Balkans Backwards and Forwards
25 Years After Dayton
A Month-long Series of Discussions

Hosted by

University of St Andrews

FOUNDED 1413
A quarter of a century ago – in the oddly sterile setting of the Dayton air force base, Ohio – the worst of the wars of Yugoslav secession was finally shut down. By late 1995 over three years of war in Bosnia had killed over 100,000 people; unleashed campaigns of mass rape and genocide; and destroyed a vibrant multi-cultural society. A better future finally beckoned for the Balkans.

Late 2020 seems high time to take stock of how that future actually unfolded. The Handa Centre for the Study of Terrorism and Political Violence (CSTPV) at the University of St Andrews is therefore proud to host an ambitious month-long series of online discussions. These will gather together a unique cast of leading Balkan experts to discuss the challenges for the region: past, present and future.

1995 represented a high noon for western liberal triumphalism. 25 years on, though, the mood is distinctly darker. As western democracies themselves begin to look more polarised and dysfunctional, the lessons to be learnt from the fate of the Balkans only grow in importance. ‘Balkans Backwards and Forwards’ represents a timely set of discussions: and a necessary one.
Opening and Keynote Address

10 November
2pm – 4pm GMT

Introduction

An introduction to the event and the weeks ahead by Dr Tim Wilson
Director of CSTPV and Stephen Gethins, Professor of Practice,
School of International Relations,
University of St Andrews

Keynote Address: Allan Little, BBC senior correspondent and co-author of *The Death of Yugoslavia*

Discussant: Dr Kurt Bassuener

Moderator: Dr Tim Wilson

Allan Little was born and raised in Galloway, and is a graduate of the University of Edinburgh. He has been a BBC journalist for 35 years. He has reported from more than ninety countries, including the former Yugoslavia, Iraq, Afghanistan and Congo. He has twice been the BBC’s Africa Correspondent, based in Johannesburg, as well as its resident correspondent in Moscow and Paris. He is the co-author of “The Death of Yugoslavia” (Penguin, 1995). He lives in Edinburgh, where is chairman of the Edinburgh International Book Festival, and continues reporting from the UK and around the world.

In the week prior to November 24th Valery Perry’s film “Looking for Dayton”, which premiered at the 2020 Sarajevo Film Festival, will be available for viewing.

The film follows three friends who fought in and for Sarajevo during the war as they travel to the United States to ask questions, seek answers, and consider the impact of the US-brokered peace agreement on their lives and their country 25 years later.
Thematic Panel

17 November
TIME TBD
GMT

How We Got Here – A discussion and Q & A

Moderator: Dr Tim Wilson
Panel Members
Dr Tomasz Kamusella, Reader, School of History, University of St Andrews: Todor Zhivkov’s Ethnic cleansing of Bulgaria’s Turks and Muslims – Lessons and Implications in the Neighbourhood
Sonja Biserko, Helsinki Committee for Human Rights in Serbia: Muscle Memory of Non-alignment and the Persistence of the Greater Serbia Project
Thematic Panel

24 November
2PM – 4PM GMT

Crippled in Triage – Dayton Saves and Hobbles Bosnia and Herzegovina

Moderator: Dr Tim Wilson
Panel Members

Peter Lippman, author of Surviving the Peace: The Struggle for Postwar Recovery in Bosnia and Herzegovina – Grassroots Human Rights Campaigns in Bosnia-Herzegovina—Pushing the boundaries of institutionalized obstruction

Dr Kurt Bassuener, CSTPV and Senior Associate, Democratisation Policy Council, Peace and Cartels – How Power-Sharing Peace Deals Enabled Perpetual Oligarchy in Bosnia and North Macedonia

Dr Senada Šelo Šabić, University of Zagreb/Institute for Development and International Relations (IRMO): A View from the Field – and a Proposal: Municipalities as the Elementary Building Blocks of Democracy in BiH and Beyond
Beyond the 'geopolitical chessboard' paradigm – self-serving narratives & corrosive capital in the Balkans

Moderator: Dr Mateja Peter, School of International Relations, University of St Andrews
Panel Members
Dr. Tena Prelec, Research Fellow, Department of Politics and International Relations, Oxford: The geopolitical utilities of sultanism in the Balkans
Ljupcho Petkovski, Director, Stellar Research, Skopje: External Illiberals and the Lure of Reactionary Values
Bodo Weber, Senior Associate, Democratization Policy Council, Berlin: The Belgrade-Prishtina Dialogue – a case study in transatlantic policy malpractice
Where Can We Go? Potential for Civic Initiative and Organic Progress, Western Fragmentation and Authoritarian Initiative

Moderator: Stehen Gethins, Professor of Practice, former MP for Fife, former Vice Chair of All-Party Groups for Serbia and Bosnia and Herzegovina

Panel Members

Dr. Ivan Stefanovski, Eurothink, Skopje: What happened to the “Balkan Spring?” Lessons from social movements’ failures and breakthroughs

Dobrica Veselinović, Ne Davimo Beograd movement, Serbia: Constructing functioning civic governance in Serbia from the local

Guest Speakers

Sonja Biserko

Sonja Biserko is the chairperson of the Helsinki Committee of Human Rights in Serbia. She has worked with numerous civil and human rights programmes and participated in a number of international conferences focused on regional crises and conflicts.

Allan Little

Allan Little was born and raised in Galloway, and is a graduate of the University of Edinburgh. He has been a BBC journalist for 35 years. He is the co-author of “The Death of Yugoslavia”. He lives in Edinburgh, is chairman of the Edinburgh International Book Festival, and he continues reporting from the UK and around the world.

Peter Lippman

Peter Lippman is a lifelong human rights activist. Lippman has followed the efforts of grassroots activists to return to their prewar homes, fight corruption and discrimination, and regain their rights. His book on postwar human rights campaigns, Surviving the Peace, was published in 2019.
Dr Valery Perry

Valery Perry, Ph.D., has worked in the Western Balkans since the late 1990s for DPC, ECMI, PILPG, OSCE, NATO SFOR, and several NGOs. She has edited: *Extremism and Violent Extremism in Serbia: 21-st Century Manifestations of an Historical Challenge*.

Ljupcho Petkovski

Ljupcho Petkovski is a freelance policy consultant. He has a broad interest in society and politics of the Western Balkans. In the past, he was involved in management of NGOs. Currently, he is running a fintech start-up developing SaaS market research tools.

Dr Tena Prelec

Tena Prelec (PhD, Sussex University) is a Research Fellow at the Department of Politics and International Relations, University of Oxford. She is also a Research Associate at LSEE-Research on South Eastern Europe and a member of the Balkans in Europe Policy Advisory Group.
Dr Senada Šelo Šabić

Dr Senada Šelo Šabić works as a senior scientific associate in the Institute for Development and International Relations in Zagreb, Croatia. Her research interests focus on Southeast Europe, European politics and migration. Senada is editor-in-chief of the scholarly journal Croatian International Relations Review.

Dr Ivan Stefanovski

Ivan Stefanovski interests lay in democratization, good governance, contemporary social movements in South East Europe, security and preventing/countering violent extremism. Currently he is the Executive Director of EUROTHINK and an adjunct professor of practice at the University American College Skopje.

Dobrica Veselinović

Dobrica Veselinovic is active in the civil sector, working for various NGOs. He fights for public spaces and participation of citizens in decision-making. He is the founder of the Collective Ministry of Space, Civic Front, Institute for Urban Policy, leader of Don’t Let Belgrade D(r)own.
Bobo Weber

Bodo Weber is a Senior Associate of the Democratization Policy Council (DPC) concentrating on the Western Balkans, German and European foreign and security policy, transatlantic relations. Weber has an MA in political science from the Johann-Wolfgang-Goethe-University in Frankfurt/Main. He lives in Berlin.
Dr Kurt Bassuener

Dr. Kurt Bassuener recently received his PhD at the University of St. Andrews for his dissertation *Peace Cartels: Internationally Brokered Power-Sharing and Perpetual Oligarchy in Bosnia and Herzegovina and North Macedonia*. He is co-founder and senior associate of the Democratization Policy Council.

Stephen Gethins

Stephen Gethins is Professor of Practice in International Relations. He was Member of Parliament for North East Fife and served two terms as a member of the Foreign Affairs Committee. Before politics he worked for NGOs in the Western Balkans.

Dr Tomasz Kamusella

Tomasz Kamusella is Reader in Modern History at the University of St Andrews. He specializes in the language politics and nationalism in modern central Europe. He recently published *Ethnic Cleansing During the Cold War: The Forgotten 1989 Expulsion of Turks from Communist Bulgaria*. 
Dr Mateja Peter

Mateja Peter is a Lecturer in International Relations at St Andrews and director of the Centre for Global Law and Governance. She writes on the role of external actors in statebuilding in the Balkans and Africa and on international administration of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Dr Tim Wilson

Tim Wilson directs the Handa Centre for the Study of Terrorism and Political Violence at the University of St Andrews. An expert witness for the New Zealand government's Royal Commission into the Christchurch Mosque shootings, he is a frequent commentator on terrorism in the media as well as a twitter addict at @TimWilsonCSTPV
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