and opportunities in these spaces – for all. This contribution will present the project and EPI's peace research, which is nested within it, as the latest development/peacebuilding intervention in a new era of possibilities for Mostar and one of the newest EU candidate states, Bosnia and Herzegovina.

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### SERBIA HEDGING ITS BETS BETWEEN WEST AND EAST

This article explains the evolution of Serbian political, economic and security relations with the European Union, Russia, and China in the period 2009-2022. The analysis of Serbia's ambivalent relations with three partners relies on the existing literature on the strategies of small states in relation to great powers. An overview of several theoretical concepts has ensured the identification of the hedging model as suitable for understanding Serbia's approach towards external actors. Within various descriptions of hedging policy in the literature, the conception of the author Cheng-Chwee Kuik was chosen as adequate for analytical clarification of Serbian behavior in recent years as a complex combination of hedging components of economic pragmatism, binding engagement, limited bandwagoning, dominance denial, and indirect balancing. Such a theoretical interpretation of Serbian relations with the European Union, Russia, and China is important as the country does not yet have a written form of its foreign policy strategy, nor is there a more detailed doctrinal basis of this model in domestic literature. In practical terms, this analysis will help to better understand how Serbia found itself in an uncomfortable position between the West and the East due to the outbreak of the war in Ukraine. The research methodology of this work is based on the combination of semi-structured interviews with Serbian foreign policy experts and the analysis of secondary statistical data on Serbian foreign trade and foreign direct investments (FDI).

Key words: Serbia, hedging policy, European Union, Russia, China

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# EVROPSKE INTEGRACIJE SEVERNE MAKEDONIJE: KANDIDAT-SVEDOK TRANFORMACIJE EVROPSKE UNIJE

Sažetak: Severna Makedonija više nije u fokusu proširenja Evropske unije. Nakon konflikta 2001. godine bila je država-lider na evropskom putu, u mnogim segmentima ispred Hrvatske koja je već članica. Početkom druge decenije 21. veka dobila je ulogu "poslednjeg vagona" u

širem kontekstu evropskih integracija na Zapadnom Balkanu, bez sumnje iza Hrvatske koja je već tada spremno očekivala datum ulaska, ali istovremeno iza Crne Gore i Srbije. Sve je bilo svedeno na grčko-makedonski spor koji je zapravo odgovorio na pitanje da je Grčka daleko od uloga "ekskluzivnog kočničara" evropskih integracija svog severnog suseda. Zapravo, tranformacija je bila dvosmerna ulica u slučaju odnosa Evropske unije i Severne Makedonije. Dok se Skoplje suočavalo sa unutrašnjom borbom građanske (binacionalne) i nacionalne (jednonacionalne) države, sveprožimajućim političkim okršajem čiji je epilog bio u potpunosti zarobljene institucije, Evropska unija je bila suočena sa unutrašnjim ekonomskim, finansijskim, a potom i političkim i institucionalnim izazovima koje su u neku ruku uticale da Brisel ne spreman dočeka sukob na teritoriji Ukrajine. Upravo zato potražićemo odgovore na pitanja: koji su uzroci "vakuuma" u odnosima Skoplja i Brisela, Koje pogrešne korake možemo da pripišeme Skoplju, a koje Briselu, da li je evropska integracija na zapadnom Balkanu postao samo teorijski koncept, bez praktične mogućnosti realizacije i kako će izgledati sledeća tranformacija, Evropske unije, s jedne strane i Severne Makedonije, s druge – nakon svih tekućih izazova?

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## NEW GEOPOLITICAL INITIATIVES IN THE EUROPEAN UNION'S ENLARGEMENT POLICY: THE CASE OF THE EUROPEAN POLITICAL COMMUNITY

The 27-member European Union experienced enlargement fatigue after Croatia's accession in 2013, had to cope with constantly changing crises on the agenda and had to slow down its enlargement processes in this conjuncture. However, the period that started with Russia's invasion of Ukraine on February 24, 2022 has shaken Europe's security and paved the way for the discussion of democratic values. European countries had to response to Russia's invasion of Ukraine and shape policies accordingly. The European Political Community is a new initiative that emerged within the scope of these policies.

This initiative, launched by French President Emmanuel Macron in May 2022, brought together both European countries that are members of the Union and those that are not. Although it is underlined that it is not a new alternative to the European Union, it is important in terms of creating an opportunity where Europe's problems can be discussed and cooperation can be developed through different channels with the participation of European countries other than Russia and Belarus, which are not yet members of the Union, and the United Kingdom, which has left the Union.

This study aims to examine the development of the European Political Community and to analyze the geopolitical environment in which the discussions on the enlargement process of the European Union, European security, the energy problem and thus the future of Europe will be addressed.