



# AGENDA

## TIRANA 2017



Konrad  
Adenauer  
Stiftung



# MEMORY DAYS 2017

(2nd edition)

**16 - 23 NOVEMBER 2017, TIRANA**

Languages: Albanian, English, German

[#memorydays2017](#)

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## THURSDAY, 16 NOVEMBER

Venue: Tirana National Museum, Dictatorship  
Exhibition Pavilion

Opening ceremony of MEMORY DAYS 2017  
EXHIBITION presentation

17:00 Registration

17:30 - 18:00

Welcome address:

**Jonila Godole,**

Director of Institute for Democracy,  
Media & Culture (IDMC)

**Walter Glos,**

Director of Konrad Adenauer  
Foundation (KAS)

**Susanne Schütz,**

Ambassador of German Embassy  
in Tirana

**Bernd Borchardt,**

Ambassador of OSCE  
Presence in Albania

18:00 - 18:30

Opening speeches

**Hildigund Neubert**

Former Commissioner for STASI files in Thüringen  
Politics of Memory – German experience

**Video-speech by Sami Repishti**

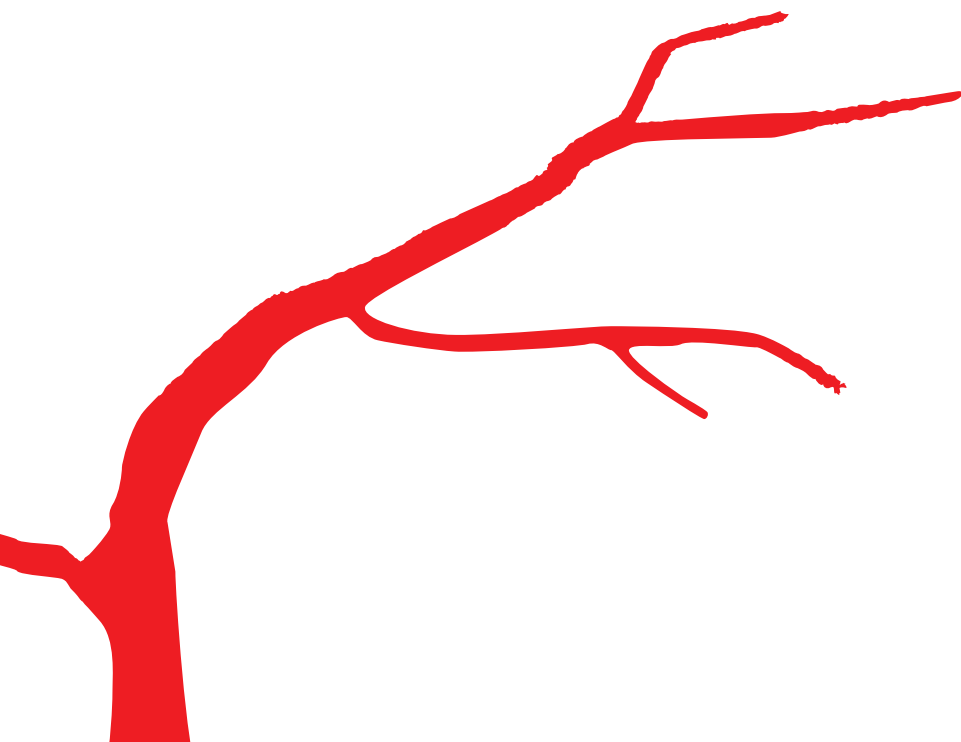
Former persecutee  
Forgetfulness of dealing with the past

18:30 - 19:00

Presentation of the  
exhibition: **“Propaganda during  
the dictatorship”**

19:00

Reception



# FRIDAY, 17 NOVEMBER

Venue: Tirana International Hotel, Classic Conference Room

International Conference: “**BETWEEN APATHY AND NOSTALGIA**: Public and Private Recollections of Communism in Contemporary Albania”

**09:00 - 09:30** Welcoming Coffee

**09:30 - 10:00** Opening Speeches  
**Hildigund Neubert**  
Former Commissioner for STASI files in Thüringen  
Representative of Ministry of Education,  
Sports & Youth (tbc)

**10:00 - 10:45** **KEYNOTE SPEECH**  
**Daniela Koleva**  
St Kliment Ohridski University of Sofia  
Post - Socialist Nostalgia: What is it and  
what to do about it?  
**Moderator: Jonila Godole**  
University of Tirana & IDMC

**10:45 - 12:00** **Session 1**  
**POLITICS OF MEMORY**  
**Rigels Halili**  
University of Warsaw & Nicolaus Copernicus University  
of Toruń  
Remembering Communism – the Interplay  
between Work on Memory and Work of  
Memory in Albania and Poland  
**Sokol Lleshi**  
European University of Tirana  
Restoration of Tradition: Institutional Effects  
on Cultural Battles over Memory  
**Afrim Krasniqi**  
University of Tirana & Albanian Institute for Political  
Studies (ISP)  
Everybody Pro and Against the Communism:  
Paradoxes in the Change of the Political  
System and Attitudes towards Communism  
(1990-1992)  
**Moderator: Elidor Mëhilli**  
Hunter College, City University of New York

**12:00 - 12:15** **COFFEE BREAK**

**12:15 - 13:00** **Session 2**  
**COMMUNIST HERITAGE IN THE URBAN  
SPACE**  
**Kailey Rocker**  
University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill  
Ruins, Bodies, and Pyramids:  
Exploring Communist Ruins and Memory  
Politics in Albania  
**Ilir Parangoni**  
Albanian-American Development Foundation  
Debating the Handling of Communist Ruins  
**Moderator: Francesco Iacono**  
University of Cambridge

**13:00 - 14:00** **LUNCH**

14:00 - 14:45

### Session 3

#### COMMUNISM IN THE MUSEUMS

**Alseno Kokalari**

Panteion University of Social and Political Sciences,  
Athens

Remembering the Communist Past in Albania:  
The Case of Bunk'Art Project

**Konstantinos Giakoumis**

European University of Tirana

On the Politics and Pragmatics of Memory  
and Oblivion: Post-Communist Attitudes  
towards Communist Museology Approaches  
in Albania

**Moderator: Irena Myzeqari**

European University of Tirana

14:45 - 15:00

#### COFFEE BREAK

15:00 - 16:15

### Session 4

#### PUBLIC DISCOURSES AND PRIVATE MEMORIES

**Francesco Iacono**

University of Cambridge

Communist Heritage and the Memory of  
Communism in Post - Socialist Albania:  
Between Public Discourses and Private  
Recollections

**Blerina Kellezi, Clifford Stevenson,  
Aurora Guxholli,**

Nottingham Trent University

Remembrance, Psychological Wellbeing and  
Intergroup Relations

**Gilles de Rapper**

Institute for Mediterranean, European and Comparative  
Ethnology, Aix-en-Provence

Photography and Remembrance. Questioning  
the Visual Legacy of Communism and its  
Reception in Contemporary Albania

**Moderator: Julie Vullnetari**

University of Southampton

16:15 - 17:00

### Session 5

#### POSTER PRESENTATIONS

**Brisejda Lala**

University of Tirana:

Albanian - Soviet Union relations in private  
and collective memory

**Rashela Shehu**

Independent researcher:

The creation of places of collective (commu-  
nist) memory in the public space

**Romina Kali**

Independent researcher:

Memories and post-communist treatment of  
former persecuted families of Shkodra.

**Leonora Laçi**

Independent researcher:

Reçi's War in the memory of people yesterday  
and today.

**Moderator: Sonila Danaj**

University of Jyväskylä

# SATURDAY, 18 NOVEMBER

Venue: Tirana International Hotel, Classic Conference Room

09:00 - 09:30 Welcoming Coffee

09:30 - 10:00 **Session 6**  
**PERSPECTIVES FROM ROMANIA**  
**Cristian Vasile**

Romanian Academy of Sciences  
Remembering Communism in Romania:  
The Role of Historical Commissions  
**Moderator: Idris Idrizi**  
University of Vienna

10:00 - 11:15 **Session 7**  
**COMMUNISM IN ACADEMIC RESEARCH,  
FICTION, MEDIA**  
**Federico Boni**

Università degli Studi di Milano  
Specters of Communism. Albanian (Post-) Socialist Studies and the Repression of Communist Legacies  
**Elidor Mëhilli**  
Hunter College, City University of New York  
“The Dictatorship’s Archive”  
**Brikena Smajli**  
European University of Tirana  
A Poetic of Memory through Novel Narrativeness and Metanarratives of New Albanian Literature  
**Moderator: Kostandinos Giakoumis**  
European University of Tirana

11:05 - 11:30 **COFFEE BREAK**

11:30 - 12:45 **Session 8**  
**COMMUNISM REMEMBRANCE AND YOUTH**  
**Jonila Godole**

University of Tirana & IDMC  
New Generation and the “Borrowed” Memory on Communism  
**Irena Myzeqari**  
European University of Tirana  
A “Loaned” Memory and a “Bittersweet” Nostalgia – How Youth Remember Communism  
**Moderator: Blerina Kellezi**  
Nottingham Trent University



12:15 - 13:00

**Session 9**  
**PRIVATE RECOLLECTIONS  
AND EXTERNAL VIEWS**  
**Filippo Frangioni**

You2TellEu – European Project of Historical Memory  
Albanian Immigration in Tuscany and the  
Memory of Communism

**Andreas Hemming**

German-Albanian Friendship Association

“Did I not see, or Did I not Want to See?”

Former West German Communist Activists  
Remember Albania

**Moderator: Brikena Smajli**

European University of Tirana

13:00 - 14:00

**LUNCH**

14:00 - 15:15

**Session 10**  
**PRIVATE RECOLLECTIONS**  
**Idrit Idrizi**

University of Vienna

From Demonisation to Glorification:  
Typologies of Privately Remembering  
Communism in Contemporary Albania

**Irida Vorpsi**

University of Tirana & University of Vienna

Communism in the Minds and Souls:  
Of Nostalgia and Forgetfulness in  
Post-Communist Albania

**Julie Vullnetari**

University of Southampton & Russell King, University  
of Sussex

‘Dancing in the Mouth of the Wolf!’

Remembering Everyday Life at the Border  
in Socialist Albania

**Moderator: Rigels Halili**

University of Warsaw & Nicolaus Copernicus

University of Toruń

15:15 - 15:30

**CONCLUSIONS**

19:00

**DINNER**





## SUNDAY, 19 NOVEMBER

Parallel Study Visits to Sites of Memory in Tirana & Shkodra

## MONDAY, 20 NOVEMBER

Venue: Rogner Hotel

### “LAW & JUSTICE” SYMPOSIUM

- 09:15 - 09:30** Registration
- 09:30 - 10:00** Welcome address  
**Walter Gros**  
Director of Konrad Adenauer Foundation  
**Anke Holstein**  
Deputy German Ambassador in Albania  
**Bernd Borchardt**  
Ambassador of OSCE Presence in Albania
- 10:00 - 10:15** “Reappraisal of the Communist Dictatorship in Poland”  
**Łukasz Kamiński**  
University of Wrocław, Poland
- 10:15 - 10:30** “Communist crimes and their state impunity”  
**Agron Tufa**  
Institute for Studies on the Crimes and Consequences of Communism
- 10:30 - 10:45** **COFFEE BREAK**
- 10:45 - 12:00** **Panel discussion: “The legal and social process of dealing with the communist past”**  
**Moderator: Jonila Godole**  
IDMC & University of Tirana
- Panellists:  
**Gentiana Sula**  
Authority on Access to Information on the former State Security Service  
**Markus Meckel**  
Bundesstiftung Aufarbeitung Germany  
**Radu Preda**  
President of the Institute for the investigation of Communist Crimes and the Memory of the Romanian Exile (IICCMER)  
**Fatos Lubonja** Former political prisoner  
**Enkelejd Alibeaj** Democratic Party
- 12:00 - 12:30** **Q & A**
- 12:30 - 13:00** Presentation of the photo album: Following the traces of communism in Albania  
**Alice Teodorescu**  
Analyst, Blogger, Photographer (Romania)

# TUESDAY, 21 NOVEMBER

Venue: Tirana International Hotel, Teuta Room

## BOOK PRESENTATIONS

- 09:00 - 09:30** Registration
- 09:30 - 10:30** Book presentation (1)  
**Elidor Mëhilli**  
“From Stalin to Mao: Albania and the Socialist World”  
**Moderator: Idris Idrizi**  
University of Vienna
- 10:30 - 11:15** **Book presentation (2)**  
“Communism through archival documents: Repression during the self-isolation”. A pedagogical tool for teachers by IDMC
- 11:15 - 11:30** **COFFEE BREAK**
- 11:30 - 12:00** **Book presentation (3)**  
“Encyclopaedic Dictionary of Victims of Communist Terror”, Vol. VI, by the Institute for the Studies of Communist Crimes and Consequences in Albania (ISKK).

## PUBLIC READING OF KOKALARI FILE

Venue: Tirana National Museum

- 17:00** **Welcome address**
- 17:10 - 17:45** **Jonila Godole**  
IDMC  
Moderator
- Panellists:  
**Skender Vrioni**  
AIDSSH  
**Linda Kokalari**  
“Musine Kokalari” Institute  
**Persida Asllani**  
National Library  
**Dorian Koçi**  
Tirana National Museum
- 17:45 - 19:00** **Public reading of Musine Kokalari file**  
**Moderator: Edlira Agolli**  
OSCE

## WEDNESDAY, 22 NOVEMBER

Venue: Tirana National Museum, Library Room

### ORAL HISTORY (OSCE activity)

14:00 - 16:00

Welcome address

**Sarah McGuckin**

OSCE

**Jonila Godole**

IDMC

Youth Forum on Oral History

**Moderator: Edlira Agolli**

OSCE

Panellists:

**Miran Butka**

Institute for Studying Communist Crimes

**Valbona Bezati**

Journalist, Project coordinator of

“Unë dëshmoj – I testify”

**Fatmiroshe Xhemalaj**

EUROCLIO Ambassador in Albania

**Fabian Kati**

A victim of persecution, journalist, film director

## THURSDAY, 23 NOVEMBER

Venue: Tirana International Hotel, Balsha Room

### AWARDS CEREMONY

### “ASK YOUR GRANDPARENTS II”

17:00 - 17:30

Registration

17:30 - 17:45

Welcome address by the organizers

17:45 - 19:00

Competition awards

19:00

Reception



## **A part from the keynote speech of Sami Repishti, former persecutee**

'Forgetting' crimes that have been committed is possible only as time draws a veil over them and our past too – without mercy! The judgement on the act remains, as does the possibility for its forgiveness. The forgiveness of the act is a voluntary gesture which can be offered only by those who suffer from the crime: the only category of people who have this privilege, who are rationally capable and morally equipped to forgive where there is guilt. Only those who suffer from the crime have the right to answer this question; only the victims of the dark past. Who else has political or moral authority ?

Forgiveness cannot be offered in the name of a victim by someone who has not borne the terrors of unbearable tortures which cannot be 'forgotten'. Not even the martyred 'king' of a country...! The absolution of guilt for those who seriously feel the effect of 'collective guilt' is possible even though the mark of shame remains indelible. It is their silence which sentences them!

Today we must fight 'forgetting', because we are convinced that silence represents the greatest risk of past terrors being repeated.

Today we must fight 'forgetting' because we should not allow the loss of our ability to work freely in a free world which we have defended with so much sacrifice.

Today, 'forgetting' would, for us, be to abandon the legal and moral authority of the victim without the victim's permission; our work should take place in this context.

The victims of the red terror found sufficient courage to scorn hatred and its first-born child, revenge. With this attitude they ennobled themselves and gave a shining example for our country's history. There has still been no response to this sublime gesture! A great misfortune.

But 'forgetting' – and perhaps also the 'absolution of guilt' – is not only 'personal'. No-one has the right to absolve guilt in the name of a victim. We must not allow it. (A French proverb says that we are very strong in enduring the misfortunes of others). This is a categorical imperative for Albanian society, and particularly for the victims here. Because this dictatorship attempted to make great sectors of the population physically disappear. Hell will never freeze!

The importance of judging and punishing guilt of this kind is undeniable. We should not forget this, because 'forgetting' makes it possible for the past to be repeated by the twisted minds of opponents of democracy in our country. We must speak out; we must narrate and describe the Communist hell with all its tools, but without violence. Violence is not our weapon; justice is!

Today we face the second phase of the moral reconstruction of our life in Albania. In the first phase we scorned hatred and revenge. Today we have hope that it will be possible to take the next step: reconciliation between ourselves. Because as victims we also have a need for the peace we have lost. How can we achieve something so difficult? Perhaps... if we are certain that 'reconciliation' will return the human element to us – to all of us – and our ethical values.

I have still not fully achieved such certainty. And so I live with anxiety, I do not forget, and I will always continue to 'remember' the Communist crime. Me, the former prisoner, who has rejected hatred and revenge...

Thank you!

# MEMORY DAYS 2017

On 16 to 23 November 2017, under the motto “Memory as a Mission”, will be organized the 2nd edition of the MEMORY DAYS, a project initiated by the Institute for Democracy, Media & Culture (IDMC) in partnership with Konrad Adenauer Foundation (KAS). The aim of this project is stimulating public dialogue in dealing with Albania’s dictatorial past.

Among the various activities to take place this year is:

- The international conference “Between Apathy and Nostalgia: Public and private recollections of communism in contemporary Albania”, 17 - 18 November
- “Law and Justice” symposium, 20 November
- A study trip to sites of memory, 19 November
- Presentation of research works on the dictatorship, 21 November
- Public reading of “Musine Kokalari file”, 21 November
- Youth Forum on Oral History, 22 November
- Awarding of the “Ask your Grandparents II” competition winners, 23 November
- “Propaganda during the dictatorship” exhibition will be open during Memory Days

In the following you will find a general overview of each activity.

For more information about MEMORY DAYS 2017 visit: <https://www.idmc.al/en/between-apathy-and-nostalgia.html>

To get a broader idea of this activity check the summary of MEMORY DAYS 2016: <https://www.idmc.al/en/memory-as-a-mission.html>

# ACTIVITIES OVERVIEW

## DAY 1

### THURSDAY, 16 NOVEMBER

Venue: Tirana National Museum, Dictatorship Exhibition Pavilion

Opening Ceremony of MEMORY DAYS

The 2nd edition of MEMORY DAYS 2017 will open on 16 November at the Tirana National Museum in the presence of the organizers, partners, local and foreign actors working in the field of memory and others interested in the subject. During the opening ceremony a keynote speech will be delivered by Sami Repishti. The “Propaganda during the dictatorship” exhibition by IDMC will accompany the event and stay open for a week at the Dictatorship Exhibition Pavilion in the National Museum. For everyone who couldn't visit the “Cold War” exhibition from last year, it will stay open, as well, throughout the Memory week.

Languages: **English, Albanian, German**

For more information visit:

<https://www.idmc.al/en/between-apaty-and-nostalgia.html>

“Propaganda during the dictatorship” exhibition

The exhibition “Propaganda during the Dictatorship” presents aspects of the political manipulation of the masses from the communist state in Albania through various forms of propaganda, such as articles and photos in the press, official ceremonies, caricatures and other forms. Propagating the Party's successes in building socialism in Albania went hand in hand with measures of the Communist state to destroy private property and achieve the common ownership of the means of production; to create the “New Man” using features deemed essential for Communist morality; to glorify the role of the Party and the Party-state leader Enver Hoxha. The propaganda aims at showing the superiority of the communist system over the capitalist system.

Exhibition text in Albanian

“Cold War” exhibition

For more information visit:

<https://www.idmc.al/en/assets/lufta-e-ftohte.pdf>

## DAYS 2 & 3

### FRIDAY, 17 NOVEMBER – SATURDAY, 18 NOVEMBER

Venue: Tirana International Hotel, Classic Conference Room

International Conference: “BETWEEN APATHY AND NOSTALGIA:

Public and Private Recollections of Communism in Contemporary Albania”

The conference “Between Apathy and Nostalgia: Public and Private Recollections of Communism in Contemporary Albania” explores and discusses the different ways communism is remembered and represented both in public (e.g. in political discourse, literature and arts, historiography and school books, museums, memoirs, media, social media and popular culture) and in private (across e.g. social, gender, urban-rural, geographical such as north-south, generational and professional borders). Investigating who remembers what, how and when, the conference aims at providing both a comprehensive and nuanced overview of communism remembrance in Albania.

Furthermore, two speeches on communism remembrance in Bulgaria and Romania by respectively Daniela Koleva and Cristian Vasile, and a panel discussion that brings together Albanian and non-Albanian scholars will provide the opportunity to compare the Albanian case with other Eastern Europe countries.

For more information visit:

<https://www.idmc.al/en/between-apaty-conference.html>

**Languages:** English, Albanian

## DAY 4

### SUNDAY, 19 NOVEMBER

Venue: Tirana & Shkodra

The MEMORY DAYS program team will arrange study trips to sites of memory in Tirana and Shkodra. We believe that sites of memory, such as internment camps, political prisons and labour camps should be brought more often to the attention of the public, for two essential reasons: first, to commemorate the victims of communism, and secondly, to confront and explore the past and the so-called Albanian communism phenomenon.

Familiarity with the past helps to meditate on the nature of Albania’s totalitarian regime and the legacies of the time, as well as increase awareness of the threat of totalitarian tendencies in present times. By knowing these tendencies in advance, a democratic society is able to prevent history from repeating.

## DAY 5

### MONDAY, 20 NOVEMBER

#### “Law & Justice” Symposium

Venue: Rogner Hotel

Law and justice can hardly be regarded with entire complacency, because no institution, no state and no person can always give the justice one deserves. The justice we dream of is always a little bit outside of what we can shape.

This event is not about the formula that can be used to administer justice. It is about making democracy better by remembering and asking: Has Albania’s constitutional state acted justly to the victims of the communist dictatorship? What does the law when dealing with dictatorships? What is the use of a legal process? Which social expectations are directed towards the jurisprudence?

**Languages:** Albanian, English, German

## DAY 6

### TUESDAY, 21 NOVEMBER

Book presentations

Venue: Tirana International Hotel, Teuta Room

The organizers will offer the possibility to actors working in the field of memory in Albania and abroad to present their scientific works about the dictatorship. There will be a presentation of the book "From Stalin to Mao: Albania and the Socialist World" by Elidor Mëhilli; "Communism through archival documents: Repression during the self-isolation", a pedagogical tool for teachers by the Institute for Democracy, Media & Culture (IDMC); and the "Encyclopaedic Dictionary of Victims of Communist Terror", Vol. VI, by the Institute for the Study of Communist Crimes and Consequences in Albania.

Audience members will be free to pose questions to authors or representatives who were directly involved in their research.

**Languages:** Albanian, English

### Public reading of Musine Kokalari file

Venue: Tirana National Museum

In the context of the commemoration of Musine Kokalari, her resistance and her work, IDMC in cooperation with the Musine Kokalari Institute and the Albanian Authority on Access to Information on the former State Security Service will perform the first public reading of her file.

Surveillance, terror and persistent isolation were some of the tools used by the Sigurimi to inhibit the spread of opposition. IDMC aims to increase young people's interest, especially their awareness, about the crimes and consequences of communism through the reading of the files.

**Languages:** Albanian

## DAY 7

### Youth Forum on ORAL HISTORY

OSCE activity

This session aims at contributing to the debate about oral testimony and its importance in the revision of history textbooks. The main questions that will be addressed during the event: What types of stories do the young people want to hear from the old people?; How is that information important to them?; What are the differences between documented testimony and oral history?; How would they react if a victim of communist regime were to share their persecution story?; How can we best share resources?

The panellists will present their work and views on the subject. Fabian Kati will present his films and projects on the topic. Miran Butka from the Institute for the Studies of Communist Crimes will introduce their "Zërat e kujtesës" (Memory Voices) run by the Institute. Valbona Bezati will talk about the "Unë dëshmoj" (I testify) project initiated by IDMC. Fatmiroshe Xhemalaj will address the importance of oral history and textbook revisions.

**Languages:** Albanian, English



## DAY 8

### Awards Ceremony – “Ask Your Grandparents 2”

Venue: Tirana International Hotel, Balsha Room

This is the third national competition organized by IDMC, following “Born in the 90s: Explore the Past, Create the Future” (2015) and “Ask Your Grandparents” (2016), which already awarded 17 prizes. “Ask Your Grandparents 2” is a collaboration between IDMC and the Albanian History Teachers Association “Youth & History” (ALBNA), and supported by the Ministry of Education and Sports and Konrad Adenauer Foundation.

The aim of the “Ask Your Grandparents” competition is raising the young people and the Albanian society’s awareness of the importance of the past, because without knowing it there will be no safe future. This year, the competition focuses on events as well as specific objects with a personal story connected to them, giving Albanian high school students the possibility to be creative and share personal experiences, family stories, and facilitate the dialogue across generations.

For more information visit:

<https://www.idmc.al/en/askyourgrandparents-two.html>

**Languages:** Albanian, English

## ORGANIZERS:

IDMC-Institute for Democracy, Media and Culture is a non-profit organization that uses an interdisciplinary approach to study and promote the development of democratic values, culture and media in Albania. The Institute aims to promote dignity and human rights as key elements of Europe and European Union’s (EU) democratic values, and raise awareness amongst young people about the history of the EU and the crimes committed by totalitarian regimes, including the dictatorship in Albania, through:

- educational training, school curriculum, and creative projects in multimedia, film, awareness events
- publication (in print and online) and translation of books and materials that enable scientific and cultural exchange, European and international one.
- scientific research surveys of public opinion about media and peace

Website: [www.idmc.al](http://www.idmc.al)

KAS – Konrad Adenauer Foundation is a political foundation which stands near the Christian Democratic Union of Germany. Konrad Adenauer (1876-1967), as co-founder of the Christian Democratic Union and the first chancellor of the Federal Republic of Germany, brought together Christian, social and conservative traditions with liberal traditions. His name is a symbol for the democratic reconstruction of Germany, to deploy its foreign policy in a transatlantic community of values, the vision of a united Europe and orientation towards the social market economy. His spiritual heritage is our duty and commitment at the same time.

Website: <http://www.kas.de/albanien/sq/>

## PARTNERS & SUPPORTERS:

**osbe** Organizata për Siguri dhe  
Bashkëpunim në Evropë  
Prezenca në Shqipëri



## ACTIVITIES VENUES

### **Tirana National Museum**

City Center, Skanderbeg Square 1, Tirana, Albania

<http://www.mhk.gov.al/>

### **Tirana International Hotel**

City Center, Scanderbeg Square, Tirana, Albania

Tel: +355 4 223 41 85; Fax: +355 4 223 41 88;

Email: [hotel@hoteltirana.com.al](mailto:hotel@hoteltirana.com.al)

<http://tirainternational.com/portal/index.php/sq/>

### **Rogner Hotel Tirana**

“Dëshmorët e Kombit” Blv. Tirana, Albania

Tel: +355 4 2235035; Fax: 355 4 2235050

Email: [info.tirana@rogner.com](mailto:info.tirana@rogner.com)

<http://www.hotel-europapark.com/en/contact-info.html>



ORGANIZERS:



PARTNERS & SUPPORTERS:

