

# NEW BALKANS AND EUROPE – PEACE DEVELOPMENT INTEGRATION

*Proceedings of the Ninth ECPD  
International Conference on  
RECONCILIATION, TOLERANCE AND  
HUMAN SECURITY IN THE BALKANS*

*Editors:*

*Takehiro Togo / Negoslav P. Ostojić / Jonathan Bradley*



EUROPEAN CENTER FOR PEACE AND DEVELOPMENT  
UNIVERSITY FOR PEACE EST. BY THE UNITED NATIONS



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# INTRODUCTION

RECONCILIATION, TOLERANCE AND HUMAN SECURITY IN THE  
BALKANS – NEW BALKANS AND EUROPE – PEACE, DEVELOPMENT,  
INTEGRATION

**PROCEEDINGS OF THE NINTH ECPD INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE**

BELGRADE, OCTOBER 21–22, 2013

The Ninth ECPD International Conference on “National and Inter-Ethnic Reconciliation, Inter-Religious Tolerance and Human Security in the Balkans” (hereinafter referred to as the Ninth Conference) was held in Belgrade, on October 21–22, 2013. It represented a continuation of the implementation of the ECPD international research and educational projects under the same name, initiated in 2005 and realized through the organisation of annual conferences and the work of the ECPD International Permanent Study Group (IPSG).

All ECPD annual conferences and IPSG activities were devoted to the same goal: contribution to the strengthening of peace and development in the region through inter-national/inter-ethnic reconciliation and inter-religious tolerance in the Balkans and beyond. Most of the conferences were devoted to specific topics relevant to the conditions in Europe in general and its south-eastern region, the Balkans, in particular. The Ninth Conference was devoted primarily to the “**New Balkans and Europe – Peace, Development, Integration**”.

The Ninth Conference was an occasion to mark the 30th Anniversary of the existence and work of ECPD. Besides the reports on ECPD status, current and future activities presented by ECPD leading governing and executive officers, the reception and a piano recital were organized and held.

On the second day of the Ninth Conference, October 22, 16:00–20:00, two ECPD International Roundtables were organized and held: on the Global South and the First ECPD Youth Forum. The Global South was attended mostly by participants of the Ninth Conference, while the First ECPD Youth Forum by representatives of universities, youth organisations and sports. Reports and other materials of these events will be published separately.

The Ninth Conference was attended by 200 participants, prominent scientific and public figures from almost all parts of the world. High for-

mer and current governmental officials (nine at the ministerial level and a few former heads of state), representatives of national academies of sciences and arts (ten presidents and/or members of the academies), professors from numerous prestigious European, American and Japanese universities, directors and members of several research institutes and centres, chiefs and/or representatives of the diplomatic missions in Serbia – the ECPD host country and neighbouring states (seventeen ambassadors and twenty-one charge d'affaires, councillors and secretaries) and others attended the Conference and took part in its work. The Ninth Conference was attended by a number of journalists from almost all major news agencies in the region who monitored, interviewed distinguished participants and widely reported on the work and importance of the Conference.

The Ninth Conference was chaired by H.E. Prof. Albert Maes, a distinguished Belgian diplomat and President of the ECPD Executive Board. The President of the ECPD Honorary Council, H.E. Boutros Boutros-Ghali, former UN Secretary-General, was unable to attend the Conference, but sent his Message/Statement which was presented accordingly. H.E. Yasushi Akashi, former Deputy UN Secretary-General and Special Representative for Former Yugoslavia, confirmed his attendance, but in the end he sent, instead, his Greeting Address which was presented to the participants as well.

Apart from the Chairman's Opening Remarks, Boutros Boutros-Ghali's and Yasushi Akashi's welcome messages were presented, high ECPD governing and executive officials submitted their reports – H.E. Professor. Albert. Maes, President of the ECPD Executive Board on the ECPD activities over 30 years, Professor Don Wallace, President of the ECPD Academic Council on the Role and Status of the ECPD, Professor Jonathan Bradley, Vice-President of the ECPD Council on the Future of ECPD Activities and Professor Wolfgang Wolte on the Tasks and Objectives of the Ninth Conference. As anticipated, keynote speeches were delivered by Professors Johan Galtung, Founder and the first Director of the Peace Research Institute in Oslo (PRIO), Norway, on The Balkans in the Process of Integration in a Global Framework; Professor

Dr. Erhard Busek, Former Vice-Chancellor of Austria, a.d. and Special Coordinator of the Stability Pact for SEE, on the Changes around the Balkans – Not only in the Economy; and Professor Darko Tanasković, University of Belgrade, on the New Balkans between Globalisation and Regionalization.

More than one third of other participants presented their papers and/or spoke about current and acute issues indicated in the Agenda and

beyond. A majority of others took part in the discussions which were very active and dynamic. Most of the presented papers and recorded speeches are included in these proceedings.

The papers presented at the Ninth Conference are arranged in the following thematic order:

- Messages/Greetings, Reports, and Keynote Speeches,
- European Union: Post-crisis Challenges and Enlargement Policy,
- New Balkans in Multifaceted Globalisation and European Integration,
- Environmental Protection – Contribution to Peace and Development.

## PRESENTED MESSAGES, PAPERS, SPEECHES

### 1. Messages, reports and keynote speeches

Papers presented during the Opening ceremony could be selected in three groups – messages and greetings, reports on the ECPD activities and keynote speeches.

In his Message/Statement, H.E. Prof. **Boutros Boutros-Ghali**, President of the ECPD Honorary Council, highly appreciated ECPD activities focused on the promotion of peace, development and international cooperation. He referred to his involvement in the Yugoslav-Egyptian cooperation, Non-Aligned Movement activities and on “not a happy event” – the dissolution of Yugoslavia at the time when he was UN Secretary-General. Boutros Boutros-Ghali congratulated and supported the actual and future ECPD activities. Being unable to attend the event, H.E. **Yasushi Akashi** in his Greeting message congratulated the ECPD on 30th Anniversary and appraised ECPD success, but, as far as the Balkans is concerned, still “much needs to be done to achieve true reconciliation and mutual trust”.

Professor **Don Wallace** in his Report on Role and Status of ECPD appreciated ECPD founders and others who contributed to ECPD successful work and international affirmation. He elaborated briefly on the status of the ECPD and its activities in not so favourable circumstances, while Professor **Jonathan Bradley**, speaking on the future of the ECPD activities, emphasized the further development of an institutional network, and new initiatives throughout the region, especially in Pula and Prishtina to address key emerging issues. Referring to the participants, Professor **Wolfgang Wolte**, pleaded that “again and again a call for new ideas, for a vision for the future can and should be heard” from here. According to Professor Wolte, the economic situation in the EU, fortunately, has been brought under control, but “a shocking number of unemployed

is the most painful problem facing the Union” Prof. Wolte noticed that prospects for the membership of the six Balkan countries were positive, however internal reforms were still badly needed.

Speaking on the Balkan's integration processes, Professor **Johan Gal-tung** in his keynote speech referred briefly to the Balkan's past and its recent events. He was looking for its perspective in the circumstances of being exposed to expansionistic religions, strategic and political big powers tendencies. Professor **Erhard Busek** in his keynote speech said that the “economy in Europe is moving up”. According to his opinion there are good opportunities for the Balkan countries to advance, but most of them are still fighting with their internal and interstate problems, while Bosnia and Herzegovina and Macedonia are marked in the maps as “black holes”. Professor **Darko Tanasković** speaking on New Balkans between globalisation and regionalization defined more precisely the meaning of the term “New Balkans” and reiterated its position within contemporary Europe. Prof. Tanasković analysed the strategic importance of the Balkan region and the struggle of the big powers for their presence and influence on the Balkans.

H.E. Prof. **Takehiro Togo**, president of the ECPD Council, was unable to attend the conference for health reasons. Very sadly he subsequently passed away in April 2014. Before his death he agreed that his report on the “**West Balkan Situation and ECPD Activities**” of the WPF DC 6th Conference, Rhodes, Greece, October 9-13, 2008 could be included in these proceedings, and we publish it here in grateful honour of his memory.

## **2. European Union: Post-Crisis Challenges and Enlargement Policy**

Developments in the New Balkans still depend to a large degree on the European Union, its internal situation, foreign policy and enlargement strategy. Therefore, the first plenary session was devoted to considerations of the EU post-crisis situation and enlargement policy. Speaking about alternative visions for a European future, Professor **Jonathan Bradley** analysed some of the major forces likely to influence the future course of European integration. He drew particular attention to the dangers posed by the resurgence of nationalist sentiments and by the evolution of attitudes towards European integration amongst younger people. He further emphasised the importance of confronting the realities of changed circumstances. Professor **Pasquale Baldocci** in his speech referred briefly to the history of the idea of the Common Market and its evolutionary realisation. He analysed the current situation in the European Union, stressing



that it needs additional reforms and strengthening of its political unity, while PhD **Armand Clesse**, speaking on the “Europe after the European Union”, reconsidered weaknesses and wrong doing of the European Union as well as what kind “a post EU-Europe” will be. Professor **Jovan Manasi-jevski** in his presented paper was looking for the position of the European Union in the transition of the unipolar into a multipolar international order. He also considers how this new world constellation and the European Union's adjustments could reflect upon Balkan countries, their peace and development.

In her presented paper “Euro-Regions: Time for Reinforced Cooperation?”, Dr **Myrienne Coen** started with Mr. Baroso's quotation. “I recognize, the EU is not perfect”, but through further research she found out that there is not something better. Ms. Coen identified numerous deficiencies in the EU functions, but at the same time she continued to look for what Europe could and should be. Professor **Silvo Devetak**, speaking on European integration, took into consideration the conditions and circumstances of establishment and work of macro-regions within the European Union. His main topic, however, was the Adriatic-Ionian macro-region – its history, existence, function and future perspective.

Professor **Nano Ružin** started his paper “The New European Balkans and the Challenges of European Enlargement Process” with the geopolitical definition of the Balkans and continued to analyze the identified problems facing the Balkan countries. Professor Ružin also analyzed the economic and political perspectives of the Balkans both inside and outside of the European Union. Involved in research into Bulgaria's road inside the European Union,

Mr. **Plamen Ivanov** analyzed the problems Bulgaria encountered after that accession, particularly in the last two or three years. Mr. Ivanov penetrated deeply into problems the Bulgarian Government was faced with and took into consideration the causes and consequences of mass protests in the streets in Sofia and other Bulgarian cities.

### **3. The New Balkans facing Multifaceted Globalisation and the European Integration**

Speaking about Balkans perspective regarding peace and integration, Academician **Vlado Kambovski** asserted that peace cannot be secured by war or any kind of violence but rather by respecting and understanding. In that respect, for the Balkan peoples and states moral and intellectual revolutions are needed. Academician **Oleg Bogomolov** thought that negotiations process regarding accession of the Balkan countries in the European

Union is too complicated and demanding. According to his opinion integration of the Balkan countries in the European Union would not affect good opinion of Russian's relations with these states. Academician Bogomolov reconsidered relations between Moscow and Brussels and pleaded for a new Eurasian union. Prof. Dr **Miodrag Vuković**, presenting his topic "Regional Cooperation as a Way of Reconciliation" elaborated briefly the past and present of the Balkans as well as Montenegro as a "new and old state". Accession of Montenegro to European Union and NATO is a strategic goal, but according to Prof. Vuković, it cannot be achieved without inter-country and regional cooperation, while mutual understanding is a prerequisite for reconciliation and tolerance. Prof. Dr. **Boris Shmelev** in his paper surveyed briefly Serbia's stand towards the European (Euro-Atlantic) integration and emphasized that Serbia-EU relations directly concern Russia's interests in the Balkans. Referring to contemporary Serbian foreign policy, Professor Shmelev observed that Serbia is in a very delicate situation being stretched between EU and Russia.

Academician **Paskal Milo**, speaking at the ECPD 30th Anniversary, highly praised ECPD accomplishments in the promotion of peace and stability in the Balkans. Referring to the relations between Serbia and Kosovo, Academician Milo with a great appreciation talked about Brussels negotiations which are marking a new era in the relations between Serbs and Kosovo Albanians and their cohabitation. Prof. Dr. **Jove Kekenovski** in his presented paper analyses the geopolitical position of Macedonia, being squeezed between West and East – "the West doesn't sign Macedonia in and the East has already signed it out". Professor Kekenovski deliberates the obstacles the Macedonian government encounters in the way to the accession to the EU and considers probability of "an alternative to the east for the Republic of Macedonia". Professor **Nobuhiro Shiba** in his talk about Western Balkan countries focused on these main points: the process of their accession to the European Union and on the Balkan regional cooperation, while **Aleksandar Plavšić**, PhD Candidate, in his presented paper analyzed the Serbian road to the European Union's accession. On that road he reconsidered obstacles Serbia had to overcome – from stabilization and association, through the candidate status and accession negotiations up to further processes.

Associate Professor **Nikola Popovski**, in his paper "Prospects for a Dynamic Economic Growth in the Balkans" analyzed impacts of the world crisis upon economies of the Balkan countries, presenting the cycles of recovery and decline. Based on such analysis, Professor Popovski tried to foresee future growth of the Balkans economies and concluded

that “...dynamic and sustainable growth in the Balkan economies will be postponed again on mid-term”. Professor **Ezio Benedetti** in his paper on the minority rights protection took into consideration the European legal framework related to that subject matter as well as main legal aspects concerning minority protection in the Western Balkan countries. Based on his research into that matter, Professor Benedetti concluded that “...while legal framework in the Western Balkans reflects the European standards, implementation is considerably lagging behind”. Professor **Boško Bojović** paper “Guerre, Diplomatie Et Implications Humanitaires Les Balkans Entre Arbitrages Et Domination Au XXI Siècle” (War, Diplomacy and Humanitarian Implications – The Balkans between Arbitration and Domination in the 21st Century) dealing with the recent history of The Balkan peoples is published in French.

#### **4. Environmental Protection – Contribution to Peace and Development**

According to Professor **Arthur Lyon Dahl** two major themes preoccupy the contemporary world: development and sustainability. As far as development is concerned, an increasing gap between developed and underdeveloped economies threatens peace and stability, while “our present material civilization seems increasingly unsustainable”. Professor **Timi Ećimović** in his presented paper dealing with nature and climate change warned that demographic explosion, inter alia, “threaten the long lasting of Homo sapiens – modern world citizen survival”. He, nevertheless, reconsidered present state of the planet Earth and tried to trace a “path needed for survival of global community of mankind”.

Speaking about the relationship between mankind and the environment, Ms. **Margarita Matlievska** said that the “gap between man and nature is growing”. In her further speech she deliberated on how mankind can sustain modern civilization on Earth “without destroying itself and the nature”, and referred to philosophies of Anthropocentrism and Ecocentrism which could offer answers to that crucial question.

Professor **Christo Kaftandjiev** in his presented article analyzed, in an interesting way, some of the best communicative strategies in promoting the idea of peace. He especially analyzed the impact of musical sounds on “highly inspiring communications for war or for peace”, while Ms. **Teodora Kostovska** in her paper considered causes and consequences of alienation and lack of human values and suggested implementation of

integrative medicine. She referred as well to harmful human activities towards the environment and called for its protection

**More details about the above expressed views, suggestions and recommendations can be found in the papers presented in these Proceedings. However, the views expressed in these papers are solely the views of the authors and are not necessarily shared by the European Center for Peace and Development as the organizer of the Conference, nor the publisher of the Proceedings.**

Editors

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<b>Cvetanovski, Nebojša</b>	Managing Director, Intereuropa Skopje, Macedonia
<b>Cvijetić, Slobodan</b>	President, Foundation of Health and Heart, Banja Luka, BiH
<b>Čukalović, Ivan</b>	Judge, Constitutional Court, Kosovo
<b>Dahl Lyon, Arthur</b>	Professor, UNEP University of Geneva, Switzerland
<b>Dakhin, Andrey</b>	Professor, Head of the Department of Philosophy and Political Science, Nizhny Novgorod, Russian Federation
<b>Dašić, David</b>	Ambassador, Professor, ECPD UP UN
<b>Davis, Joseph Winn</b>	University of Glasgow, Budapest Corvinus Egyetem
<b>Del Bianco, Daniele</b>	Professor, Director, Institute of International Sociology, Gorizia, Italy
<b>Devetak, Silvo</b>	Director, Center for Ethnic and Sociological Studies, University of Maribor, Slovenia
<b>Dimitrovski, Robert</b>	Professor, FON University, Skopje
<b>Domazet, Tihomir</b>	Professor, University of Zagreb, Croatia
<b>Domljan, Vjekoslav</b>	Ambassador, Professor, University of Sarajevo, BiH
<b>Ećimović, Timi</b>	Chairman, School of Environmental Sciences Ansted University, British Virgin Islands and Penang, Malaysia
<b>Fetai, Besnik</b>	Professor, University Štulov, Macedonia
<b>Fujita, Makoto</b>	General Manager MITSUI & Co., Budapest Office
<b>Georgiou, Theodossis</b>	Chairman, Greek Association for Atlantic and European Cooperation, Greece
<b>Gošović, Branislav</b>	ECPD Expert, Geneva, Switzerland
<b>Hasenau, Michael</b>	Head of Political Department, Embassy of Germany in Serbia
<b>Hutin, Gonzague</b>	President, Euroscopie-Eurometrie, Paris, France
<b>Ivanov, Plamen</b>	Atlantic club of Bulgaria
<b>Izberović, Amel</b>	Director, Findomestic Bank
<b>Jeftić, Zoran</b>	Professor, Faculty of Security Studies, Belgrade, Serbia
<b>Jovanović, Miroslav</b>	Professor, UN Economic Commission for Europe, Geneva
<b>Kaftandžiev, Christo</b>	Professor, University of Sofia, Bulgaria
<b>Kapor Stanulović, Nila</b>	Professor, University of Novi Sad, and Professor ECPD UPUN
<b>Kekale, Tauno</b>	Rector, Vaasa Applied University, Finland
<b>Kekenovski, Jove</b>	Professor, University, 'St. Kliment Ohridski' – Bitola, Faculty of Tourism and Hospitality, Ohrid, Macedonia
<b>Kekenovski, Ljubomir</b>	Professor, Ss. Cyril and Methodius University, Faculty of Economy, Macedonia
<b>Kirilov, Kamen</b>	Faculty of Political Science, University of Sofia, Bulgaria
<b>Koruga, Đuro</b>	Professor, Faculty of Mechanical Engineering, Belgrade, Serbia
<b>Kožuharov, Sašo</b>	Dean, University of Tourism and Management in Skopje, Macedonia
<b>Kukić, Damir</b>	Professor, University of Tuzla, Bosnia and Herzegovina

<b>Kunič, Jožef</b>	Ambassador, Slovenian Association for International Relations (SDMO), Slovenia
<b>Lang, Slobodan</b>	Former Ambassador, Member of European Council, Croatian Parliament, IPU, Zagreb, Croatia
<b>Lang, Jeremy</b>	Secretary, Embassy of Great Britain in Serbia
<b>Lecaque, Patrick</b>	Director, Center for International Education, Truman State University, USA
<b>Levett, Jeffrey</b>	Professor, National School of Public Health, Athens, Greece
<b>Lindgen, Matthias</b>	Lawyer, Embassy of Germany in Serbia
<b>Lvova, Marina</b>	Professor, University of Massachusetts, Boston, USA
<b>Mamonova, Irena</b>	Head of High School of Business of SBMT BSU, Belarus
<b>Manasijevski, Jovan</b>	Former Minister for Social Policy and Minister of Defence of Macedonia, Centre for Security Studies, Macedonia
<b>Marić, Jovan</b>	President, Center for Inter-Religious Dialogue, Belgrade
<b>Martynova, Marina</b>	Russian Academy of Sciences and Arts, Moscow, Russian Federation
<b>Matlievska, Margarita</b>	Professor, Faculty of Economics of the University “Goce Delchev” – Stip
<b>Milinović, Momčilo</b>	Professor, Faculty of Mechanical Engineering, University of Belgrade, Serbia
<b>Milo, Paskal</b>	Former Minister of Foreign Affairs of Albania, Professor, University of Tirana, Albania
<b>Mitrojorgji, Nasi</b>	Director, Institute of European Study ‘Marin Barleti’ University, Tirana, Albania
<b>Mitsakos, Alik</b>	Chairperson, Education and Science Committee, Greek Association for Atlantic & European Cooperation, Greece
<b>Nakagawara, Shunsuke</b>	Director, Russia CIS Baltics Business Development Center, Mitsui Global Strategic Studies Institute
<b>Nedeljković, Yves</b>	Professor, Director of ECPD Postgraduate Social Studies
<b>Očić, Časlav</b>	Academician, Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts
<b>Ojeda, Alfonso</b>	Professor, Complutense University of Madrid, Spain
<b>Perišin, Tena</b>	Professor, Faculty of Political Sciences, University of Zagreb, Croatia
<b>Piacquadio, Antonietta</b>	Professor, Cultural and Educational Centre of the University of Trieste and Gorizia, Gorizia, Italy
<b>Popović, Vitomir</b>	Professor, Dean, Faculty of Law, University of Banja Luka, BiH
<b>Popovski, Nikola</b>	Former Minister of Finance in the Government of Macedonia, Faculty of Law, European University, Macedonia
<b>Rocco, Gianluca</b>	Regional Coordinator for the Western Balkans, International Organisation for Migration, Sarajevo, BiH
<b>Ružin, Nano</b>	Dean, Faculty of Political Sciences, FON University, Skopje, Macedonia

<b>Sadriu, Prindon</b>	Director for International Relations, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Kosovo
<b>Samandari Hakim, Christine</b>	Communauté Internationale Baha'ie, Paris
<b>Savio, Roberto</b>	President Emeritus, IPS, Italy
<b>Shiba, Nobuhiro</b>	Professor, University of Tokyo, Japan
<b>Shmelev, Boris</b>	Director, Centre for Political Research, Russian Academy of Sciences and Arts, Moscow, Russian Federation
<b>Sonntag, Mark</b>	Lawyer, Embassy of Germany in Serbia
<b>Stipetić, Vladimir</b>	Academician, Professor, University of Zagreb, Croatia
<b>Tomović-Šundić, Sonja</b>	Dean, Faculty of Political Sciences, University of Montenegro, Adviser for Human Rights, Cabinet of the President of Montenegro
<b>Van Zabner, Antoinette</b>	Professor, University of Music and Performing Arts, Vienna, Austria
<b>Vllasi, Azem</b>	Lawyer, Prishtina
<b>Vulić, Duško</b>	Professor, University of Banja Luka, BiH
<b>Xhufi, Pellumb</b>	Professor, Albanian History Institute, Tirana, Albania
<b>Zgrabljic-Rotar, Nada</b>	Professor, University of Zadar, Croatia
<b>Aigner-Monarth, Elisabeth</b>	University of Music and Performing Arts, Vienna, Austria
<b>Čudoska, Irina</b>	Faculty of Political Science, FON-University, Skopje, Macedonia
<b>Doufa, Vivian</b>	Active member, ZONTA International
<b>Ingruber, Daniela</b>	Assistant Professor, Media, Conflict and Peace Studies, University for Peace, San Jose, Costa Rica
<b>Kekale, Hannah</b>	Researcher, Abo Akademi – Political Sciences, Vaasa University, Finland



I | WELCOME MESSAGES,  
GREETINGS, REPORT ON THE  
30<sup>TH</sup> ECPD ANNIVERSARY,  
KEYNOTE SPEECHES





H.E. BOUTROS BOUTROS-GHALI

FORMER UN GENERAL-SECRETARY,  
PRESIDENT OF THE ECPD HONORARY COUNCIL

## STATEMENT ON THE OCCASION OF THE ECPD 30TH ANNIVERSARY AND THE NINTH ECPD INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE

Mr. Chairman, Your Excellencies,

Mr. Executive Director, Ladies and Gentlemen, Friends,

This statement is a poor substitute for my non-presence at this important 30<sup>th</sup> anniversary conference of ECPD.

I regret greatly not to have been able to attend in person. I was hoping to travel from Paris to Belgrade for the occasion. However, I was suddenly requested to return from Paris to Cairo by my government on urgent business. This, and my health situation which does not allow me long distance and frequent air travel, have prevented me from keeping my promise.

Nevertheless, I am here with you in spirit. When I accepted the honorary chairmanship of ECPD Council, I signalled that it would be difficult for me to be actively involved in its work. But, I was very happy and pleased to be associated with ECPD activities, and to give my support to its exceptional efforts reflected in the title of its programme: **“National and interethnic reconciliation, religious tolerance and human security in the Balkans”**.

Dear friends,

My acceptance of the honorary chairmanship was also prompted by my decades-long involvement with and affection for this region.

These links began in the very early days of my career, when I took part in close cooperation between Egypt and Yugoslavia. These two countries, under the leadership of Nasser and Tito, together with India and Nehru, played an outstanding role in the anti-colonial movement, and in the rise of the developing countries on the world scene and the birth of the Non-Aligned Movement and the Group of 77.

It is during this period that I acquired deep admiration for this country, its peoples' heroic national liberation struggle during World War II,

and its achievements in post war reconstruction, development and industrialization.

Most of all, I was impressed by its influential role in the global arena, where it “punched above its weight”, as they say in boxing, and was in the same league as the major world powers. It demonstrated that even a small or medium size country, relatively underdeveloped and poor can play a leadership role in the United Nations and in international affairs. This it can do if it has leaders with vision, and stands for goals and objectives which reflect aspirations of world peoples, and matter to world peace and development. This explains the high reputation and affection that former Yugoslavia enjoyed, and continues to enjoy, in developing countries and among their peoples, more than two decades since this country is no longer on the world map.

The second period of my involvement was not a happy one. It took place while I was the UN Secretary-General, during the days of the breakup of Yugoslavia and the civil war that accompanied it.

I experienced great sadness to see the country slide into chaos, inhuman, fratricidal civil war and disintegration. I was also extremely unhappy that we in the UN and the international community were unable or unwilling to prevent this in time and before the country fell off the cliff, by helping it to overcome its deep problems and by addressing both their internal and external causes.

While this may not have been evident at the time, this was a historic failure. What happened in this country foreshadowed the events in the period that followed, and tragedies that have engulfed a number of developing countries, including in my own region, and which have similar causal factors as the crisis of Yugoslavia.

The third period of my involvement concerns ECPD and my having accepted the chairmanship of its honorary council. I did so to show my commitment to the reconciliation of Balkan peoples and my deep conviction that their future is a common one.

I take this opportunity to congratulate ECPD on its thirtieth anniversary and commend the work that it has accomplished during this eventful and tumultuous period. I also wish to congratulate its Executive Director Mr. Ostojic, who has been at its helm from the very start. He has shown tremendous energy and imagination in steering ECPD and building it into an influential institution, working under the auspices of the UN University for Peace.

Mr. Chairman,

ECPD's mission is Peace and Development. The two are inseparable. Without peace there is no development, and without development there is no peace.

In its early days, ECPD did commendable and pioneering work on development finance and banking, dealing especially with the issues related to the world debt crisis and its repercussions and international financing of economic development. Today, these issues loom large on the world scene and are among the root causes of domestic and international turmoil and conflicts which endanger domestic and world stability and peace.

ECPD also focused on North-South and South-South cooperation, and produced a number of valuable publications and studies on this subject. In this domain as well, it was ahead of the time, before conditions propitious to South-South cooperation were in place.

I am thus very pleased to see that a round table on the Global South is organized following the main conference. This will give an opportunity to recall and recognize the important work of ECPD on development-related issues and South-South cooperation carried out in the earlier period. Hopefully, the round table will produce not only insights in what is the South today and what are its prospects in the future, but also some ideas and recommendations for possible future work by ECPD in this domain.

Without forgetting its broader mandate, ECPD is now significantly focusing its activities and efforts on the national and interethnic reconciliation in the Balkans. This is a unique undertaking that spans and brings together all countries and peoples of this region. And this is something that you participants of this conference will be occupied with.

I am especially pleased and congratulate ECPD on its efforts to involve the young, as those who will be leaders of their countries and peoples in the very near future. I welcome the holding of the round table for the young, where they will express their views and make their contribution to the process of reconciliation and cooperation.

As our generation gradually leaves the political scene, it is the young who will have the opportunity to build a better world and a happier future, including by learning from the past.

Friends,

In conclusion, it is my hope – as someone who has witnessed and participated in the global events of the last 70 years – that the young, upcoming generations in the Balkans will rebuild this great family and community

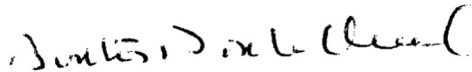
of nations, peoples, ethnic groups, and religions that Yugoslavia represented, and in this manner also contribute to the global development-peace undertaking which is the mission of ECPD.

This patch of land on the European soil referred to as the Balkans, brings into focus most of today's global problems and challenges. A positive example would no doubt send a signal to the international community at large that success is possible with hard work, mutual trust and understanding, enlightened leadership, knowledge, and a global vision which is needed to transcend the parochial and selfish perspectives which often predominate.

ECPD mandate and its activities to promote peace and development and international cooperation, as well as to overcome divisions and foster cooperation in the Balkans, point in this general direction. I wish it well in its future work.

Thank you.

Boutros Boutros-Ghali  
Former Secretary-General of the United Nations



YASUSHI AKASHI

FORMER UN UNDER SECRETARY-GENERAL;  
SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE FOR THE FORMER YUGOSLAVIA

## GREETINGS MESSAGE TO THE NINTH ECPD INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE

Excellencies and dear colleagues,

My absence due to ill health from the ECPD's 30<sup>th</sup> anniversary celebrations does not prevent me from sending to all of you my most fervent wish for very successful anniversary celebrations.

ECPD has been a beacon of peace and good-will in the Balkans since its establishment in 1983. I admire its persistence and commitment to uphold high aims of peace and stability in the region through its active educational and research programmes as well as holding international meetings and discussions.

I agree with your assessment that the Western Balkan region is still in a state of tension and the wounds inflicted during the conflicts in the 1990s have not been fully healed. Much needs to be done to achieve true reconciliation and mutual trust.

My region, namely East Asia is also confronted with similar challenges. Despite remaining obstacles, let us work together in order to create a more peaceful, more humane and more rewarding world community.

With warmest regards,

Yours sincerely,

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'Yasushi Akashi', written in a cursive style.

Yasushi Akashi

DON WALLACE

PROF. DR., PRESIDENT OF THE INTERNATIONAL LAW INSTITUTE,  
WASHINGTON, USA, PRESIDENT OF THE ECPD ACADEMIC COUNCIL

## ROLE AND STATUS OF ECPD

1. In this, our 30<sup>th</sup> year of existence, it is useful to remember the personalities, events and the forces that account for our status and position, and our role and our mission
2. Our founders were Rodrigo Carazo, the President of Costa Rica and of the UN General Assembly, and Simonida Marjanovic of Sarajevo, the Vice President of UNESCO. On President Carazo's initiative, the General Assembly approved the establishment of the United Nations University for Peace (UPEACE) in 1980. The principal and original campus of UPEACE opened in Costa Rica two years later, with Carazo as its original president and Marjanovic its original vice president. ECPD, its European affiliate and campus, opened shortly thereafter, with, in the words of one of our founding documents, the 'same status' as its parent UPEACE.
3. ECPD is charged with responsibility for the area of the Helsinki Accords, an area that included Yugoslavia. At all times we have been financially self-sufficient, receiving no grants from the United Nations, Serbia or any of the regional or other governments. We are wholly financed by what we earn, from courses, publications and other specific activities, including cooperation with other universities in many countries.
4. The event that propels many of our current activities was the dissolution of Yugoslavia in the early 1990s, and ECPD's determination to respond to the resulting challenges. Our research and publications, our masters' and doctoral education programs, our conferences and many initiatives manifest this: centres, courses and degree programmes in Serbia, Croatia, Slovenia, Macedonia, Kosovo, and Greece. We are currently in the final phases of creating a university in Kosovo.

5. What is “past is prologue”: we look to the future with confidence. UPEACE has a new rector, Francisco Rojas Aravena. ECPD has the indefatigable Dr Negoslav Ostojic as its executive director. For UPEACE: we are a laboratory of development and peace activities such as this Ninth Annual Conference on Reconciliation, Tolerance and Human Security, here in the cockpit of the Balkans. For the region: we are a force for integration and for good.

JONATHAN BRADLEY

PROF. DR., UNIVERSITY OF THE WEST OF ENGLAND, UK, AND VICE PRESIDENT  
OF THE ECPD ACADEMIC COUNCIL

## FUTURE ACTIVITIES OF ECPD

I propose to speak briefly about how ECPD will aim to develop its activities on a broader European perspective, by adapting to changed circumstances and re-thinking strategy consistently with peace, development, cooperation, religious tolerance and the promotion of human security as our key motivations and drivers.

ECPD will continue to extend its institutional network and strategic partnerships, on the basis of the concentric circles of local, regional and international activity, and to focus on the three main dimensions of education, research and consultancy. This is likely to involve further strengthening the strong links that ECPD already possesses in twenty seven countries and forging new connections where appropriate.

ECPD will need to deal with the emerging issues of the future, some of them similar to those that are apparent today, and some of them as yet unanticipated. We shall be endeavouring to educate the professionals of the future for roles in economic, cultural, and medical diplomacy, where traditional universities may be lagging behind or where ECPD can add a special character. We are already proud of our many former students who are in key positions and we plan to see many more of them in such positions – presidents, chief executives, directors, and so on. Our quality is always measured by the quality of our students.

ECPD intends to strengthen further its strategic research programmes through the regional and global relationships that give it a particular strength, and will give special emphasis to sustainable and integrative development. It will be very important for us to maintain the much valued active cooperation of the government of Serbia, and of other former Yugoslavian and Balkan states, in our future work.

Our work, therefore, will be adaptive, within the terms of our founding documents, to change throughout Europe. We shall have a special role in South Eastern Europe, but also wherever needed in a Europe threatened by resurgent nationalism and by tensions on its periphery. This work



of ECPD is well exemplified in several centres in Kosovo, both postgraduate and undergraduate, in Pula in Croatia, and with links all over Europe, the most recent being Minsk in Belarus. We shall engage with new issues, such as problems in financial systems or climate change, and respond actively and imaginatively to the lifelong educational needs of generations of postgraduate students who are increasingly mobile through the virtual academic world enabled by the internet.

We expect our future to be shaped by the wisdom of the more experienced and the energy and creativity of the young, and I express the hope that in another thirty years time ECPD will be as proud of its achievements then as it can be now after the first thirty years. In connection with all of this past work of ECPD I should mention that none of it would have been possible without the outstanding work of the highly dedicated staff under the inspired leadership of ECPD Director Prof.Dr Negoslav Ostojic.

## STATEMENT AT THE 9TH ECPD INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE ON RECONCILIATION AND HUMAN SECURITY IN THE BALKANS

Mr. Chairman, Friends, Ladies and Gentlemen,

The good news first:

The European Union is alive and kicking, active and operational. This bit of encouraging information should also brighten the atmosphere in which our discussions take place today and tomorrow in Belgrade.

In this spirit the following points might be mentioned and seriously considered:

1. Most of what we are and will be saying around the conference table is, admittedly, well known. Yet some points, arguments and assessments can not be repeated often enough. They gain in importance as they are brought to the attention of a wider international public.
2. The European message must, as the saying goes, sink in!
3. Again and again a call for new ideas, for a vision for the future, can be heard. This may be justified and understandable, but in the meantime we can only rely on what we have already agreed upon. That, for all intent and purposes, is the Lisbon Treaty, the only all-encompassing document on the table. The Treaty contains the required provisions for tackling the problems of the present and, by the same token, of the future.
4. Step by step enlargement of the European Union has added both new dynamism and also, not surprisingly, new problems to our joint efforts. The alleged conflict between deepening and widening should belong to the past and/or better still: should be seen in a new light.
5. It should be recalled at this juncture – with a high degree of satisfaction – that the explosive economic situation that the Community was tasked with over the last five years, has, at least partially and temporarily, been brought under control.

6. I cannot stop here, though, without mentioning the most painful problem facing the Union and all of us today: the deeply disquieting, shocking number of unemployed persons, in particular the hundreds of thousands jobless young.
7. The next elections to the European Parliament will be held in May 2014. Preparations to ensure the widest possible participation in this particularly important step towards democratizing the European Union have started. The outcome and rate of participation in the elections should give an encouraging signal to the rest of the world: Europe is ready for future challenges.
8. Croatia has stepped into our midst. Can we expect a forceful push from Zagreb for our work and ambitions? Here I am thinking mainly of increased regional developments and an intensification of inter-regional economic cooperation.  
Accession negotiations with Serbia are scheduled to start in January 2014.  
The prospect of candidate status for Albania appears on Europe's political horizon.
9. The countries of the Western Balkans are increasingly prepared and ready to follow the path as mapped out in the Declarations of Thessaloniki and Salzburg. I might add at this point, that Austria has consistently supported the inclusion of Slovenia, Croatia and Serbia in the family of European nations as embodied in the European Union. This will remain Vienna's policy until the process has been brought to a successful conclusion. The spirit of compromise and an increasing readiness to accept ethnic differences has led to a positive solution in the border region between Austria and Slovenia: sometimes international disputes need time and this should also be taken into account when considering the enlargement process in the Balkans.
10. It is generally recognized that the membership perspective continues to be a primary motor for the aspirations of the six Balkan countries.
11. The required reforms have to be tackled in any case, in the immediate interest of the people. This year's agenda of the ECPD rightly widens the horizon of our debate. All strata of society, in fact, every individual is called upon to overcome the burdens of the past and approach the future in a new spirit of cooperative ambition. We have to face the fact, for instance, that economic

relations between the countries of the region are still insufficient and could be wider and deeper.

12. Although the overall political, economic and social situation improves, the individual actor “on the ground” often runs into – avoidable! – difficulties. Consequently, whatever the Commission points out in its report, should be carefully considered in the interest of all concerned.
13. One of the most positive aspects is that we can rely on functioning institutions on all levels: European and national. The institutions continue to provide the prerequisites for any action. In addition, political will to arrive at workable compromises, is indispensable.
14. Experience has taught the Commission in Brussels, the European Parliament and the member states to act with a high degree of circumspection and attention to detail as regards the implementation of the Helsinki principles. Public opinion in the member states is, as we all know, characterized by doubts, fits of frustration and a generally critical and negative attitude towards the work of the European institutions, and of the Commission in particular. The attempts to legislate matters in Brussels that can be better mastered on local, regional or national levels should be stopped. President Barroso has already reacted positively to this demand. On the basis of the Subsidiarity clause in the Treaty of Lisbon, member states now have the possibility to reject proposals from Brussels which do not correspond to the intention of this Article.
15. The Progress Report of the Commission on the enlargement strategy and the situation in the 6 Balkan countries will be presented on October 16. It can be expected to offer a generally positive assessment.
16. Based on our Austrian experience, I can only recommend that the arguments and demands put forward therein should be addressed by each government without undue delay, in a crescendo of reforms. We should not lose sight of the fact that the report is the result of close and objective scrutiny and is, in the final analysis, in the interest of the country concerned.
17. Contacts with professionals active in these countries show that the current situation in nearly all fields is, – we are being told – still far from satisfactory. To the extent that we know about the contents of the report, one of the claims that deserves our attention is the failure to make full use of the assistance offered by the

European Community. It would be helpful to know the reasons for this, so as to take corrective measures as quickly as possible.

18. With all these points in mind we should not lose sight of the seemingly revolutionary, historic results of the European integration process. Without the successes of these common endeavours we would not be able to celebrate the emergence of a new Europe in which all Balkan countries will find their place.

Let me therefore conclude by congratulating the ECPD and director, Professor Dr. Negoslav Ostojic once more on their work. Our gratitude also goes to Ambassador Togo and the generous financial contribution to the Centre's activities. Last but not least I would like to thank Mr. Yasushi Akashi for his encouraging message to our conference. Decades ago I had the pleasure of working with Mr. Akashi under the auspices of the United Nations.

The signal that should go out from our deliberations here and now as well as from the daily work of ECPD, will, I am confident, continue along the same constructive lines.

Ladies and gentlemen, thank you for your attention.

JOHAN GALTUNG

PROF. DR., FOUNDER AND THE FIRST PRESIDENT OF THE  
PEACE RESEARCH INSTITUTE OSLO (PRIO), NORWAY

## BALKAN INTEGRATION PROCESS IN A GLOBAL FRAMEWORK\*

The Balkan integration process within, and the global framework without, are both parts of the story of empires that come, leave deep and bloody faultiness within and without, and then decline and fall.

Thus, the Balkans were doubly divided in the 11th century by the schism between Catholics and Orthodox in 1054, following the 395 split between the Western and Eastern Roman empires, Rome vs. Constantinople; and the declaration of war on Islam by Pope Urban II 27 November 1095.

The two dividing lines intersect in Sarajevo, the BiH Ground Zero for Euro-quakes. The Hapsburgs from Northwest annexed BiH in 1908, and a shot followed in 1914. The Ottomans from Southeast defeated the Serbs in 1397 and were defeated in the 1912 Balkan war, leaving Slavic and Albanian Muslims. A little later, 1918, the Hapsburgs also went the way of Roman and Ottoman empires: Decline and Fall, over and out.

The Soviets came, and went the same way in 1991; the US Empire is following—by 30 years?—meeting their fates, not in the Balkans but in Afghanistan where empires are said to come to die. Today the Balkans are run from Brussels; by the deeply troubled European Union with “high” representatives, and by NATO led by a bankrupt country, right now ridden by government shutdown and the threat of default.

A four factor formula for positive peace indicates four tasks:

$$\text{PEACE} = \frac{\text{EQUITY} \times \text{HARMONY}}{\text{TRAUMA} \times \text{CONFLICT}}$$

Cooperation for mutual and equal benefit, deep empathy for harmony, conciliation to reduce violence from trauma, and solution processes to reduce violence from conflicts. This points in the direction of a Balkan Community—with a West Balkan Yugoslav Community—in Southeast Eu-

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<sup>1</sup> Keynote, European Center for Peace and Development, Belgrade, 11–10–13

rope like the Nordic Community in the Northwest. Denmark-Copenhagen ruled many centuries over Norway-Faroe-Iceland-Greenland; Sweden over Finland and Norway; Sweden and Denmark fought horrible wars; and yet:

The Nordic Community is meticulously equitable with much empathy with each other, past traumas show up as jokes, a rolling agenda of conflict with solutions: open borders without passport and duties, a Nordic labour market (more Swedes in Norway now than during the union), etc. All that is needed to start with is a Balkan Commission with an Assembly, one chamber for the states, one for the many nations. The Nordic experience is that the community survives even 3 states inside and 2 outside the EU. Give the nations a veto in matters of vital importance to their identity, like in the Swiss magic formula 3-2-1-1 for the four nations in a 7-member cabinet. Something for Kosovo/a?

Geographical proximity and shared history for good and for bad will bring the peoples between the Adriatic, the Aegean and the Black Sea ever closer. More problematic are Euro-Atlantic relations to the USA-NATO and the European Union, Eurasian relations to Russia-China-Islam and Europe-Latin American/African relations to the world.

It so happens that I spent two days, before the two days here, in Bucharest as a consultant on Education for Peace to the International Confederation for Reserve Officers, mainly generals, from all 28 NATO countries. I found them highly demoralized: budgets, also pensions, being cut, the standing army reduced from 200,000 to 14,000 in a short period, and not believing in much of what they were doing. My message was the formula above, with examples of successful mediation to solve underlying conflicts, rather than wars and R2P for victory. Complex dentistry rather than the sledgehammer approach to deep inflammations.

It so happens that I spent two days before that as a consultant to the top of the EEAS, the EU external action service, the foreign office including military operations, from all 28 member countries. I found them highly demoralized, paralyzed by a bureaucracy incompatible with the creativity needed for good mediation. And the little they did was almost identical with US foreign policy; no European touch.

It so happens that I spent the two days before that in Rhodes, for a keynote at the Russian-organized Dialogue of Civilizations, with Russians, Chinese, Central Asian Muslims, and all others. There was an SCO touch beaming with optimism; Chinese talking perfect US-English and Russian; civilizations in mutual learning processes. Eurasian cooperation: an infra-structure of Chinese-built trains bringing all of Asia to the Euro-

pean doorsteps, Russian gas likewise, conversion to Islam with closeness and sharing rather than a Western individualism which **may** spell egoism-loneliness. They want to relate, peacefully.

It so happens that I spent the two days before that in Toluca, Estado de México, in México, where the Ministry of Education has made Education for Peace and Nonviolence a major subject from Kindergarten to university, and found myself addressing 1,500 teachers on our experience in some schools in Norway with children searching for good solutions—also to bullying—on the UN Nonviolence Day, 2 October (Gandhi's birthday). The children love it and learn quickly; the problem is often the adults: too concerned with being-having right.

The Balkans face the Black Sea, not the Atlantic; Orthodox Russia and Muslim Turkomans, with Daoist-Confucian-Buddhist China bordering on both, not evangelical Protestants. Among empires Ottomans were the better; and the Russian armies moved West basically after Napoleon and Hitler's effort to beat-Napoleon. Build down your paranoia, do not fall for European yellow peril racism, and search for the good Islam, not only some terrorism dwarfed by Western state terrorism.<sup>2</sup>

México lost more than half of its territory to the USA in the 1846–48 war and yet see themselves as a bridge between Latin and North America; how about the Balkans between Europe and Asia? Europe and Africa?

My late friend Leo Mates—to whom this lecture is dedicated—some 50 years ago linked Beograd to New Delhi and Cairo, cooperating North and South, East and West. Put yourself in the centre, and you grow.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>2</sup> Even a majestic looking hotel in Beograd does not offer key TV channels as Russia Today, China TV-English, AlJazeera, but certainly CNN, BBC, TV5, ARD-ZDF, RAI and so on.

<sup>3</sup> Gamble only on the West of those 3 directions and you may wake up as a satellite, a little dinghy tied to something big that may turn out to be the Titanic. A long rope or an axe are useful; but much better are good relations to all four. And, if you are a friend of the USA and the EU: help them!



ERHARD BUSEK

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## CHANGES AROUND THE BALKANS – NOT ONLY IN THE ECONOMY

First of all, it has to be said, that we have some perspectives that economy in Europe is moving up. It is not done like in China, but there are some signs of hope in the Balkans in connection with the other parts of Europe. Especially for example in Serbia and Albania we got here some new positive figures. We did recently a Vienna Economic Forum for Croatia and also for Montenegro and for the first time after some years we register the great interest by the business community in Europe to go there. Maybe the perspective of EU-Enlargement in the case of Croatia and Montenegro was helpful, but it is difficult to say.

Also we have changes in the Regional Cooperation Council, since Goran Svilanovic, the former Foreign Minister of Serbia and Montenegro, is in charge in Sarajevo. He developed the perspectives 2020, where he wants to improve the situation in the region. Mainly it has to be done with CEFTA, because there are a lot of possibilities by free trade, which have to be developed. Also the Regional Cooperation Council, a successor organisation of the Stability Pact for South East Europe is focusing on education, science and research. Mainly the brain circulation is the general aim, because now by brain drain the region is losing a lot of gifted people, which I think is not very good. On the political side I think there is not too much movement in the moment, but I think it has to be urged that the countries of the region are looking to more regional cooperation. There is a lot of trade with EU member states, but there is no interaction between the countries of the region. But this is a condition that the region is competitive to other parts of Europe and even in the global context.

There are also some other activities, which might be helpful. The European Union Strategy on the Danube Region (EUSDR) was established. I think it is a very ambitious program to move the countries around the river Danube on. Ten countries are situated along the river four additional in the river basin. I think, it is the European river with the largest number of states along, which might be sometimes a difficulty but it is also an

advantage concerning the variety and the possibilities here existing. I am only dropping some arguments concerning changes.

We need more transport on the river and in the connection with the ports on rails and roads. Something has to be done also to stop the flood, which are coming every two years and destroying a lot. Ecological matters are also of great importance, because the waste treatment and the water management have to be done along the rivers concerning the cities and the villages. We have to look to biodiversity, because it might be a big change also to develop the agriculture. The region can be an important food producer, which until now is not really happening. (Look at <http://www.danube-region.eu>)

There is a very good example of cooperation with the Sava River Basin Agreement with the seat in Zagreb. They have some advantages, which we can copy along the river Danube. Let us change the subject. The diversity of culture along the river Danube is very impressive. This we have to use, not only for tourism, but also to give chances to the gifted young people on this field. The special focus is directed to the Roma, which are reasons for a lot of criticism on the region. I think, we have to focus on education for them to change the behaviour and that it is not any more a problem of aggressiveness and eager. It makes no sense to push out the Romas, which was sometimes done to move them from one country to the others.

To look to another subject: the European Funds for the Balkans (<http://balkanfund.org/>). It was established by Bosch Foundation, ER-STE Foundation, King Baudouin Foundation and also by an Italian bank, which went now out. What they are doing is to support the training of the administration by courses in the University of Potsdam and then spreading over the trainees over different ministries of the member states of the European Union. Also they are supporting a lot of activities for example the CAS – Centre for Advanced Studies ([http://www.uniri.hr/index.php?option=com\\_content&view=article&id=3285&Itemid=102&lang=en](http://www.uniri.hr/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=3285&Itemid=102&lang=en)), which is started October 2013 in Rijeka. The centre will look to the humanities and will deliver grounds to give chances to the young generation and the universities to develop a certain quality and competitiveness to other parts of Europe and the world.

We have also to look to the open wounds of the region. That is not only Srebrenica. It is also Vukovar. Recently we did a meeting of young people there from Croatia, Serbia, Bosnia and Hungary. It was really a success story, because they have no problem to discuss with each other. We have to focus on reconciliation process, which the state presidents of

the region started very good, but it has to be done also through the media. The media situation is very depressing. I was at a meeting in Sarajevo, where it was said that Al Jazeera is more objective than all the media of the region and also the press and the journalists concerning trough is quite great. The governments and the oligarchs are owning the media and directing them in a not very good direction.

In general we have to say that Bosnia-Herzegovina and Macedonia are a kind of a black whole on the map. Because things here are not moving forward. Here we need more pressure. In Bosnia that the different partners are coming together, are making decisions and an administration which fits to the problem and in Macedonia we have to put pressure on them and Greece to settle the name case.

In general it has to be said that education is the main focus of the future. In the moment we have migration in other countries of Europe, but developed system it might be able to give also more changes for jobs and future in the different countries.

Also we have to focus on the Black Sea area, where some cooperation was started, but it is not really proceeding. There is a competition between Turkey and Russia, because both are convinced that the Black Sea have their own area. But also here we need a regional cooperation, which I think is for sure quite necessary. By the Arab Spring and other developments we have a lot of refugees. To fight it with Frontex is not enough, because it is not really a solution. I think we have to look for more openness in general.

I am asking the conference to focus on two concepts of Eurasia. The one is done by Turkey in the context of Central Asia. The other one is done by the Russian Federation with a free trade zone, Kazakhstan, Belarusia, Armenia and maybe Ukraine. That is an impact on Europe and should be seen quite straight forward to discuss it. It might be also a chance for ECPD to deal with these Problems.

Last comment: it is devoted to religion. We have on the one side in the western parts of Europe with more secularism, on the eastern part I think tendencies for fundamentalism and holy war connected with nationalism. I am fighting always the expression “neo-nationalism”, because I am convinced it is an old egoism. By all the difficulties we have, everybody wants to protect himself or herself, but this is not a solution. We have to develop a certain basis of solidarity, because we are living together in a global village. So far neighborhood is our responsibility and we have to do it in the best way possible.

Last but not least we have to look for the content of Europe. Here the grand narratives, the visions, the ideas are playing a very important role. Jacques Delors said rightly “You can not love a common market, but we have to give Europe a soul.” The 100 years anniversary of 1914, the beginning of the First World War had a lot of developments afterwards might be a reason to look together. I think, what was so horrible started in 1914 is not yet finished and is still the problem of the region. In this context we have to define the role of Europe. Nobody else will do the job!

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## NEW BALKANS BETWEEN GLOBALISATION AND REGIONALIZATION

The title of this modest essay, *The New Balkans*, does not cover a new theoretical or ideological-political model for Europe's old and historically (overly) rich south-eastern peninsula. Rather, it emphasizes a simple and indisputable fact that the Balkan region underwent significant changes and multiple transformations during the past twenty or so years and that today it does not look like the old one in many respects. Regardless of how these changes and transformations are evaluated, which is done in a contradictory and inconsistent way both in the Balkans and beyond, no one can deny them with good reason. At the same time, the events in the Balkans, around the Balkans and due to the Balkans, have shown lately that developmental discontinuity, whose consequence is the new Balkans, is in a regular and unavoidable dialectical correlation with continuity, which is reflected in the preservation of certain (trans-historical) constants and even the cyclical repetition of some situations and conditions from the past because, as was already stated by ancient Romans, *nihil sub sole novum*. Moreover, it can be said with good reason that just at the time when it was assumed that, after the end of the Cold War and bipolar, bloc division of Eurasia, the Balkans in transition would finally be included in the process of globalisation in all of its dimensions, there began to appear the serious symptoms of their political reversal and pushing into the typological coordinates of 19th century ideologies and extra-regional strategic interests. In fact, although this is not "politically" and "academically correct" to say in public, the new Balkans are not so modern as one could assume, while the combination of related international political circumstances and conjuncture reveals "old goods in a new package".

In view of the fact that the Balkans are often mentioned in connection with the geopolitical coordinates of international relations, which is often conceived more rhetorically than theoretically, it is not without interest to recall some of the basic assumptions of classical geopolitics. Namely, the Balkans, Middle East and Caucasus share almost the same

fate predestined by their relative positions vis-à-vis larger continental and sea formations. Bearing in mind a century-long experience, the shrewd statement by the American historian, political scientist and author David Fromkin that the peace concluded after the First World War marked the end of any (future) peace (the title of his famous book published in 1989 is *A Peace to End All Peace*) can also be applied to the Balkans. Namely, the First World War buried two great empires (Austro-Hungary and the Ottomans) which, at the height of their power, were the only ones that could ensure overall stability in the Middle East and Balkans, while the borders of the new independent states, delineated after the Great War, have become the constant potential and occasionally actual source of instability. The situation has not changed to the present day but since the 1990s, with the end of the Cold War and fall of the Berlin Wall, the region has entered one of the cyclical periods marked by heightened tensions, disintegration processes and conflicts, as well as the collapse of the Yugoslav federation as the central generator of turmoil in it. After the proportionately short-lived globalist illusion that the world can be unipolar in all respects, including the political one, it was almost unanimously concluded that it would inevitably be multipolar in the future. However, the question that imposes itself is how the “morphology” of that emerging multipolarity will look like in the end. We hold that a very inspirational hypothesis is offered by the introduction of the concept of *macroregionalization* (see, for example: Parag Khann, *How to Run the World Charting a Course in the Next Renaissance*, 2011) into the relevant analysis. The concept of macroregionalization implies the process through which several big states/powers or (supra)national aggregations attempt to achieve the status of a centre of gravity that will gather a certain number of small and medium-sized states that will depend on them. Naturally, the dynamics of macroregionalisation cannot fully explain the trends in international relations, but quite certainly represents one of their important contemporary characteristics. The Balkans (like the Middle East) are situated in an inter-space which none of the potential macroregional powers is able to control efficiently enough, so that they are the arena of their constant competition. If we add the inherent historical and structural complexity and intertwined internal contradictions of these two regions with a long and rich history and civilisation heritage, it becomes clear why the Balkans and Middle East are in a continuous state of latent or active instability. Let us remind ourselves what classical geopolitics would have to say about this issue.

One hundred and ten years have elapsed since April 1904 when Scottish geographer Halford Mackinder delivered a lecture on *The Geographical Pivot of History* before the Royal Geographical Society in London, which aroused unprecedented interest and marked the birth of geopolitics as a special social science discipline. According to Mackinder, control over the Eurasian World Island is the key to global hegemony. The geopolitical centre of Eurasia is the so-called Heartland, stretching from the Volga to the Chinese river Yangtze and from the Himalayas to the Arctic. And who rules the Heartland commands the world. Immediately after the First World War, his classical three-part geopolitical formula took its final shape: who rules East Europe commands the Heartland; who rules the Heartland commands the World Island; who rules the World-Island controls the (entire) world. This pattern later underwent a number of changes and additions, including specifically those presented by Dutch-American geostrategist Nicholas Spykman in his book *America's Strategy in World Politics* (1942). In his opinion, the most important space for international relations and world politics is the wide coastal belt encircling Mackinder's Heartland, a specific rim region that he termed "Rimland". In Spykman's view, who controls the Rimland rules Eurasia and who rules Eurasia controls the destinies of the (entire) world. If one takes a look at the cartographic representation of Eurasia with the delineated territories of Spykman's Rimland, it can be observed that both the Balkans and the Middle East belong to the belt indicated as the Rimland. The purpose of this brief review of the fundamental assumptions of classical geopolitics is to point out that the Balkan Peninsula belongs to a broader region that is not without strategic significance for the countries competing for global dominance. This was so in the more distant and more recent past, this is so today and will be so tomorrow, regardless of all changes covering the configuration of the region and main actors in international relations, which may temporarily blur their lasting constants. Although the world became a "global village" and geopolitical considerations extended much beyond the Eurasian geographical and political borders a long time ago, it is hard to overlook the fact that more recent geostrategic considerations and projections by the most influential contemporary theoreticians, and the resulting political (and overall) approach of the great powers, primarily the United States and their allies, are gravitationally rationalised and attempt to be systematically realised in the horizons of Eurasia as "the grand chessboard" (Z. Brzezinski) for which the Balkan region forms part of the Rimland that can be very easily and lastingly controlled. In the era of macroregionalisation, the region of South-East Europe, as the Balkans

were called in European political offices and laboratories for some time, has found itself at the scene where it has always been, except in the period when it was ruled by two great empires, Ottoman and Austro-Hungarian, namely, at the scene of the struggle for influence by those wishing to secure the status of a macroregional power. What does this mean for the fate of the Balkans which, as history has proven, has been determined outside the Balkans for a long time and to which the Balkan peoples and states cannot make a decisive contribution? This does not mean, however, that regional developments and their directions cannot be influenced by pursuing adequate politics in a realistic, competent and responsible manner?

If the current position of the *New Balkans* – for which we have established that in geopolitical terms they have always be the same old Balkans – is considered in the context of simultaneous yet not equidirectionally parallel globalisation and (macro)regionalization trends, the need to establish and apply the appropriate conceptual and analytical instruments imposes itself. In other words, the absolutisation of only the Euro-integrational vector should be replaced by a more flexible and more realistic approach that will include, in principle, the EU convergence and accession process of the Balkan countries in the broader dynamics of macroregionalisation, whereby it is implied that the EU represents an aggregation of countries pretending to function as a global macroregion. It is no accident that some of them compare it with the former Austro-Hungary in a functional sense. It can also be observed that the rise of Germany as the EU centre of gravity is not inconsistent with the concept of macroregionalisation, although it is very complex and uncertain under conditions of a union of independent states that delegate only some elements of their sovereignty to the central authority. The future of the Balkan region – which, according to Maria Todorova's study *Imagining the Balkans* (1997), has its own "powerful ontology despite its internal diversity and fragmentation (famous "balkanization) – will depend in large measure on the EU's ability to achieve an adequate degree of collective, "supranational" functionality and action-related efficiency on the foreign political plane, including the military-security dimension, as well as its readiness to admit all Balkan countries as its full members, which now seems highly unlikely. In fact, nothing changes although the Europeans predominantly overlook this immanent ontology, while the Balkan peoples themselves are mostly unaware of it. The slowness of the EU integration process of the Balkan countries, coupled with the EU's mostly politically motivated selectivity in its approach to aspirant countries, provides or expands the scope for regional action by other international factors wishing to assume the best



possible macroregional position in this section of the Eurasian “Rimland”. Although they cannot aspire to have the Balkans become a part of their territorially integrated macroregion, the United States play a specific and significant role in the region that is derived from the fact that, despite being aware of the shift towards a multipolar world, this formerly indisputable and “only real world power” (as was euphorically claimed) is the *only* one that is still trying to gain control over this process, so that an interaction between the future macroregions evolves, in the most general, planetary-strategic sense, in accordance with the American interests or, at least, not contrary to them. In this sense, the United States and European Union, especially in a perspective, cannot be the allies in all respects. This can already be sensed on the basis of some symptoms of mistrust and friction. By acting through the NATO with the changed mission and relying especially on some incompletely integrated and/or potentially fragile and vulnerable Balkan states and ethnic communities (Albania, Kosovo, Montenegro and, to a degree, the Bosniak national corpus...), Washington maintains its presence and influence in the Balkans, although the region lost its priority in strategic considerations a long time ago. Over the past fifteen or so years, Turkey has also markedly displayed its (macro)regional ambitions vis-à-vis the Balkans within its doctrine of neo-Ottomanism. By acting declaratively in an attempt to contribute to the acceleration of the region’s progress on the joint path towards EU membership, Turkey also counts on the convergence of its regional aspirations and vision of the stabilized Balkans with the United States, which additionally encourages it to become the dominant factor in the part of the Balkans that has not yet been integrated into the EU, thus creating another line of division in the disintegrated region. Although it did not look so, due to its forced defensive and reserved stance at the turn of the 20th and 21st centuries, Russia has also always been interested in the Balkans. Acting as a world power “making a comeback”, Russia especially manifests itself as a powerful factor in the energy and economic sectors, to which the Balkan countries as well as some EU members cannot remain insensitive. In addition to being resolute in its support for the Republic of Srpska and preservation of its status guaranteed by the Dayton Accords, as well as for Serbia concerning the Kosovo issue, Moscow can also count on spiritual and emotional closeness with the Orthodox Balkan peoples, who feel that their identity is threatened by Western-type globalisation secularism, proselytizing activities of the Roman Catholic Church and expansion of radicalized Islam. In the Balkan Rimland, Russia is not without the trump card. No matter how much the Balkan region has changed, it is still exposed – like in the

greater part of its history – to the workings of the external factors with the mostly incongruous mutual strategic targets (even when they act temporarily and tactically as allies).

Although it is still difficult to predict the final global configuration resulting from the current developments and processes, as well as all implications of that new configuration for the Balkans and in the Balkans, the observed tendencies oblige the Balkan peoples and states, especially their political and intellectual elites, to consider their international position in a realistic, responsible and anticipative manner, and seek the ways and means to ensure the maximum expansion of the objectively limited scope for manoeuvre in decision making on their fate, in their own and regional interest. It is very difficult to give any advice, let alone some recipes for finding the best solution for each Balkan country and each people. In fact, that is impossible. Instead, I will remind you of two folk proverbs, one Balkan and one American, both of which are universal: “Near is my coat, but nearer is my shirt!” and “Don’t put all eggs in one basket”.

## WEST BALKAN SITUATION AND ECPD ACTIVITIES\*

### 1. OVERVIEW

I would like to talk about the current situation in the Western Balkan Region where there was the greatest human tragedy of Europe after WWII through disintegration of former Yugoslavia in the last decade of 20th Century and about the activities of European Center for Peace and Development (ECPD) of the United Nations University for Peace (UPeace) for the peace and stability in the West Balkan Region. Clash of civilizations were the causes of the tragedies in the West Balkan Region and ECPD is exerting its effort to achieve inter-ethnic reconciliation and religious tolerance through a series of conferences and meetings which are a part of larger ECPD research and educational project “The Balkans in the 21st Century – the Ways Leading to Building Peace and Stability” (The Balkans 21), as well as the project “National/Inter-ethnic Reconciliation, Inter-religious Tolerance and Human Security in the Balkans”. Both projects are being realized through organisation and holding ECPD annual conferences and other forms of ECPD activities. These and other ECPD’s efforts are another form of dialogue of civilizations, referring to the current and future situation in the region.

### 2. SITUATION IN THE WEST BALKAN REGION

The Balkan area has been the melting pot of civilizations for centuries where Greek, Roman and Ottoman Empires, as well as Byzantine and Habsburg Empires dominated at various periods of history. At the same time, it was a powder keg of Europe in recent history, because of crossing interests of big powers surrounding it. During the Cold War period, for-

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\* Report presented at the WPF DC Conference, Rhodes, Greece, October 16, 2009

mer Yugoslavia was an uncontested leader of the Third World under President Tito, but after his death in 1980 and especially after the end of the Cold War, the Federation of former Yugoslavia disintegrated through long inter-ethnic confrontation and religious antagonism accumulated over the centuries. Inter-ethnic and inter-religious antagonism and animosities led to fratricidal civil wars, ethnic cleansing and genocide on a grand scale and many other atrocities took place in the process.

Slovenia and Croatia achieved declared independence in 1991. They were traditionally under the strong influence of west European culture, their religion was Catholic while other Slav people in Yugoslavia were Eastern Orthodox, and there are also Serbs converted to Islam during Ottoman rule in addition to Islamic Albanians. They were more industrially advanced and richer than southern neighbours and they had to bear the burden for other less developed regions. The war with Yugoslav armed forces (JNA) ensued and was particularly violent in Croatia with about 6,000 casualties. In 1992, they became independent because European Union recognized them and former Yugoslavia disintegrated. Bosnia and Herzegovina declared independence in the same year, but fierce war raged between Croatian and Bosniak forces and Serbian forces and there were fierce ethnic cleansing and genocide and there were about 200,000 estimated casualties and more than 3.4 million refugees and/or displaced, the greatest human tragedy in Europe except for two World Wars. Only in 1995, through Dayton Agreement, they managed to arrive at ceasefire and formation of Bosnia-Herzegovina Federation and Republika Srpska entities with the federal government. But reconciliation has been difficult up to the present day. Macedonia seceded peacefully from Yugoslavia in 1991 but war in Kosovo in 1999 seriously destabilised Macedonia and about 260,000 Kosovo refugees took refuge in Macedonia and Albania. There was civil war between the Macedonia government and Albanian minorities between March and June in 2001 and only through Ohrid Framework Agreement of August 2001, cease fire was arrived at, and the Ohrid Agreement became the basis of dealing with unresolved problem of minorities like improving the right of Albanian minorities and preparing the country for EU membership. Montenegro became independent in June 2006 through referendum and Serbia confirmed its status as a sovereign independent state. The process was a peaceful one. Thus former Yugoslavia finally disintegrated.

In the Autonomous Republic of Kosovo in Serbian Republic, conflict erupted. The population of Kosovo was about 80% Islamic Albanians, but Kosovo was the cradle for minority Serbian culture because the Medi-

eval Serbian Kingdom was established in Kosovo and there were many medieval Serbian Orthodox churches in Kosovo, and the Serbs lost war against the Ottoman Empire in the holy land Gazimestan in 1389. From 1998, there was a full-fledged armed conflict and President Milosevic of Serbia, who was advocating Greater Serbia, revoked autonomy from Kosovo. Serbian forces were introduced into Kosovo and many Albanian forces around KLA were exterminated. Out of 1.75 million of Albanians, about 800,000 were said to be refugees in and out of Kosovo, and about 10,000 casualties were estimated during the conflict. Serbia refused the demand of UN and NATO for ceasefire, and from March 24 to June 11, 1999, NATO carried out bombing campaign. After hard negotiation and renewed bombing, Serbia accepted the peace agreement and Kosovo was protected by NATO organized KFOR and administered by UN representatives in UNMIK. Serbia and Montenegro was internationally isolated under Milosevic and economy suffered under prolonged war and sanctions. Milosevic retired in 2000 after grand scale demonstration against him, and the last autocratic regime in the Balkans was put an end to. New Serbian government is trying to strengthen democracy and market economy and trying to be reintegrated into the world community and aiming at EU membership. Unilateral declaration of Kosovo on February 17, 2008 and recognition by US and EU countries is opposed by the Government of Serbia and instead of stabilization as expected by some countries, it is creating unstable and unpredictable situation not only in the Balkans but also in other parts of the world, and the situation in South Ossetia and Abkhazia may well be the reflection of this situation.

### 3. ECPD AND ITS ACTIVITIES IN THE BALKANS

ECPD was established in 1985 by a treaty between the government of former Yugoslavia and UPeace and over twenty years it has carried out educational and research activities for the peace and development of South Eastern Europe, especially in West Balkan Region, with the help of a international team of professors from Europe, USA, Canada and other areas. After the demise of former Yugoslavia, the government of Serbian Republic as the successor state reconfirmed the treaty and its headquarters is situated in Belgrade, Serbia. After the disintegration of former Yugoslavia, ECPD has established its educational and research centres in all the republics of former Yugoslavia, as well as in Prizren in Kosovo and it has been carried out educational activities for post graduate courses for

masters and doctors degrees on Transitional Economy, EU Law and International Business Law, Health Management and so forth in order to prepare necessary human resources for the development of the region and to prepare them for EU membership. Recently, Albania has also shown great interest in opening ECPD's centre in Tirana. ECPD has been closely cooperating with other organisations in and out of the Balkan Area, including National School of Public Health of Greece.

From 2005, ECPD has carried out conferences and study group meetings to prepare such conferences on inter-ethnic reconciliation and religious tolerance in the West Balkan region. The first was a Symposium on the same subject in Belgrade in October 2005 where President Tadic made an opening statement and attended by nearly 100 former politicians, diplomats and scholars including Mr. Yasushi Akashi, Special Representative of the Secretary General of UN to former Yugoslavia during Bosnian conflict. It was under the initiative of the Japanese Government and it was partially financially supported by Japanese organisations. It was widely reported not only in the Balkans but also throughout Europe and CNN made two reports, which was a success. It was agreed to continue the project by convening further conferences and to establish International Permanent Study Group of about twenty members to prepare for such conferences.

The first meeting of the Study Group was convened in June 2006 in St. Stefan, Montenegro just after its independence, and we jointly congratulated the Foreign Minister of Montenegro for independence at a dinner. At that meeting it was agreed that further conferences would be convened under the title 'Reconciliation and Human Security in the West Balkan Region' and the second international conference was convened in Belgrade under this title. Last years, Study Group meeting was convened in Prizren, Kosovo in June to commemorate one year's anniversary of the opening of ECPD's centre in Prizren. Final Status of Kosovo was imminent, and the atmosphere was rather tense and pressures were applied from both Serbian side and the side of the Provisional Institution of Self Government of Kosovo. We made a short statement that ECPD was acting for peace and stability of the whole West Balkan Region and it is in no position to side with either of the parties on the question of the final status of Kosovo. It was attended, besides members of the Study Group, by Representatives of UNMIK, Provisional Institution of Self Government of Kosovo and Municipality of Prizren. The deliberation was carried out with overall spirit of understanding and shared responsibility in spite of occasional heightened emotions.

The second and third Conference was convened in Belgrade in October 2006 and 2007 respectively, and the fourth Conference will be convened in Milocer, Montenegro. The Prime Minister of Montenegro, His Excellency Djukanovic will grace us with an opening statement. The Prime Minister is ex-graduate of one of ECPD courses and a firm supporter of ECPD activities in Montenegro.

Through deliberations in Conferences and Study Groups, the points stressed were roughly as follows. It was widely recognized that the West Balkan region is in a state of crisis. In spite of some positive trends, there are many other issues which are not solved and threatened to jeopardize peace and stability in the West Balkan Region. Long time suffering during fratricidal conflicts inflicted new wounds on different ethnic and religious groups, stirred up hatred and animosity being still carried deeply within them. The region was also liable to wide-spread corruption, illegal trafficking in women, children and drugs, which cause unrest among the people and threatens peace and development. The religion was also very important in the region, because the national identity was primarily defined through religious affiliation rather than their ethnic roots, and the religious fanaticism was often used as a means of exacerbating animosity, fears and hatred during the war. But it was stressed that there is every reason to use the power of religion as an anchor of peace, as a strong ally in the Balkan settlement. Recognition of past mistakes, wrongdoings and crimes committed during 1991-1999 war and public presentation of excuses by all parties concerned, and punishment of key persons responsible for the last conflict should be carried out. Importance of the roles of political leaders, education, media, development of economic and health conditions in the area were stressed. Generally it was agreed that difference of ethnicity, culture and languages in the Balkans are not hindrance but valuable asset to be recognized in the process of reconciliation in the West Balkan Region. Reconciliation still requires a long and patient process, but the cost of borders in the present situation should be fully assessed and every effort should be made for inter-regional cooperation. In view of integration of Europe to which sooner or later all the West Balkan countries would be joining, and of the fact that there is a goodwill to assist the solution of difficult problems still pending in the region through UN and other international organisations, all out effort should be continued so that all peoples of the Balkan Region should regain a respectable place in the world through cooperation and common sense of fraternity in a new setting.

A few words on human security. The concept was first introduced by UNDP in 1984 in its report on Human Development and further ana-

lyzed and elaborated in the Report of UN Commission on Human Security of 2003. By the end of Cold War, East-West confrontation ended, and instead, in many countries, there were severe internal conflicts leading to civil wars, causing massive refugees, internally displaced peoples and ethnic cleansing. Through globalisation, cross border traffic of peoples, goods, money and information had increased, causing new type of threat to human beings such as contagious diseases, and international organized crimes, and widened the gap between the rich and poor. There is a need for assuring Human Security in economy, food, health, environment, education and many other areas. Human Security focuses on individual people. Traditionally, the state would monopolize the rights and means to protect its citizens. But in the 21<sup>st</sup> century, both the challenge to the security and its protectors has become more complex. The state remains to be the fundamental purveyor of security. Yet it often fails to fulfil its security obligations, and at times has become sources of threat to its own people. That is why attention must now shift from the security of the state to the security of the people. Human security compliments state security, enhances human rights and freedom and strengthens human development. Such integrated approach on human security is much needed in the West Balkan Region and our Study Group and Conference 2007 took strong initiative to strengthen security and well beings of the people in the region. At our next year's conference which is to be a conclusive conference, we are expecting to issue a declaration on the importance of the concept of the human security to be firmly established for the Balkan region, which we believe, will be contributing to the peace and security not only in the Balkan region but Europe and elsewhere.

I have prepared some materials on the proceeding of our past conferences and of the proceedings of our Study Group in Prizren, Kosovo last year. Any interested person should apply to the Secretariat of WPF DC for the copies, although they are limited in numbers. And I would like to extend invitation to people interested in our conference to be held in Milocer, Montenegro on October 30, 31 this year.