Croatia to respect the territorial integrity of Bosnia and Herzegovina and for all military forces not subject to the authority of the Government of Bosnia and Herzegovina to either be withdrawn or disbanded and disarmed with their weapons placed under the effective international monitoring.

We call on all parties to prevent the conflict from spreading to other parts of the former Yugoslavia.

We urge the Serbian leadership to respect minority rights in full, to refrain from further repression in Kosovo and to engage in serious dialogue with representatives of Kosovo with a view to defining a status of autonomy according to the draft convention of the EC Conference on Yugoslavia.

Sanctions decided by the UN Security Council in resolution 757 as well as all other provisions of relevant UN resolutions must be fully implemented.

We support the efforts of the UN peace keeping forces in implementing the UN peace plan for Croatia in all its elements. We demand that Serbs and Croats extend their full cooperation to the UN peace plan and make every effort to bring the bloodshed in Croatia to an end.

We do not accept Serbia and Montenegro as the sole successor state of the former Yugoslavia. We call for the suspension of the delegation of Yugoslavia in the proceedings of the CSCE and other relevant international fora and organizations.

## **1993 Tokyo III, Japan**

### *Communiqué: Economic Declaration: A Strengthened Commitment to Jobs and Growth*

#### Russia and Other Countries in Transition

9. We reaffirm our support for the reform efforts in the countries in transition including the Central and Eastern European Countries, the Baltic States, the New Independent States and Mongolia, based on the principles of help for selfhelp and partnership. The success of their reform and their full integration into the world economy are essential to world peace and stability. We look for continuing constructive and responsible cooperations with these countries in international affairs. Encouraging first signs of economic recovery are visible in those countries in Central and Eastern Europe where reform is most advanced. We welcome the development of economic cooperation and trade with us and urge stronger cooperation among the countries in transition themselves.

### *Political Declaration: Striving for a More Secure and Humane World*

7. Faced with the rapidly deteriorating situation in former Yugoslavia, we reaffirm our commitment to the territorial integrity of BosniaHerzegovina and to a negotiated settlement based on the principles of the London Conference. We cannot agree to a solution dictated by the Serbs and the Croats at the expense of the Bosnian Muslims. We will not accept any territorial solution unless it has the agreement of the three parties. If the Serbs and Croats persist in dismembering Bosnia through changes of border by force or ethnic cleansing, they will place themselves beyond the pale of the international community and cannot expect any economic or commercial assistance, especially reconstruction aid. The UN Security Council Resolutions on safe areas must be implemented fully and immediately to protect the civilian population. We commit ourselves to assist the Secretary General of the United Nations to implement UN Security Council Resolution 836 by sending troops, by air protection of the UNPROFOR, by financial and logistical contributions or by appropriate diplomatic action. Sanctions should be upheld until the conditions in the relevant Security Council Resolutions are met. Stronger measures are not excluded. The flow of humanitarian aid to Bosnia must be increased.

Deeply concerned about the situation in Kosovo, we call on the Serbian government to reverse its decision to expel the CSCE monitors from Kosovo and elsewhere in Serbia and to agree to a significant increase in their numbers.

## **1994 Naples, Italy**

No references.

## **1995 Halifax, Canada**

### *Chairman's Statement*

13. We condemn the taking of UN hostages by the Bosnian Serbs, their deplorable shelling of civilian populations and their obstruction of UNPROFOR's freedom of movement. We demand the immediate and unconditional release of the remaining hostages, and hold the Bosnian Serb leadership accountable for their safety. We call on the Bosnian government and all other parties to renew the Cessation of Hostilities Agreement, and to ensure the free passage of humanitarian assistance.

14. We welcome the decision of the UN Security Council to strengthen UNPROFOR and to provide it with a rapid reaction capacity to enhance its security and its ability to protect civilians, facilitate the delivery of humanitarian assistance and promote conditions for a lasting peace. The Rapid Reaction Force will be under UN command, as stipulated in the Security Council resolution, and operate in accordance with UNPROFOR's existing mandate.

15. We call for renewed impetus to be given urgently to the peace process and, in this connection, we welcome the appointment of Carl Bildt as EU negotiator, and offer our strong support to him and UN negotiator Thorvald Stoltenberg in their efforts to achieve a durable settlement.

16. We call for early mutual recognition between the republics in the former Yugoslavia within their existing internationally recognized borders; recognition between Bosnia and the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia would be an important first step, and we urge President Milosevic to take it. The Bosnian-Croat Federation is a way to advance reconciliation, and we continue to support steps to help stabilize the situation in the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia.

17. We remain concerned about the risk of further fighting in Croatia. Both the Croatian government and the Croatian Serbs must exercise restraint. We urge the parties to honour the March 29, 1994 ceasefire and to cooperate with the United Nations in implementing UNCRO's new mandate. We call for further development of the Economic Agreement between the two sides and the opening of political talks to achieve a settlement respecting the internationally recognized borders of Croatia while establishing autonomy for the Serb population on the basis of the principles underlying the Zagreb-4 Plan for Croatia.

#### *G7 Statement Regarding the Situation in the Former Yugoslavia*

At a time when all information indicates that there is a danger of renewed intensification of fighting in Bosnia, in particular in Sarajevo, we send out to all the parties a strong call for the greatest restraint.

We appeal to the Bosnian Serbs and to the Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina to establish an immediate moratorium on military operations in order to allow political negotiations, without which no lasting solution is possible, to resume as quickly as possible, on the basis of the Contact Group proposal.

We call upon the Croatian Government and the Krajina Serbs to refrain from all military action and to resume the negotiation process.

To promote this resumption of negotiations, we express our confidence in Mr. Bildt and Mr. Stoltenberg, whom we invite to visit the area very quickly to this end.

### **1996 Lyon, France**

#### *Chairman's Statement*

##### Global Issues

We emphasize the importance of promoting conditions conducive to peace as the surest means to prevent conflict. We support development of more flexible instruments for peace, including mediation by elder statesmen and United Nations representatives. We are encouraged by the notable successes of current peacekeeping missions in Haiti (UNMIH) and Bosnia (IFOR). We

note the central responsibility that the parties themselves bear for the ending of conflict and the re-establishment of peace and stability. We favour strengthening the United Nations' capacity for rapid deployment by further developing the stand-by arrangements initiative and the rapidly deployable headquarters team, as well as other efforts to enhance the Secretariat's ability to deploy new peacekeeping operations quickly and manage existing ones effectively. We applaud the efforts of the international community to assist countries devastated by conflict as they rebuild their societies: these measures are making a decisive contribution to the establishment of lasting peace. We welcome the contribution made, in accordance with the UN Charter, by regional organizations and arrangements to international stability, and the development of their cooperation with the United Nations...

#### Regional Issues

We actively support the process of economic and political transition under way for over five years in Central and Eastern Europe. We welcome the progress accomplished by these countries toward the establishment of the rule of law and the establishment of a market economy. We welcome the prospect of enlargement of the EU to Central European countries and the Baltic States and encourage these and other States to take full advantage of the possibilities of integration offered to them. We support the efforts to develop good neighborly relations and we encourage the different initiatives that support stability in Southeastern Europe.

#### *Decisions Concerning Bosnia and Herzegovina*

We confirm our support for the Peace Agreement and the establishment of a democratic and pluralistic State of Bosnia and Herzegovina, composed of two Entities.

The prime responsibility for implementing the Peace Agreement lies with the different communities and their leaders. Without compliance and active participation in rebuilding a civil society, they cannot expect that the international community and major donor countries shoulder the main burden of the implementation and reconstruction effort.

Endorsing the conclusions adopted at the Peace Implementation Conference in Florence, we have taken the following decisions:

#### 1. Elections and Institutions

- We shall contribute substantially to the preparation of the elections scheduled by the OSCE on 14 September 1996. To this end, we are increasing our assistance to the OSCE, inter alia by contributing to the deployment of 2,000 observers and the development of independent media.
- The Parties too must play their part and implement the full range of their commitments, including freedom of movement and association, free access for all the candidates to the media and effective arrangements for refugees and displaced persons to exercise their right to vote.
- We recall that according to its resolution 1022, the UN Security Council will terminate the sanctions regime on the tenth day following the occurrence of the first free and fair elections.
- We ask that IFOR's support for the election process be reinforced, including by creating a safe and secure environment, providing logistic assistance and concentrating IFOR's resources where necessary.

- We support the High Representative in his work of preparation with the Parties of the establishment of the new institutions: the collective Presidency, the Council of Ministers, the Parliament, the Constitutional Court and the Central Bank. We shall provide the future authorities with the necessary constitutional and legal assistance. We recommend that the duration of the first term of the institutions of Bosnia and Herzegovina and the Entities be harmonized, by agreement within all the institutions concerned.

## 2. International War Crimes Tribunal

- All States and Entities have an obligation under the Peace Agreement to cooperate fully with the Tribunal by taking action to arrest indicted persons. All persons indicted by the International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia should appear before the Tribunal in The Hague for trial.
- The presence in public office of indicted war criminals or any attempt by them to seek elective office are open violations of the Peace Agreement. We insist that Mr. Karadzic step down immediately and permanently from all public functions and take no part in governmental decisions. He should transfer all his powers completely to new leadership in the way provided for in the Constitution of Republika Srpska. New leadership of Republika Srpska should demonstrate their willingness to cooperate with the international community in implementing the Peace Agreement. This would enable the assistance available under it to flow to Republika Srpska.
- Recalling UN Security Council Resolution 1022, including the provisions on sanctions, we support the High Representative and the Commander of IFOR and will, as necessary, act following their recommendations. We are ready to consider the application of sanctions instruments to any Parties to the Peace Agreement.
- Consistent with this obligation of the Parties to cooperate with the International War Crimes Tribunal, we urge them all to implement a broadly based amnesty law.

## 3. Consolidation Plan

- Noting France's proposal for a 2-year plan of consolidation of the peace process, we endorse the request made by the Peace Implementation Council in Florence on the 14th of June for its Steering Board to elaborate an action agenda stating the aims, the means and the timeframe of this plan for civilian consolidation.

## 4. Reconstruction

Economic reconstruction is vital to lasting peace. We call upon all donors to accelerate payment of their pledges for 1996 and to make every effort to disburse at least 50 % of 1996 pledges by December 1996 and 100 % by June 1997.

Economic assistance should be provided to all Parties in Bosnia and Herzegovina depending upon their compliance with the peace process. After the successful holding of elections on September 14, it will be possible to take a decision on the holding of a further Donor Conference.

We support projects which encourage cooperation and reconciliation. We call on the Parties to develop common economic structures and policies, including a Central Bank and new currency, a common customs policy, a unified payments system, the appropriate distribution of revenues among the State, the Entities and the Cantons.

In this context, we look forward to the IMF engaging Bosnia and Herzegovina with the aim of reaching agreement on an economic stabilization and reform program.

We confirm our full support for the High Representative in the exercising of his coordination role.

We insist that high priority be given to mine-clearing operations, housing for refugees and job creation projects.

#### 5. Refugees and the rule of law

- We demand that the Parties ensure that refugees and displaced persons can return freely and in safety. The early return of refugees will help accelerate the economic recovery of Bosnia and Herzegovina.
- We support the efforts of the UNHCR, including its plan for the return of refugees. The implementation of this plan implies the increase of voluntary contributions.
- IFOR will have to exercise continued vigilance with regard to freedom of movement.
- Reconstruction program should encourage the return of refugees. We recommend giving priority to 19 target areas in 8 regions of Bosnia and Herzegovina and thereby facilitating the return of 185,000 people by the end of this year.
- The question of property rights must be settled rapidly.
- In order to strengthen the rule of law, we are prepared to provide technical legal assistance. We shall ensure that the means available to the International Police Task Force and its effectiveness be increased.

#### 6. Regional and Security Issues

- We stress the need to observe the timetable set by the Arms control Agreement signed in Florence on June 14. We shall provide the OSCE with the means to verify the Arms Control Agreement, and closely monitor its implementation.
- More rapid progress must be made to resolve the question of Brcko, beginning with the early agreement by the Parties on a third arbitrator. We urge the Parties to achieve a solution as soon as possible.
- We support initiatives to promote stability, good neighborliness and economic development in South-eastern Europe.
- We ask for the acceleration of the Working Groups' work on national and ethnic communities and minorities, and on questions of succession, and we call upon the States concerned to cooperate fully with them.

7. These decisions should be implemented within the framework of the structures put in place by the Peace Agreement.

## 1997 Denver, United States

*Communiqué, June 22*

### Political Situations

89. Noting the situation in Albania and its implications for regional stability, we express our appreciation to those organizations and institutions, acting within the coordinating framework of the OSCE under the strong leadership of Franz Vranitzky -- especially the EU as well as the WEU, UNHCR and Red Cross -- that are working with the Government of National Reconciliation to restore normalcy in the country. We applaud the deployment of the Multinational Protection Force under Italian leadership and the authority of the UN Security Council. We underscore the need for the Albanian parties to work together to ensure that the elections reinforce democracy and thereafter work to reestablish order and public safety, pursue economic reform, and create a sound financial system.

### *Statement on Bosnia and Herzegovina*

We, the Leaders of the Eight, reaffirm our commitment to full implementation of the Peace Agreement, and to the goal of Bosnia and Herzegovina becoming a single democratic, prosperous and multi-ethnic nation. We welcome the accomplishments since the 1995 Peace Agreement. Significant challenges remain but we are determined to accelerate the implementation of the Peace Agreement and to reinforce the progress made in the last eighteen months.

We firmly endorse the political declaration adopted at the Sintra Ministerial on May 30, 1997, and join the Steering Board in demanding intensification of effort by the Parties toward fulfillment of their obligations under the Peace Agreement. To ensure that all the Parties are held accountable, our full assistance will be contingent upon their own full implementation of all aspects of the Peace Agreement. We pay tribute to Carl Bildt's outstanding contribution as High Representative to the cause of peace and reconciliation in Bosnia and Herzegovina. We welcome his successor, Carlos Westendorp, and promise him our full support.

We are working to create conditions for a self-sustaining peace. We support the mission of the Stabilization Force (SFOR) to help provide a secure environment by June 1998. We will continue to provide materials and financial support for the International Police Task Force's efforts to restructure, train, and equip police, in order to establish public order and safety for all the Bosnian people consistent with international democratic standards.

Some elected officials are harmfully blocking key aspects of economic reconstruction, delaying international assistance. We welcome Friday's parliamentary approval of essential economic laws, but delays in doing so and failure to approve an International Monetary Fund program caused further postponement of the needed Donors' Conference. When the Parties meet the necessary conditions, we are prepared to implement the full reconstruction program and to support considerable debt reduction by the Paris Club.

The authorities in Bosnia and Herzegovina must uphold fully the right of refugees and displaced persons to return to their homes in a peaceful and orderly manner. We will support those communities that work cooperatively to support returns. Those who fail to do so will lose access to economic assistance.

There must be justice in Bosnia and Herzegovina if peace is to endure. Both Bosnian entities, as well as the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and Croatia, have obligations under the Peace Agreement to cooperate fully with the International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia. Those indicted must be turned over to the Tribunal and to stand trial. Full access to economic and other assistance, as well as integration in regional and international institutions, is dependent on compliance with these obligations.

All authorities in Bosnia and Herzegovina must work to accelerate the development of democratic institutions, including accelerating efforts to establish independent news media. We shall contribute the necessary support for the conduct of municipal elections.

We urge the national, entity and local authorities to make Breko an early example of implementation of all aspects of the Peace Agreement.

We remain concerned that Croatia and the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, the regional signatories to the Peace Agreement, are not demonstrating a stronger commitment to the peace process. They must also make significantly greater progress to meet international standards of human rights, democratic processes, media freedom and treatment of minorities and refugees. Further progress towards integration in European and international institutions will depend on improvements in these areas.

The international community will maintain a long-term engagement in Bosnia and Herzegovina and in the Balkan region as a whole. We are prepared to continue to help the states of this region, but our continued commitment is not unconditional. We call upon the leaders of Bosnia and Herzegovina, Croatia and the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia to meet their responsibilities and obligations, and to work for a democratic, stable and secure future for their citizens.

## **1998 Birmingham, United Kingdom**

### *Political Statement on Regional Issues*

The continuing violence in Kosovo has revived fears of a new Balkans war. The region has already seen too much bloodshed. A political solution to the problem of Kosovo is vital for the peace and well-being of all the people of the region. We consider the meeting on 15 May between President Milosevic and Dr Rugova to be a positive first step. It is particularly important that President Milosevic has assumed personal responsibility in the search for a resolution of the problems of Kosovo, including its future status. We urge both sides to ensure that the dialogue now begun leads rapidly to the adoption of concrete measures to lower tensions and stop violence. Resolving the issue of Kosovo's status will be difficult but is essential for the good of all those living in the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.

Peace and stability in Europe rest on the principles that borders are inviolable and that political change must come about through peaceful means. We reject terrorism and violence from any side to achieve political goals or to stifle dissent. The states of the region should themselves contribute to a non-violent solution to the crisis. All states should cooperate in addressing the problem of refugees and displaced persons.

We underline the importance of cooperation with the Gonzalez mission. We stand ready to promote a clear and achievable path towards the FRY's full integration into the international community. But if Belgrade fails to build on recent progress and a genuine political process does not get underway, its isolation will deepen.

The elections in Montenegro on 31 May must be free, fair and in keeping with democratic standards and their results must be respected by all.

We welcome the progress that has recently been made on peace implementation in Bosnia and Herzegovina and support the High Representative's active role in promoting the peace process. This is a critical year for consolidating peace in Bosnia, especially for refugee returns and democratic development, with nationwide elections scheduled for September. While the people of Bosnia have accomplished a great deal under very difficult circumstances, we look to Bosnia's leaders to work harder to create a stable and prosperous future for all the country's citizens...

## **1999 Köln, Germany**

### *Statement on Regional Issues*

We welcome the decisive steps already taken and now underway to end violence and repression in Kosovo, to establish peace and to provide for the safe and free return of all refugees and displaced persons to their homes. In this regard, we particularly welcome the adoption on June 10 of United Nations Security Council Resolution (UNSCR) 1244, and commend the intensive efforts of our Foreign Ministers and others, including the Special Envoys of the European Union and the Russian Federation, to restore peace and security.

We reaffirm strong support for the international civil and security presences in accordance with UNSCR 1244. We welcome the leadership of the United Nations in the international civil presence, and pledge to collaborate closely to ensure the United Nations' success in carrying out its complex mission. We also welcome the agreement reached between NATO and Russia on the international security presence, and the relevant Military Technical Agreement. In that regard, we insist that all parties to the conflict in Kosovo respect the cease-fire and fully abide by the terms of UNSCR 1244 and the Military Technical Agreement concerning the withdrawal of all Yugoslav and Serb military, police, and paramilitary forces from Kosovo and the demilitarization of the KLA and other armed Kosovo Albanian groups.

We expect all residents of Kosovo to contribute to the creation of a democratic, multi-ethnic Kosovo. The return of refugees and displaced persons to their homes, and the assurance of security for all persons including Serb and all other minorities in Kosovo will be high priorities of the international community. To ensure the wellbeing of the refugees and displaced persons, their return must be undertaken in a safe, orderly, and organized fashion. We will work cooperatively with each other, the United Nations, the European Union, the OSCE, and other international organizations to facilitate safe return including demining.

We will fully cooperate with the work of the International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia. We affirm our commitment to a meeting of the international donor community in July to address short-term humanitarian and other needs for Kosovo, and a subsequent meeting in the fall after a full assessment of needs has been developed pursuant to the assistance coordination process chaired by the European Commission and the World Bank.

We stress the importance of the civil implementation and, given the key role the G8 has played in the Kosovo crisis, we invite our Foreign Ministers to review on a regular basis the progress achieved thus far in this process and to provide further guidance.

We welcome the adoption of the Stability Pact on June 10 in Cologne, an initiative of the European Union which will continue to play the leading role. This Stability Pact has launched a process for South Eastern Europe with the objective of a positive mid- and long-term perspective for the countries in the region to achieve lasting peace as well as political and economic stability. We take note that countries in the region participating in the Stability Pact commit themselves to continued democratic and economic reforms, as well as bilateral and regional cooperation amongst themselves to advance their integration, on an individual basis, into Euro-Atlantic structures. We consider this stabilization process to be one of the major political and economic challenges ahead of us. We declare our readiness to take strong action to achieve all the objectives of the Stability Pact. In regard to the above, the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia must demonstrate a full commitment to all of the principles and objectives of the Pact.

We underline that, in order to achieve the goals of the Stability Pact, the countries of the region bear a primary responsibility. Assistance from outside can help, but not replace the countries' own efforts. Therefore we call on the countries of South Eastern Europe to cooperate with each other and within the international community to develop a shared strategy for stability and growth of the region. In recognition of the principle of fair burden sharing, we also call on the international donor community to undertake the necessary measures in order to give the countries in the region a strong signal of active international support and solidarity and to organize donor conferences as early as feasible.

We welcome the progress made through the chairmanship of the European Commission and the World Bank towards establishing a donor coordination process to develop a coherent international assistance strategy for the region opening the door for all donor opportunities as well as to mobilize additional financial support for reconstruction, regional integration, economic recovery and reform and to promote sound macroeconomic and structural policies by the countries concerned. This process will be guided by the High Level Steering Group, in which the Special Coordinator of the Stability Pact will play an important role.

The High Level Steering Group will be co-chaired by the European Commission and the World Bank and include the Special Coordinator of the Stability Pact, the IMF, the EIB and the EBRD which will be active in the region, plus one UN representative and the Finance Ministers of major donor countries and, where appropriate, Development Ministers.

#### *Stability Pact for South Eastern Europe*

1. We, the Foreign Ministers of the Member States of the European Union, the European Commission, the Foreign Ministers of Albania, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Bulgaria, Croatia, Hungary, Romania, the Russian Federation, Slovenia, the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia<sup>1</sup>, Turkey, the United States of America, the OSCE Chairman in Office and the Representative of the Council of Europe representing the participants in today's Conference on South Eastern Europe; and the Foreign Ministers of Canada and Japan, Representatives of the United Nations, UNHCR, NATO, OECD, WEU, International Monetary Fund, the World Bank, the European Investment Bank and the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development, acting within their competences, representing the facilitating States, Organisations and Institutions of today's Conference, as well as the Representatives of the Royaumont process, BSEC, CEI, SECI and SEECP, have met in Cologne on 10 June 1999, in response to The European Union's call to adopt a Stability Pact for South Eastern Europe.

2. The countries of South Eastern Europe recognize their responsibility to work within the international community to develop a shared strategy for stability and growth of the region and to

cooperate with each other and major donors to implement that strategy. Seizing the opportunity to address structural shortfalls and unresolved issues will accelerate democratic and economic development in the region.

3. We will strive to achieve the objective of lasting peace, prosperity and stability for South Eastern Europe. We will reach this objective through a comprehensive and coherent approach to the region involving the EU, the OSCE, the Council of Europe, the UN, NATO, the OECD, the WEU, the IFIs and the regional initiatives. We welcome the fact that the European Union and the United States have made support for the Stability Pact a priority in their New Transatlantic Agenda, as well as the fact that the European Union and the Russian Federation have made the Stability Pact a priority in their political dialogue.

4. A settlement of the Kosovo conflict is critical to our ability to reach fully the objectives of the Stability Pact and to work towards permanent, long term measures for a future of peace and inter-ethnic harmony without fear of the resurgence of war.

5. We solemnly reaffirm our commitment to all the principles and norms enshrined in the UN Charter, the Helsinki Final Act, the Charter of Paris, the 1990 Copenhagen Document and other OSCE documents, and, as applicable, to the full implementation of relevant UN Security Council Resolutions, the relevant conventions of the Council of Europe and the General Framework Agreement for Peace in Bosnia and Herzegovina, with a view to promoting good neighbourly relations.

6. In our endeavours, we will build upon bilateral and multilateral agreements on good neighbourly relations concluded by States in the region participating in the Pact, and will seek the conclusion of such agreements where they do not exist. They will form an essential element of the Stability Pact.

7. We reaffirm that we are accountable to our citizens and responsible to one another for respect for OSCE norms and principles and for the implementation of our commitments. We also reaffirm that commitments with respect to the human dimension undertaken through our membership in the OSCE are matters of direct and legitimate concern to all States participating in the Stability Pact, and do not belong exclusively to the internal affairs of the State concerned. Respect for these commitments constitutes one of the foundations of international order, to which we intend to make a substantial contribution.

8. We take note that countries in the region participating in the Stability Pact commit themselves to continued democratic and economic reforms, as elaborated in paragraph 10, as well as bilateral and regional cooperation amongst themselves to advance their integration, on an individual basis, into Euro-Atlantic structures. The EU Member States and other participating countries and international organisations and institutions commit themselves to making every effort to assist them to make speedy and measurable progress along this road. We reaffirm the inherent right of each and every participating State to be free to choose or change its security arrangements, including treaties of alliance as they evolve. Each participating State will respect the rights of all others in this regard. They will not strengthen their security at the expense of the security of other States.

9. The Stability Pact aims at strengthening countries in South Eastern Europe in their efforts to foster peace, democracy, respect for human rights and economic prosperity, in order to achieve stability in the whole region. Those countries in the region who seek integration into Euro-

Atlantic structures, alongside a number of other participants in the Pact, strongly believe that the implementation of this process will facilitate their objective.

10. To that end we pledge to cooperate towards:

- preventing and putting an end to tensions and crises as a prerequisite for lasting stability. This includes concluding and implementing among ourselves multilateral and bilateral agreements and taking domestic measures to overcome the existing potential for conflict;
- bringing about mature democratic political processes, based on free and fair elections, grounded in the rule of law and full respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms, including the rights of persons belonging to national minorities, the right to free and independent media, legislative branches accountable to their constituents, independent judiciaries, combating corruption, deepening and strengthening of civil society;
- creating peaceful and good-neighbourly relations in the region through strict observance of the principles of the Helsinki Final Act, confidence building and reconciliation, encouraging work in the OSCE and other fora on regional confidence building measures and mechanisms for security cooperation;
- preserving the multinational and multiethnic diversity of countries in the region, and protecting minorities;
- creating vibrant market economies based on sound macro policies, markets open to greatly expanded foreign trade and private sector investment, effective and transparent customs and commercial/regulatory regimes, developing strong capital markets and diversified ownership, including privatisation, leading to a widening circle of prosperity for all our citizens;
- fostering economic cooperation in the region and between the region and the rest of Europe and the world, including free trade areas; promoting unimpeded contacts among citizens;
- combatting organised crime, corruption and terrorism and all criminal and illegal activities;
- preventing forced population displacement caused by war, persecution and civil strife as well as migration generated by poverty;
- ensuring the safe and free return of all refugees and displaced persons to their homes, while assisting the countries in the region by sharing the burden imposed upon them;
- creating the conditions, for countries of South Eastern Europe, for full integration into political, economic and security structures of their choice.

11. Lasting peace and stability in South Eastern Europe will only become possible when democratic principles and values, which are already actively promoted by many countries in the region, have taken root throughout, including in the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia<sup>2</sup>, International efforts must focus on consolidating and linking areas of stability in the region to lay a firm foundation for the transition of the region as a whole to a peaceful and democratic future.

We declare that the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia will be welcome as a full and equal participant in the Stability Pact, following the political settlement of the Kosovo crisis on the

basis of the principles agreed by Foreign Ministers and taking into account the need for respect by all participants for the principles and objectives of this Pact.

In order to draw the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia closer to this goal, respecting its sovereignty and territorial integrity, we will consider ways of making the Republic of Montenegro an early beneficiary of the Pact. In this context, we welcome involvement in our meetings of representatives of Montenegro, as a constituent Republic of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. We also note the intention of the European Union and other interested participants to continue to work closely with its democratically elected government,

12. To reach the objectives we have set for ourselves, we have agreed to set up a South Eastern Europe Regional Table. The South Eastern Europe Regional Table will review progress under the Stability Pact, carry it forward and provide guidance for advancing its objectives.

13. The Stability Pact will have a Special Coordinator, who will be appointed by the European Union, after consultation with the OSCE Chairman in Office and other participants, and endorsed by the OSCE Chairman in Office. The Special Coordinator will chair the South Eastern Europe Regional Table and will be responsible for promoting achievement of the Pact's objectives within and between the individual countries, supported by appropriate structures tailored to need, in close cooperation with the governments and relevant institutions of the countries, in particular other interested associated countries of the European Union, as well as relevant international organisations and institutions concerned. The Special Coordinator will provide periodic progress reports to the OSCE, according to its procedures, on behalf of the South Eastern Europe Regional Table.

14. The South Eastern Europe Regional Table will ensure coordination of activities of and among the following Working Tables, which will build upon existing expertise, institutions and initiatives and could be divided into sub-tables:

- Working Table on democratisation and human rights;
- Working Table on economic reconstruction, development and cooperation;
- Working Table on security issues.

15. Responsibilities for these Working Tables are referred to in the Annex to this document. The Working Tables will address and facilitate the resolution of the issues entrusted to them by arrangements to be agreed at each table.

16. The South Eastern Europe Regional Table and the Working Tables will consist of the participants of the Stability Pact. The facilitator States, Organisations and Institutions as well as the regional initiatives referred to in paragraph 1 of this document are entitled to participate in the Working Tables and in the South Eastern Europe Regional Table if they so wish. Neighbouring and other countries, in particular other interested associated countries of the EU, as well as relevant international organisations and institutions may be invited as participants or observers, as appropriate, and without any ensuing commitment to the future, to the South Eastern Europe Regional Table and/or the Working Tables, in order to contribute to the objectives of the Stability Pact.

17. Work in the Stability Pact should take into account the diversity of the situation of participants. To achieve the objectives of this Pact, we will provide for effective coordination between the participating and facilitating States, international and regional Organisations and Institutions, which have unique knowledge and expertise to contribute to the common endeavour.

We look to the active and creative participation by all concerned to bring about the conditions which will enable the countries in the region to seize the opportunity represented by this Pact. Each of the participants will endeavour to ensure that the objectives of the Stability Pact are furthered in their own participation in all relevant international Organisations and Institutions.

18. We welcome the European Union's initiative in launching the Stability Pact and the leading role the EU is playing, in cooperation with other participating and facilitating States, international Organisations and Institutions. The launching of the Pact will give a firm European anchorage to the region. The ultimate success of the Pact will depend largely on the efforts of the States concerned to fulfil the objectives of the Pact and to develop regional cooperation through multilateral and bilateral agreements.

19. We warmly welcome the European Union's readiness to actively support the countries in the region and to enable them to achieve the objectives of the Stability Pact. We welcome the EU's activity to strengthen democratic and economic institutions in the region through a number of relevant programmes. We note progress towards the establishment and development of contractual relations, on an individual basis and within the framework of its Regional Approach, between the EU and countries of the region. We take note that, on the basis of the Vienna European Council Conclusions, the EU will prepare a "Common Strategy towards the Western Balkans", as a fundamental initiative.

20. The EU will draw the region closer to the perspective of full integration of these countries into its structures. In case of countries which have not yet concluded association agreements with the EU, this will be done through a new kind of contractual relationship taking fully into account the individual situations of each country with the perspective of EU membership, on the basis of the Amsterdam Treaty and once the Copenhagen criteria have been met. We note the European Union's willingness that, while deciding autonomously, it will consider the achievement of the objectives of the Stability Pact, in particular progress in developing regional cooperation, among The important elements in evaluating the merits of such a perspective.

21. We highly appreciate the contribution and the solidarity of the countries in the region with the efforts of the international community for reaching a peaceful solution on Kosovo. We welcome the efforts so far deployed and results achieved by countries in South Eastern Europe towards democratisation, economic reform and regional cooperation and stability. These countries will be the main beneficiaries of the Pact and recognise that its successful implementation, and the advance towards Euro-Atlantic structures for those seeking it depend decisively on their commitment to implement the objectives of the Pact, in particular on their willingness to cooperate on a bilateral and multilateral level and to promote the objectives of the Pact within their own respective national structures.

22. We welcome the OSCE's intention, as the only pan-European security Organisation and as a regional arrangement under Chapter VIII of the UN Charter and a primary instrument for early warning, conflict prevention, crisis management and post-conflict rehabilitation, to make a significant contribution to the efforts undertaken through the Stability Pact. We reaffirm that the OSCE has a key role to play in fostering all dimensions of security and stability. Accordingly, we request that the Stability Pact be placed under the auspices of the OSCE, and will rely fully on the OSCE to work for compliance with the provisions of the Stability Pact by the participating States, in accordance with its procedures and established principles,

23. We will rely on the OSCE institutions and instruments and their expertise to contribute to the proceedings of the South Eastern Europe Regional Table and of the Working Tables, in particular

the Working Table on Democratisation and Human Rights. Their unique competences will be much needed in furthering the aims and objectives of the Stability Pact. We express our intention, in cases requiring OSCE involvement with regard to the observance of OSCE principles in the implementation of the Stability Pact, to resort, where appropriate, to the instruments and procedures of the OSCE, including those concerning conflict prevention, the peaceful settlement of disputes and the human dimensions States parties to the Convention establishing the Court of Conciliation and Arbitration may also refer to the Court possible disputes and ask for the non-binding opinion of the Court.

24. We welcome the Council of Europe's readiness to integrate all countries in the region into full membership on the basis of the principles of pluralist democracy, human rights and the rule of law. The Council of Europe can make an important contribution to the objectives of the Pact through its parliamentary and intergovernmental organs and institutions, its European norms embodied in relevant legally-binding Conventions, primarily the European Convention of Human Rights (and the Court), its instruments and assistance programmes in the fields of democratic institutions, human rights, law, justice and education, as well as its strong links with civil society. In this context, we take note with great interest of the Council of Europe's Stability Programme for South East Europe to be implemented, together and in close coordination with the countries concerned and other international and regional organisations active in the field.

25. We underline the UN's central role in the region for peace and security and for lasting political normalisation, as well as for humanitarian efforts and economic rehabilitation. We strongly support UNHCR's lead agency function in all refugee-related questions, in particular the protection and return of refugees and displaced persons and the crucial role undertaken by WFP, UNICEF, WHO, UNDP, UNHCHR and other members of the UN system. We look forward to the active involvement of relevant UN agencies in the South Eastern Europe Regional Table. We note that the UN Economic Commission for Europe has expertise which can usefully contribute to the proceedings of the Working Tables of the Stability Pact.

26. We note NATO's decision to increase cooperation with the countries of South Eastern Europe and its commitment to openness, as well as the intention of NATO, the Euro-Atlantic Partnership Council and the Partnership for Peace to work in cooperation with other Euro-Atlantic structures, to contribute to stability and security and to maintain and increase consultations with the countries of the region. We call for their engagement, in conformity with the objectives of the Pact, in regional security cooperation and conflict prevention and management. We welcome these stabilization activities aimed at promoting the objectives of this Pact. The enhanced use of NATO's consultative fora and mechanisms, the development of an EAPC cooperative mechanism and the increased use of Partnership for Peace programmes will serve the objectives of overall stability, cooperation and good-neighbourliness envisaged in the Pact. 27. The members of NATO and a substantial number of other participants underscore that the Alliance has an important role to play in achieving the objectives of the Pact, noting in particular NATO's recent decisions to reach out to countries of the region.

28. Having worked closely with the European Union to launch this Pact, the United States of America will continue to play a leading role in the development and implementation of the Pact, in cooperation with other participants and facilitators. We believe that the active role of the United States underscores the vital importance attached by countries of the region to their integration into Euro-Atlantic structures.

We note the United States' readiness to support this objective, as these countries work to become as strong candidates as possible for eventual membership in Euro-Atlantic institutions. We

welcome the ongoing contribution of the United States, including through economic and technical assistance programmes, and through its shared leadership in International financial Institutions, to the States of South Eastern Europe. The United States will coordinate and cooperate with the other donors to ensure the maximum effectiveness of assistance to the region.

29. Russia has played and continues to play a key role in the region. Russian efforts and contribution to achieving a peaceful solution of conflicts there, in particular of the Kosovo crisis, are appreciated. Having been involved at an early stage in the launching of this Pact, the Russian Federation will continue to play a leading and constructive role in development and implementation of the Pact, in cooperation with the EU, the UN, the OSCE, the Council of Europe, international economic and financial organisations and institutions, as well as regional initiatives and individual states. The Russian Federation can make a valuable contribution to activities aimed at promoting peace, security and post-conflict cooperation.

30. The IMF, the World Bank, the EBRD and the EIB, as the European Union financing institution, have a most important role to play, in accordance with their specific mandates, in supporting the countries in the region in achieving economic stabilisation, reform, and development of the region. We rely on them to develop a coherent international assistance strategy for the region and to promote sound macro-economic and structural policies by the countries concerned. We call on these International Financial Institutions to take an active part in the South Eastern Europe Regional Table and the relevant Working Tables,

31. We note the OECD's unique strength as a forum for dialogue on medium-term structural policy and best practices. We rely on the OECD in consideration of its well-known competence in dealing with economies in transition and its open dialogue with the countries of South Eastern Europe, to take an active part in the South Eastern Europe Regional Table and to assist in the process of economic reconstruction, the strengthening of good governance and administrative capacities and the further integration of affected States into the European and global economy.

32. We welcome the role which the WEU plays in promoting stability in the region. We note in this respect the contribution to security the WEU makes, at the request of the European Union, through its missions in countries in the region.

33. We stress our interest in viable regional initiatives and organisations which foster friendly cooperation between neighbouring States. We welcome sub-regional cooperation schemes between participating countries. We will endeavour to ensure cooperation and coordination between these initiatives and the Stability Pact, which will be mutually reinforcing. We will build on their relevant achievements.

34. We note that the Royaumont process has already established a dynamic framework for cooperation in the area of democracy and civil society. Therefore, Royaumont has a key role to play in this area, particularly within the framework of the first Working Table of the Stability Pact,

35. We note the role of the Organization of the Black Sea Economic Cooperation in promoting mutual understanding, improving the overall political climate and fostering economic development in the Black Sea region. Welcoming its engagement to peace, security and stability through economic cooperation, we invite the BSEC to contribute to the implementation of the Stability Pact for South Eastern Europe.

36. We note that the Central European Initiative has established, with countries in the region, a stable and integrated framework of dialogue, coordination and cooperation in the political, economic, cultural and parliamentary fields. On the basis of its experience, it has an important role to play in the framework of the South Eastern Europe Regional Table.

37. We note that the South East Europe Cooperation Initiative (SECI) has developed an innovative approach to economic and infrastructure related cooperation in the region by facilitating joint decision-making by the South Eastern European countries in its areas of activity. As such, it has a key role to play concerning regional economic issues, in particular the removal of disincentives to private investment in the region, in the framework of the Stability Pact,

38. We commend the South Eastern Europe Cooperation Process as a further successful regional cooperation scheme. We encourage its further development and institutionalisation, including the finalisation of its charter on good-neighbourly relations and cooperation.

39. We note the contribution in the security dimension of the South Eastern European Defence Ministers (SEDM) group, which has brought the countries of the region and other nations into a variety of cooperative activities which enhance transparency and mutual confidence, such as the new Multinational Peace-Keeping Force for South East Europe.

40. We expect the proposed Conference on the Adriatic and Ionian Sea region to provide a positive contribution to the region.

41. We reaffirm our strong commitment to support reconstruction, stabilisation and integration for the region, and call upon the international donor community to participate generously. We welcome the progress made by the World Bank and the European Union, through the European Commission, towards establishing a donor coordination process. This process will closely interact with the relevant Working Table, and will identify appropriate modalities to administer and channel international assistance. The World Bank and the European Commission will also be responsible for coordinating a comprehensive approach for regional development and the necessary donors conferences.

42. Effective implementation of this Pact will depend on the development and the strengthening of administrative and institutional capacity as well as civil society in the countries concerned T both at national and local level - in order to reinforce the consolidation of democratic structures and have longer-term benefits for effective administration and absorption of international assistance for the region.

43. The South Eastern Europe Regional Table and the Working Tables will be convened for their inaugural meetings at the earliest possible opportunity at the invitation of the Presidency of the European Union. They will work to achieve concrete results according to agreed timeliness in conformity with the objectives of the Stability Pact, The South Eastern Europe Regional Table will meet periodically, at a level to be determined, to review progress made by the Working Tables. The South Eastern Europe Regional Table will provide guidance to the Working Tables.

*Annex: Organisation of the South Eastern Europe Regional Table and the Working Tables of the Stability Pact for South Eastern Europe*

A. The South Eastern Europe Regional Table will carry forward the Stability Pact by acting as a clearing house for all questions of principle relating to the substance and implementation of the

Stability Pact as well as a steering body in the Stability Pact process. The South Eastern Europe Regional Table will provide guidance to the Working Tables.

B. The Working Tables are instruments for maintaining and improving good-neighbourly relations in the region by constructively addressing and facilitating the resolution of the issues entrusted to them. The objectives of the Working Tables will be in particular:

- the discussion of issues in a multilateral framework conducive to the definition of ways to address shortfalls and to the settlement of differences by arrangements and agreements, drawing on the expertise and support of participants as well as facilitator States, Organisations, Institutions and regional initiatives, in particular from the OSCE and the Council of Europe;
- the identification of projects aimed at facilitating the achievement of arrangements, agreements and measures in conformity with the objectives of the Pact. Special attention is to be given to projects which involve two and more countries in the region.
- where necessary, the injection of momentum in areas where further progress should be achieved.

C. Each Working Table will address the following range of issues and will decide, as appropriate, whether the establishment of sub-tables, comprising the participants and facilitators, will be necessary;

- Working Table on democratisation and human rights, which will address:
  - democratisation and human rights, including the rights of persons belonging to national minorities; free and independent media; civil society building; rule of law and law enforcement: institution building; efficient administration and good governance; development of common rules of conduct on border related questions; other related questions of interest to the participants;
  - refugee issues, including protection and return of refugees and displaced persons;
- Working Table on economic reconstruction, development and cooperation, including economic cooperation in the region and between the region and the rest of Europe and the world; promotion of free trade areas; border-crossing transport; energy supply and savings; deregulation and transparency; infrastructure; promotion of private sector business; environmental issues; sustainable reintegration of refugees; other related questions of interest to the participants, while maintaining the integrity of the donor coordination process;
- Working Table on security issues, which will:
  - address justice and home affairs, as well as migratory issues; focus on measures to combat organized crime, corruption, terrorism and all criminal and illegal activities, transboundary environmental hazards; other related questions of interest to the participants;
  - receive regular information from the competent bodies addressing transparency and confidence-building measures in the region. This Table will also encourage continued implementation of the Dayton/Paris Article IV Arms Control Agreement and progress of the negotiations of Article V, and should consider whether, at an appropriate time, further arms

control, security and confidence building measures might be addressed, by the competent bodies, taking into account existing obligations and commitments under the CFE Treaty.

- receive regular information from the competent bodies addressing cooperation on defence/military issues aimed at enhancing stability in the region and among countries in the region, and facilitate the sustained engagement of all concerned to ensure regional security, conflict prevention and management. The work of this Table will complement and be coherent with efforts for the security of this region undertaken by various European and Euro-Atlantic initiatives and structures.

D. The Working Tables will establish work plans in conformity with the objectives of the Stability Pact. Within the range of their competence, they can establish side tables or call meetings and conferences on matters of a specific or sub-regional nature. In this context, special attention is to be given to fostering the exchange between private citizens (in particular youth), societal groups, entrepreneurs and companies as well as non-governmental organisations and their respective counterparts in the various countries of the region. They will, in particular, pay attention to the coherence and consistency of their work with existing activities and seek to promote complementarity and synergy, as well as avoid duplication, with existing activities.

E. The Chairmanship of the Working Tables will be established by the South Eastern Europe Regional Table. The Working Tables will report to the South Eastern Europe Regional Table. The respective chairs of the South Eastern Europe Regional Table and the Working Tables will meet periodically and as necessary to discuss and coordinate the activities of the Working Tables and to monitor progress.

F. The location and timing of the individual Working Tables should be arranged to facilitate, to the extent possible, the attendance of participants who may take part in more than one Working Table, without excluding different Tables developing their own calendars according to their respective dynamics. Tables could take place either in rotation in the countries of the region or at the invitation of individual countries or of the European Union or in Vienna, at the venue of the Permanent Council of the OSCE.

G. The host country, or host Organisation, should provide at its expense meeting facilities, such as conference rooms, secretarial assistance and interpretation. The European Union has expressed its readiness to bear such expenses when meetings are held at the seat of its institutions.

1. Bulgaria, Croatia, the Russian Federation, Slovenia and Turkey recognize the Republic of Macedonia under its constitutional name.
2. The Federal Republic of Yugoslavia is one of the successor states of the former Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia

## **2000 Okinawa, Japan**

### *G8 Statement on Regional Issues*

#### The Balkans

The G8 remains committed to supporting peace, stability, foreign and national investment, and development in South Eastern Europe. Towards this goal, we call upon all parties concerned in the region to refrain from violence and to promote further their mutual co-operation, and we

reiterate the importance of promoting harmony among ethnic groups and creating the conditions for co-existence among all communities. We welcome contributions supporting South Eastern Europe made by states and international organisations, in particular by the EU, which plans a Summit with the western Balkan countries. We commend the co-ordination provided by the Stability Pact which is contributing to enhanced regional political and economic co-operation in South Eastern Europe. We also welcome the 2.4 billion Euro in pledges for quick-start projects in the fields of democratisation, economic development and security under the Stability Pact. We will meet our financial commitments, and urge countries in the region to intensify their efforts for reform. We give our strong support to the projects being implemented by the World Bank, European Commission, European Investment Bank, and European Bank for Reconstruction and Development within the framework of the Stability Pact.

We reaffirm our commitment to the full implementation of the UNSCR 1244 and underline our support for the efforts made by the UN, the EU, KFOR and the OSCE. Successful and carefully prepared municipal elections in Kosovo will be an important step in the establishment of a democratic and multi-ethnic society, and we urge all communities in Kosovo to refrain from violence and to help build such a society.

We look forward to a democratic Federal Republic of Yugoslavia so that it can be reintegrated in the international community and play its rightful part in contributing to the stability of the entire region. We are very concerned by the motivation for and the possible consequences of the revision of the FRY Constitution. We call on the government in Belgrade to refrain from any action which could contribute to the further escalation of violence. We also call on the opposition to contribute to the peaceful democratic development of the FRY. We strongly oppose the recent restrictions on the free press in the FRY. We welcome the continued consolidation of democracy in Montenegro, reiterate our support for its democratically elected authorities, and urge them to continue to practice restraint.

## **2001 Genoa, Italy**

### *G8 Statement on Regional Issues*

1. ...*Fyrom/Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia*: We regard peace and stability in FYROM as a crucial objective. We strongly urge all parties in FYROM to display maximum responsibility in order to contribute to the rapid success of the ongoing political dialogue. We support the FYROM government and its commitment to preserve the sovereignty, territorial integrity and unity of the country. We condemn any use of violence in pursuit of political aims. We welcome the parties' commitment to a cessation of hostilities and invite them to respect it rigorously and indefinitely. We call on all armed groups to disarm and disband voluntarily. Only peaceful political solutions can assure a democratic and truly multi-ethnic future for all citizens of FYROM. We encourage the adoption and implementation of those constitutional and legislative measures in FYROM that ensure the participation of all citizens in the political life of the country and the highest respect for the identity and rights of all communities according to the principles of non-discrimination and equal treatment. The efforts of the representatives of the international community in FYROM to facilitate the political dialogue among the parties are necessary and should continue. We support the idea of convening a donors conference following the establishment of a durable peace and a successful conclusion of a political agreement between the parties.

**2002 Kananaskis, Canada**

No references.

**2003 Evian, France**

No references.

**2004 Sea Island, United States**

No references.

**2005 Gleneagles, United Kingdom**

No references.

**2006 St. Petersburg, Russia**

No references.

**2007 Heiligendamm, Germany**

*Chair's Summary*

Foreign Policy and Security Issues

We addressed the issue of the future status of Kosovo and UN Special Envoy Martti Ahtisaari's comprehensive proposal submitted to the UN Security Council by the UN Secretary General on 26 March 2007. While there continue to be different views on substance and on the way forward, we will remain engaged on the issue.

**2008 Hokkaido-Toyako, Japan**

No references.

**2009 L'Aquila, Italy**

No references.