



SKOPJE FORUM



**6-8th June, 2014,
Skopje, Macedonia**



SKOPJE FORUM ON THE FUTURE OF LIBERAL DEMOCRACY, EUROPE AND THE BALKANS



More information available at: www.crpm.org.mk
or please call CRPM office at 02/31 09 932





The Skopje Forum is designed to bring together leading intellectuals, academics and opinion makers from the Balkan region with their counterparts from Europe, to discuss the state of affairs and the future of the development of liberal democracy, capitalism and Europe as a whole. Four panels will be organized, "The future of EU, democracy and Europe"; "The future of liberalism and market economy"; "The future of the Balkans"; and "Europe and the rising regional and global powers, Turkey and China." Some of the issues that will be examined at the Skopje Forum will focus on the debate around the recent economic and financial crisis a predicament, which touches the very democratic foundations of the European project and which cuts deep into its social and political dimensions. We will also discuss one of the key features of the 21st century global politics landscape the growing role of emerging powers - both on a global and regional level. China is soon to be the number one global economy, India is projected to rise to the very top in the coming decades; Brazil, Mexico, Turkey, South Korea, Indonesia, Iran, Nigeria among others - are expected to follow this trend. These developments, both unprecedented and unpredictable, are going to reflect on the way Europe thinks about the world, and about itself as a global actor. They pose issues of strategic nature, but more even so, issues that touch upon different aspects of global affairs: international trade and finance; aid and development; acting on climate change and developing renewable energy; and last but not the least, attempting to reconcile different political models that are grounded on a wide array of values.

Working language of Skopje Forum is English.

6th June 2014

At Porta Macedonia

- 18:00 - 18:30** Registration
- 18:30 - 18:45** **Welcome and introduction** prof. Marija Risteska, Director, Center for Research and Policy Making;
- Ceremony of awarding CRPM certificate of appreciation to European Stability Initiative
- 18:45 - 19:30** Keynote speech by Gerald Knaus, chairman of European Stability Initiative
The future of liberal democracy, Europe and the Balkans
- 19:30 - 20:00** Q&A moderated by prof. Marija Risteska

7th June 2014

Hotel Continental

- 09:30 - 10:00** Registration
- 10:00 - 12:30** **Panel 1:** The future of EU, democracy and Europe.

The failure of Europe to give clear, effective and socially acceptable answers to the crisis is having a deep political impact, feeding rising populism, Euro-scepticism and political extremism. The popularity of the EU today across Europe is at an all-time low. EU citizens become more disenchanted, and the elite in Brussels become more aloof. The decision-making processes are viewed as undemocratic and distant. The people of Europe feel ignored by the Brussels elite. EU laws are increasingly viewed as unnecessary and intrusive. How to move forward? What about the 'other' Europe? What role could Russia play in European politics? Would Western Balkans countries become part of the European debate or will they remain on the periphery?

Chair: **Goran Buldioski,**
director of the Open Society Think Tank Fund

Speakers: Dr. **Dušan Reljić,**
Head of Office, SWP Brussels

Dr. **Vladimir Gligorov,**
staff Economist at the Vienna Institute for International Economic Studies

Dr. **Hans Jurgen Zahorka,**
chief editor of European Union Foreign Affairs Journal

Dr. **Piotr Switalski,**
Director for Policy Planning at the Council of Europe.

- 12:30 - 14:30** Lunch Break

14:30 - 17:00 **Panel 2:** The future of Balkans.

If one looks at the geographical map of Europe, all Western Balkan countries are surrounded by EU member states. However, they are handicapped by the slow process of catching up with the more developed parts of Europe. Some argue that Europe will not be complete until the region, is safely anchored within the European Union. Indeed, the stability and security of the region and of the EU would be much better fostered through a reliable accession process than a return to crisis management. Yet, following the Croatian accession the enlargement agenda has not been at the focus of the EU. On the other hand, the Western Balkan countries still have outstanding governance issues while their economies are facing a number of structural problems, including very high unemployment rates and severe external imbalances. Some of the issues that will be examined at this panel at the Skopje Forum will include: How to shape the development strategies of the Western Balkans for a new Europe and a new world due to emerge from the current turbulent challenges? How will the EU continue to be driver of reforms? What is the significance of the Balkan experience for other regions in the world?

Chair: Prof. **Marija Risteska** Director,
Center for Research and Policy Making

Speakers: Prof. **Dejan Jovic**,
Chief Analyst and Special Coordinator at Office of the President of Croatia

Prof. **Biljana Vankovska**,
Faculty of Philosophy, University of Cyril and Methodius, Skopje, Macedonia.

Leon Malazogu, Director,
Democracy for Development, Pristina, Kosovo

Prof. **Spyros Sofos**,
Center for Middle Eastern Studies, of Lund University, Sweden

17:00 - 17:45 Coffee Break

17:45 - 18:00 Ceremony of awarding CRPM certificates of appreciation to Mr. **Goran Buldioski**,
Director of Open Society Think Tank Fund

18:00 - 18:30 Showing of the documentary Ten years of CRPM- Ten years of Policy Impact

18:30 End of program

8th June 2014

Hotel Continental

09:30 - 11:30 **Panel 3:** The future of market economy and liberalism.

The issues that will be examined at this panel of the Skopje Forum will focus on the debate around the recent economic and financial crisis and the emergence of many protest movements around the world which have put back on the agenda questions about how to build a 'better world.' What kind of economic system would this world be built on? Would it be a capitalist one? If so, what kind of capitalism? If not, what are the alternatives? How to regain a balance between profit and liability, efficiency and equity and between growth and social-ecological justice in national economic and social orders? Can the social market economy model be a framework for responsible capitalism? What is the significance of the Balkan experience for other regions in the world?

Chair: **Igor Jovanovski**,
philosopher and activist from Macedonia

Speakers: **Srecko Horvat**,
philosopher and activist from Croatia

Prof. **Renata Salecl**,
senior researcher at the Institute of Criminology, Faculty of Law at the University of Ljubljana, Slovenia

Prof. **Slavisa Tasic**,
University of Mary in Bismarck, ND, USA

Prof. **Ognyan Minchev**,
University of Kliment Ohridski, Sofia

11:30 - 12:00 Coffee Break

12:00 - 14:00 **Panel 4:** Europe and the rising regional and global powers, Turkey and China

This panel deals with the relations between EU and two of the emerging powers: China and Turkey. China and EU are strategic partners, and inform the largest bilateral trade relationship in the world. They acknowledge each others role as world powers, and maintain a relationship that is best classified as one of "co-evolution" - trying to increase their mutual cooperation and act jointly where possible, while trying to minimize conflicting and contentious situations. In practice this has meant an ever-increasing economic exchange, followed by cooperation in several other policy areas, i.e. climate change – while carefully navigating the course of the relationship away from trade wars or political crises over sensitive issues. Turkey, on the other hand, is formally an EU candidate country since 1999 has grown to become a regional power, whose presence is felt significantly from the Middle East to Central Asia to the Balkans. However, this newly discovered political and economic influence, coupled with the stalling domestic reforms, seem to have resulted with an ever-growing complexity of the Brussels-Ankara relations. Turkey now pursues its own agenda both at home and abroad, rather than serving as building block for European influence in the region, and Europe is not happy about it. The panel will discuss what are the prospects for the Sino-European and Turco-European relations, and how their future affects the Balkans, and in particular Macedonia as a future EU-member state?

Chair: Prof. **Zhidas Daskalovski**,
Director of the School of Public Policy Mother Teresa

Speakers: Dr. **Misa Djurkovic**,
Institute of European Studies, Belgrade, Serbia.

Metodi Hadzhi Janev,
Vice Dean for Education and Scientific Research, Military Academy
"General Mihailo Apostolski"-Skopje

Prof. **Inan Ruma**,
Faculty of Economics and Administrative Sciences,
Bilgi University, Istanbul, Turkey

Anastas Vangeli,
PhD candidate at the Graduate School for Social Research, Warsaw, Poland.

14:00 Closing of the Conference



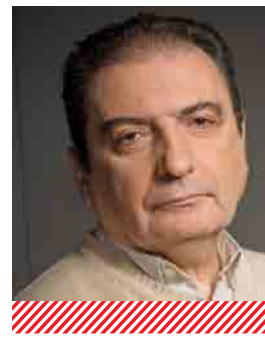
BULDIOSKI Goran is the director of the Think Tank Fund and acting director of the International Higher Education Support program (HESP) at the Open Society Foundations. He has conducted and coordinated policy relevant research on democratization and role of independent research to policy processes, carried out strategic planning and capacity building for NGOs and policy research centers, designed and delivered training on organization and project management in the nonprofit sector. As a grant maker, he has overseen portfolios above \$25M USD in Europe, South East Asia and small portfolios in Latin America and Africa. Buldioski holds graduate degrees in public policy from the Central European University and in organizational behavior from the George Washington University. Before joining the Open Society Foundations, he worked for the Council of Europe, the Macedonian Center for International Cooperation and the National Youth Council of Macedonia. He has consulted Habitat for Humanity International, European Commission, USAID, Search for Common Ground and many other international organizations. His articles and research papers addressing think tanks, policy-relevant research, and democratic transition have appeared in the LSE UNDP Development and Transition Newsletter, the International Journal for Not-for-Profit Law, European Voice, Sharp! Magazine, the Turkish Policy Quarterly, and the Western Balkans Security Observer.



DASKALOVSKI Zhidas holds a PhD from the Political Science Department, Central European University. A professor of political science, and one of the most prominent political scientists in the country, he is Director of the Council of Europe supported School of Public Policy "Mother Teresa". He has published numerous scholarly articles on politics in the Southeast European region, as well as co-edited books including: *Understanding the War in Kosovo* (Frank Cass: London, 2003) and *Ten Years after the Ohrid Framework Agreement: Lessons (to be) Learned from the Macedonian Experience*, (CRPM and Friedrich Ebert Stiftung: Skopje 2012). Dr. Daskalovski is the 2008 Young Scientist of the Year of the Macedonian Academy of Science, one of the Distinguished Persons of Bitola of the University of Kliment Ohridski and a recipient of a number of distinguished research fellowships including the Lord Dahrendorf Fellowship at St. Antony's College at the Oxford University, the School of Slavonic and East European Studies Macedonian Studies Fellowship, and the Social Science Research Council/ Ethnobarometer Fellowship at the University of North Carolina. He has written Macedonia country reports for Freedom House/Nations in Transit, Open Budget Index, Global Integrity Report, Bertelsmann Transformation Index, UNDP People Centred Analysis, UN Human Development Report.



DJURKOVIC Misa is holding PhD in Political Philosophy and is working as a senior researcher at the Institute of European Studies in Belgrade. His main fields of research are political theory, international relations and political readings of popular culture. He is the author of ten monographies and editor of three collections of papers. His recent publications include: *Turkey: Regional Power?*, *Milan Stojadinovic: Politics in Turbulent Times* and *The Dark Corridors of Power*. Besides academic work, he has solid experience in public administration, political and business consulting.



GLIGOROV Vladimir is Staff Economist at the wiiw and country expert for Balkan countries, in particular Serbia, Montenegro and Macedonia. His research focuses on long-term growth in transition countries, macroeconomic analysis and financial markets. He is a lecturer at the University of Vienna. Vladimir Gligorov has been a regular contributor to Oxford Analytica (Oxford and New York). He has contributed opinion pieces to the Wall Street Journal and writes regular columns for several newspapers and weeklies in Southeast Europe.



Colonel HADJI-JANEV Metodi is an associate professor of international law at the Military Academy General Mihailo Apostolski"-Skopje, "University Goce Delcev"-Stip, Macedonia. He serves as a Vice Dean for education and Research at the Military academy and is a Visiting professor at postgraduate studies at the Law faculty "Justinian -I", University "St. Cyril and Metodij-Skopje" where he teaches legal aspects of combating terrorism course and International terrorism and transitional crime course, both at Master level. He is a Global War on Terror veteran from Iraq. Colonel's Hadji-Janev (PhD) current research and academic work is focused on legal and strategic aspects of countering asymmetric, cyber and hybrid based threats. He publishes, educates, trains and participates in researches dedicated to critical information infrastructure and critical infrastructure protection on a regional (South East Europe) and international level; legal and strategic aspects of use of force in countering terrorist threats to CI/CII and on the development of legislation and strategic documents to effectively counter cyber and hybrid threat vectors.



JOVANOSKI Igor was a Volkswagen PhD fellow in transnational relations and political theory at the Bremen University in Germany. He is interested in the critical theory and political sociology of state and sovereignty, the critique of ideology, political violence and ideas of radical democracy, multiculturalism and global governance. Currently, Igor is a lecturer at the South-Eastern European University in Tetovo, and the Institute for Social Science and Humanities in Skopje, Macedonia.



JOVIĆ Dejan is a Professor of International Relations at University of Zagreb and Chief Analyst in the Office of the President of the Republic of Croatia. He obtained his PhD at London School of Economics and was Jean Monnet Fellow at European University Institute in Florence. He worked as Lecturer at University of Stirling. Professor Jović is the author of "Yugoslavia - A State that Withered Away" and editor of *Theories of International Relations: Realism* and "Slobodan Milošević: The Rise to Power".



MALAZOGU Leon is co-founder and executive director of Democracy for Development Institute (D4D). He holds an M.A. degree in International Peace Studies and Conflict Resolution from the University of Notre Dame. He has taught at the University of Prishtina, the American University in Kosovo and the South-East European University in Tetovo. He co-authored the curriculum for the newly opened department of Political Science/Public Administration for the University of Prishtina and served as a board member of the Albanian Political Science Association. He was scholar in residence at the Arizona State University for a semester researching public administration curriculum and local government. Previously, Leon served as a Regional Representative for the European Centre for Minority, Research Director at the Kosovar Institute for Policy Research and Development, adviser to the Deputy Prime Minister, and ran the Kosovo Office of the Project on Ethnic Relations. He led NGO coalitions to change the electoral system in 2004 and to observe the elections in 2007. Leon has conducted numerous studies on democratization, ethnic relations, regional dialogue, northern Kosovo, higher education and frequently presents in prestigious academic and policy conferences.



MINCHEV Ognyan is professor of political science, Dean of the Department of Political Science at the University of Sofia (1999- 2008) and policy analyst. He is one of the popular political commentators on domestic and international policy issues in Bulgaria. Dr. Minchev is heading the Institute for Regional and International Studies - a public policy think tank, focused on issues of democratization, institutional reform and development, modernization and security issues on the Balkans and in the Black Sea region. Ognyan Minchev is chairing the Board of Transparency International in Bulgaria - the international anti-corruption network and monitor. His publications are mostly focused on issues of post-communist transition, institutional reform and modernization, energy security, transatlantic relations, Russian and post-Soviet studies.



RELJIĆ Dušan is head of Brussels office of the German Institute for International and Security Affairs /SWP Berlin/. Between 2003 and 2013, he was research associate in the SWP division EU External Relations. In the period between 1996 and 2003 he was senior researcher and subsequently head of the Media and Democracy Programme at the Dusseldorf-based European Institute for the Media (EIM). Previously, he was i.a. senior editor at Radio Free Europe in Munich, the foreign editor of the Belgrade weekly Vreme, and co-founder of the Beta Press Agency in Belgrade during the critical years of 1991-1993. Dušan Reljić works on international relations and security with focus on the EU and southeast Europe; democratisation, nationalism and ethnic strife, as well as political communication and the media performance in situations of tensions and conflict. He is board member of several civil society organisations, including the Centre for Democracy and Reconciliation (CDRSEE) in Thessalonika.



RISTESKA Marija holds PhD in political science. She is the founder and Executive Director of the Centre for Research and Policy Making. Her research work is in the area of public administration reform, public management, good governance, policy transfer and European integration. She teaches at Political science faculty –FON University. Risteska has contributed to four specific public sector reforms in Macedonia on public policy development, strategic planning, and better regulation. Marija Risteska has edited the book "Mapping the leaders in Macedonia and Albania: can elites promote positive social change?"(2010) and co-edited the books "The Macedonian Question: 20 Years of Political Struggle into European Integration Structures"(2012); "Ten years after the Ohrid Framework Agreement: Lessons (to be) learned" (2011) and "European Law for Small and Medium Enterprises" (Risteska, Zahorka, Dimovska, 2004).



RUMA Inan holds a Ph.D. in International Relations and works as Assistant Professor at the Faculty of Economics and Administrative Sciences / Department International Relations.



SALECL Renata is philosopher and sociologist. She is Senior Researcher at the Institute of Criminology at the Faculty of Law in Ljubljana, Slovenia and Recurring Visiting Professor at Cardozo School of Law in New York and School of Law Birkbeck College in London.

She is the author of *The Spoils of Freedom* (Routledge 1994), *(Per) versions of Love and Hate* (Verso, 1998), *On Anxiety* (Routledge 2004). *Tyranny of Choice* (Profile Books 2010). Her books have been translated into 10 languages. She is also writing commentaries for the leading daily newspaper *Delo* in Ljubljana, Slovenia. In 2010, she has been named Slovenian Woman Scientist of the Year by women magazine *Jana*, and in 2011, Slovenian women magazine *Ona* named her Woman of the Year.



Spyros A. Sofos is a Researcher at the Center for Middle Eastern Studies, Lund University. He is editor of the *Journal of Contemporary European Studies* and co-edits the *Islam and Nationalism* series published by Palgrave-Macmillan with Umut Özkırmılı. His books include *Nation and Identity in Contemporary Europe* (with Brian Jenkins - 1997), *Tormented by History: Nationalism in Greece and Turkey* (with Umut Özkırmılı -2008 – Greek edition *To βάσανο της Ιστορίας* 2008 and Turkish edition *Tarihin Cenderesinde: Türk ve Yunan Milliyetçiliği* 2013) and *Islam in Europe: Public Spaces and Civic Networks* (with Roza Tsagarousianou, 2013). He has written extensively on identity, nationalism, populism, protest politics, conflict and the politics of divided societies with particular focus on Southeastern Europe (Yugoslavia and its successor republics, Greece and Turkey). He is also working on a project funded by the Swedish Research Council and Riksbankens jubileumsfond on the relevance of the Turkish and Nordic experiences to political transitions in the MENA region. Previously, he has held a NATO Research Fellowship and posts at the universities of Kent, Portsmouth, Kingston (and as a visiting lecturer at Tartu University and the University of Siena and as a visiting researcher at the University of Oxford).



SREĆKO Horvat, philosopher and political activist from Croatia. He published nine books; latest publications include "After the End of History. From the Arab Spring to the Occupy" (Laika Verlag, 2013) and "What Does Europe Want?" (Istros Books, 2013) together with Slavoj Žižek, upcoming in a new edition at Columbia University Press in 2014. He is regular contributor to the Guardian, Al Jazeera and New York Times.



ŚWITALSKI Piotr Antoni is a Polish career diplomat holding the rank of titular ambassador. He served as Deputy Foreign Minister of Poland in the government of Marek Belka (2005), then as Permanent Representative of Poland to the Council of Europe (2005-2010). Since 2010, he has been Director of Policy Planning at the Council of Europe on a secondment from the Polish Government. He holds a Ph.D. degree in international relations. His recent books include: Europe and the Spectre of Post-Growth Society – Debates at the Council of Europe Schools of Political Studies, 2014, Emocje, interesy, wartości. Przemiany paradygmatów polityki międzynarodowej, Wyd. Adam Marszałek, Toruń, 2013), and Droga do Pangei: polityka międzynarodowa czasu "globalizacyjnej konwergencji", Wyd. Adam Marszałek, Toruń, 2011.



Dr. TASIĆ Slavisa is an Associate Professor of Economics at the University of Mary in North Dakota, USA. Previously he taught economics in Ukraine, Russia and in Lithuania, and worked as a consultant for government and international organizations. He has a bachelor's degree in economics from the University of Belgrade in Serbia – where he is from – and a PhD from the University of Turin in Italy. Dr. Tasic has published a number of articles in international academic journals as well as a book on the world financial crisis. His areas of interest are monetary and international economics, economics of regulation, political economy and behavioral economics.



VANGELI Anastas is a Research Assistant at Cross-National Studies: Interdisciplinary Research and Training Program (CONSIRT) and Associate at ThinkIN China. He holds master degrees in Contemporary China Studies (Renmin University, Beijing, 2013) and Nationalism Studies (Central European University, Budapest, 2009).



Prof. Dr. VANKOVSKA Biljana is a Political scientist, full professor and Head of MA Program in Peace and Development at the Faculty of Philosophy, University of Skopje. She is also a Faculty Staff member at the European Peace University in Schatdschlaining, Austria. Served as guest Research fellow at Copenhagen Peace Research Institute (COPRI) and worked as Senior fellow at Geneva-based Centre for Democratic Control of the Armed Forces (DCAF). She has been active in the NGO sector for many years and was a Public advocator for the Initiative for RECOM (Regional Commission for Fact Finding on War Crimes in ex-Yugoslavia). Prof. Vankovska is regular guest in the Macedonian and Balkan media, columnist for a Macedonian daily and for the Serbian portal Peščanik.



ZAHORKA Hans-Jürgen, a former Member of European Parliament, works since 1997 as Government Advisor (for the EU, UNDP, World Bank) in third countries (Balkan, Eastern Partnership countries, Central Asia, Russia, China, but also African countries and CARICOM) and as a seasoned expert for TEAM EUROPE (expert pool of EU Commission/DG Communication). He was an attorney-at-law in Germany, pleading also in France, Belgium and Italy, and ran for nine years a foreign chamber of commerce office in Baden-Württemberg/Germany. He works since 2003 first as Senior Advisor, now as CEO, for LIBERTAS - European Institute GmbH, a think-tank on European and international governance and economy. Senior Lecturer in many universities (Lahr/Black Forest, Zürich, Minsk, Frankfurt/Oder, Bishkek/Kyrgyzstan) in EU law, EU institutions and economy; many publications (in 13 languages). Chief Editor of "European Union Foreign Affairs Journal".



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