

**THE ZONE OF TURMOIL**  
**THE DANGERS OF BALKANIZATION FROM THE ADRIATIC TO THE SEA OF AZOV**  
**28-31 October 1993**  
**Vaduz, Liechtenstein**

October 28, 1993

Arrival and Welcome

October 29, 1993

Morning Session: Causes for the Dissolution and Formation of States

Dissolution of Empire-Causes and Consequences

Robert Gilpin, Princeton University

Geopolitics and Traditional Alignments? The French Perspective

Frank Debié, Université de Paris IV (Sorbonne) and Centre de Géostratégie de l'Ecole Normale

Geopolitics and Internal Versus External Interests: A Superpower Perspective

William Wohlforth, Princeton University

Geopolitik and the Balkans"

Klaus Becher, Fellow, Deutsche Gesellschaft für Aussenpolitik, Bonn

How to Accelerate the Transformation of Eastern European Countries – With Mutual Advantages

Hannes Androsch, Chairman, Androsch International (formerly Minister of Finance and Vice- Chancellor, Republic of Austria)

Tensions Created by Nationalism, Ethnic Groups, and Religion

Richard Falk, Princeton University

The Conflict around the Former Yugoslavia: An Overview

Dusan Sidjanski, University of Geneva; Institute of European Studies, Geneva

Luncheon Address: H.E. Ambassador Muhammed Sacirbey, Ambassador, Permanent Representative of Bosnia-Herzegovina to the UN, New York

Afternoon Session: The Role and Dimensions of Religion

The Interests of the Greek Orthodox Church

Metropolit Domaskinos, Metropolit Orthodox, Geneva

The Concerns for Turkish Religious Affairs

Lütfi Dogan, formerly President of Religious Affairs and State Minister, Ankara

Private Concert: Elisabeth Gerle, Stockholm

Dinner Address: H.E. Ambassador Branko Brankovic, Head of International Organizations, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Belgrade

October 30, 1993

Morning session: The Situation in and around Former Yugoslavia

Bosnia-Herzegovina: Causes and Consequences of Independence

Marie-Janine Calic, Dozent, Stiftung Wissenschaft und Politik, Ebenhausen, Germany,  
Drazan Petrovic, University of Sarajevo, and Fellow, Faculty of Law,  
University of Geneva

Potential Further Crises: Croatia-Serbia

Radovan Vukadinovic, Institute of Political Science, University of Zagreb

Potential Further Crises: Dangers for Kosovo

Ismail Hasani, Faculty of Islamic Studies, University of Pristina, Kosovo

Potential Further Crises: Macedonia – The Internal and External Situation

Emilija Simoska, Center for Ethnic Relations, Skopje, Macedonia  
Nano Ruzin, University of Skopje, Macedonia

Luncheon Address: General Philippe Morillon, Advisor to the Government of France; formerly  
Commander of UN Forces, UNPROFOR

Discussion: The Military Strategic Dimension

The Armed Forces in Former Yugoslavia: Special Reference to the Serbian Military

Milan Vego, Naval War College, Rhode Island

The Military Strategic Dimension and Russian Interests

Maj. Gen. Herman V. Kirilenko, Professor and Deputy Chairman, Strategic Department  
General Staff Academy of the Russian Armed Forces, Moscow

Defense Industry and Arms Trade: The Case of the Balkans

Guillaume Schlumberger, SNECMA, Paris

Afternoon Session: The Regional Aspect – The Neighboring Powers in the South

The Policies and Dangers for Albania

Elez Biberaj Head of Albanian Section, Voice of America, State, Washington

The Position of Bulgaria

Ivan Ilchev, Project on Ethnic Relations, Sofia

The Potential Problems for Romania

Andrei Marga, Rector, University of Cluj, Cluj-Napocs

The Various Dimensions for Greece

Athanassios Platias, Planteios University, Athens

Macedonia – The External Situation

H.E. Ljubica Acevska, Representative of the Republic of Macedonia to the U.S.

The Turkish Policy-Past and Present

Duygu Bazoglu Sezer, Bilkent University, Ankara

October 31, 1993

Session I: European Geopolitics and Interests

Introduction

Virginia Tsoyderos, formerly Minister of Foreign Affairs, Athens

Foreign Intervention: The Perspective of NATO

Col. John Mckay, USMC, NATO Planning, Brussels

Problems and Setbacks for European Organizations

Mary Kaldor, University of Sussex, England, and Cochair, Helsinki Citizens' Assembly

The Role and Activities of the European Communities"

Bertrand de Largentaye, Senior Councillor, Political Affairs, European Communities, Brussels

International Humanitarian Organizations: New Challenges and Disasters

Jean Claude Mulli, Deputy Director, Medical Division, Committee of the International Red Cross, Geneva

Problems and Efficiency of the United Nations Organizations in the Crisis

Mario Zucconi, Senior Fellow, Centro Studi di Politica Internazionale, Roma

## Session II: The Northern Neighbors

German Politics in the Balkans

Josef Joffe, Foreign Editor, *Süddeutsche Zeitung*, München

Michael Libal, VLR I., Head, Department of South-East European Affairs, Ministry of Foreign Relations, Bonn

View from Austria

Ambassador Albert Rohan, Deputy Director General, Political Affairs, Federal Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Vienna

Slovenian Perspective

Anton Bebler, Ambassador of the Republic of Slovenia to the UN, Geneva

Debate in and Objectives of Italy

Ilaria Poggiolini, Lecturer, Department of International Relations, University of Florence

## Session III: The Great Powers

The Russian Policy – Historical, Contemporary – and Eventualities

Nicolai L Rizkov, formerly Prime Minister of the USSR, Moscow

The View from the United States

Ambassador Philip S. Kaplan, Senior Advisor, Policy Planning Staff, U.S. State Department

Outside Power Influence and Capabilities: The View from the Islamic World Community

Amin Saikal, National University, Canberra, Australia

The British Objectives

James Gow, Department of War Studies, King's College, London

The French Policy to the Balkans – Tradition and Future"

Jacques Rupnik, Fondation Nationale des Sciences Politiques, Paris

Summary Presentation: Dusan Sidjanski, University of Geneva