



Institute of SERBIA & MONTENEGRO

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BELGRADE-BRUSSELS THE FASTEST WAY POSSIBLE

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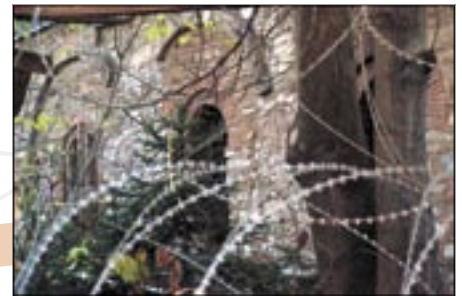
KOSOVO MANY OPTIONS BUT INDEPENDENCE

TOP 10 REASONS WHY KOSOVO SHOULD NOT BE INDEPENDENT

INTERVIEW WITH OLLI REHN:

"Belgrade has the key role in the Western Balkans"

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TEN REASONS FOR SERBIA AND MONTENEGRO

Benjamin Disraeli, the founder and leader of the British conservatives and one of the most important foreign ministers of the United Kingdom, described state politics as politics defined by the cross of national and strategic objectives. By proposing five national and five strategic reasons FOR maintaining Serbia and Montenegro as one state, I will try to add my modest contribution to the thesis that the separation of Serbia and Montenegro will not bring good to either party involved, as well as to the thesis that the creation of some Union of independent states is not an alternative. The classification shows that the stated reasons are interrelated, interwoven: Serbia and Montenegro is one, joint tissue, separable only through a sharp cut, and with all painful consequences, post-traumatic conditions that inevitably follow amputation.

KOSOVSKA MITROVICA NORTH

Conference: Northern Kosovska Mitrovica 1999-2005 - A Possible Model for the Survival of Serbs



HEALTH&SCIENCE:
MENTAL PATHOLOGY DISTRIBUTION DURING THE NATO BOMBING OF YUGOSLAVIA

MONTHLY CULTURAL/SPORTS ROUNDUP

Serbia's all-time greatest film director Emir Kusturica received in Brussels the "2005 European Architecture Prize Philippe Rothier" for the construction of his village Kustendorf in western Serbia.

LINK OF THE MONTH:
www.senzal.co.yu

BELGRADE-BRUSSELS THE FASTEST WAY POSSIBLE:

By 2012, Serbia and Montenegro, including the province of Kosovo, is expected to become a full member of the European Union. For that to happen, and for Serbia-Montenegro to assume its key role in the region, Belgrade must take the fastest way possible to Brussels. Numerous hurdles stay in the way the talks on the future status of Kosovo and a possible referendum on secession in Montenegro not being the least.

This publication seeks to find the way to cross these hurdles easier and particularly to provide policymakers, think tanks and the media with an understanding of key issues related to Serbia-Montenegro.

It is published by the Institute of Serbia and Montenegro, a newly-formed, Brussels-based, non-governmental and non-profit organisation. Located across the European parliament, the Institute analyzes public affairs, economic and cultural links between Serbia-Montenegro and the European Union.

The beginning of talks on a Stabilization and Association Agreement (SAA) have given a boost to these links. But this is not enough. Much more needs to be done, particularly in the sphere of understanding Serbia-Montenegro's position and views in Europe and vice-versa.

This is where the Institute and this newsletter come into play. They will seek in the years to come to provide you with an understanding of issues related to European integration of the country, be it directly or indirectly through the resolution of problems such as the future status of the province of Kosovo or the future of the State Union of Serbia-Montenegro.

We are not satisfied with the way these issues have been discussed in policy circles and media outlets. Too often decisions and discussions have failed to provide a fair understanding for the Serb-Montenegrin position on key issues. Double standards, spinning and misinformation have hurt crisis management and conflict management. We do not blame. Rather, we see it as a reason to make this newsletter fly. Welcome on board, no whether whether you're travelling from Belgrade to Brussels or from Brussels to Belgrade.

Aleksandar Mitic

P.S. On the start of your journey, apart from this read (free subscription at: amitic5star@yahoo.com), we are also offering you 20 DVD copies of "Pretty Dyana" and "Unmik Titanik" two internationally-awarded documentary films by Serbia's leading documentary film director Boris Mitic(www.dribblingpictures.com).

To apply, please send us your take on the following question: do you consider the condition of the Serb and Roma communities in Kosovo as acceptable by 21st century European standards?

THREE PARALLEL PROCESSES

BRUSSELS "Belgrade should play a key role in the Western Balkans", says EU Enlargement Commissioner Olli Rehn, who officially on 10 October opened the talks on a Stabilization and Association Agreement (SAA) with Serbia and Montenegro, a first step towards full membership.

Indeed, Serbia and Montenegro is poised to take its due place in the future and provide strong, stable, dynamic and pro-European leadership in the region. For this to happen, to the benefit of Southeastern Europe, but also the entire European Union and all actors seeking stability in the region, Serbia-Montenegro has still some key hurdles to cross.

While the dynamic of European integration is set and seen as irreversible even by "eurosceptics" in the country, painful reforms in the administration, legislation, judiciary, police and economy still lie ahead despite the new World Bank report naming Serbia "world's fastest reformer".

Corruption and trafficking problems are not reserved to Serbia-Montenegro but they seriously hamper the results of its reforms they undermine economic efficiency, foreign direct investments and the morale of a population already tired and frightened by years of crises and painful transition.

Belgrade has received praise for the advances in human and minority rights improvement as well as conflict management skills but it has to continue and monitor possible abuses and provocations, particularly interethnic ones in multiethnic regions such as Vojvodina, Raska (Sandzak) or the extreme south of Serbia.

Cooperation with the Hague war crimes tribunal for the former Yugoslavia has dramatically improved in 2005 but it needs to be completed with the transfer of the remaining indictees in order to prevent it from being an obstacle to EU integration and adherence to the Partnership for Peace programme as well as an excuse for all those who use its non-completion for double standards and radical demands.

But Serbia and Montenegro also has to tackle some of the core problems lying ahead: negotiations on the future status of Serbia's southern province Kosovo are due to begin in the weeks to come, despite the failure by the UN administration and the Albanian majority to secure human rights, freedom of movement and return of some 200,000 Serbs expelled from their homes since 1999. There are many options for the future status of Kosovo, but the international community insists that it has to be a compromise that will not endanger the stability in the region. Thus, extreme solutions, such as the independence of Kosovo or its ethnic division are logically out of question. The Albanian majority wants Kosovo to secede from Serbia, Kosovo Serbs and Belgrade reject it

firmly. Assuring a maximum of self-rule to the province without changing the external borders of Serbia is the best recipe for the stability of the region and is a win-win situation for all the actors.

The future of the State Union of Serbia-Montenegro will also be put at a test with a possible referendum on secession urged by the current Montenegrin authorities. Under the 2003 Belgrade agreement, the two republics forming the union have the right to call for a referendum on the future status in 2006. But, "it is a right, not an obligation", repeats Javier Solana, the EU High Representative for Foreign and Security Policy. The EU says it will respect the right to a referendum if the highest European criteria are acknowledged, but also does not fail to remind the Montenegrin authorities that the State Union is the "fastest way to European integration". Furthermore, the EU is not keen to see a referendum that will further destabilize the region given that Montenegro is deeply split over the issue of its future status between separatists and unionists. Brussels finds particularly unnecessary to complicate the talks on Kosovo and on the SAA agreement by organizing a referendum on independence in Montenegro in the spring of 2006, as announced by the Montenegrin Prime minister Milo Djukanovic.

The year 2006 will be of key importance for the three current parallel processes that will determine the future of Serbia and Montenegro: SAA talks, Kosovo future status talks and a possible redefinition of the State Union of Serbia and Montenegro in case of a referendum.

These three processes have to be handled carefully both by local and international actors. Let us not forget the mistakes of the 90s. Let us acknowledge that timing and principles are important for finding long-lasting stable solutions in the region. Let us predict that by November 2006, an SAA agreement with Serbia-Montenegro will be reached; that a compromise solution will emerge on Kosovo without destabilizing Serbia-Montenegro by the end of 2006; that a possible referendum in Montenegro – be it in the second or the third quarter of 2006 – will fail to provide the results necessary to endanger the future of the State Union of Serbia and Montenegro.

This would allow for Serbia and Montenegro to wake up on 1st January 2007 with a clear view on what its borders are and how it should proceed best to join the European Union! By 2012, Serbia and Montenegro, including the province of Kosovo, should become a full-fledged member of the EU. Finding sound and moderate solutions in 2006 is the best recipe to put Belgrade on the fastest track possible to Brussels.

Aleksandar Mitic

SCG BAROMETER

EU INTEGRATION ↑

Serbia-Montenegro starts talks on the Stabilization and Association Agreement (SAA) on 10 October in the presence of EU Enlargement Commissioner Olli Rehn. The talks were given a green light at the Council of ministers meeting in Luxemburg on 3 October. Technical talks begin in November 7. Talks should be concluded by November 2006.

KOSOVO ↔

Norwegian ambassador to NATO and UN Secretary General's Special Envoy Kai Eide

delivers a report on standards evaluation in Kosovo. He depicts a rather objective, dark picture of the situation in the province but calls for the beginning of talks anyhow thus officially proclaiming the failure of the policy "standards before status", set up by the international community two and a half years ago. Both US and the EU announce they will not take sides but will rather seek compromise. The UN Security Council decides that talks should begin.

STATE UNION ↔

State Union gets a boost from the beginning of SAA talks. EU officials suggest Montenegrin referendum is neither a priority nor an

obligation thus suggesting its postponement. However, Montenegrin Prime minister Milo Djukanovic insists he would announce in December a date for a spring 2006 referendum.

ATLANTIC INTEGRATION ↑

Serbia-Montenegro chairs an ambassadorial-level meeting of the SEEGROUP (South East Europe Group) in NATO in the presence of NATO Secretary-General Jaap de Hoop Scheffer.



KOSOVO: MANY OPTIONS BUT INDEPENDENCE

By Jan Oberg, Director of TFF, The Transnational Foundation, Sweden, and Aleksandar Mitic, TFF Associate

LUND/BRUSSELS - The Serbian province of Kosovo, largely populated by the Albanian separatist-minded majority, has failed to meet basic human rights and political standards set as prerequisites by the international community, but it will nevertheless enter talks on its future status.

This basic conclusion of the long-awaited report by UN special envoy Kai Eide was approved by the UN Secretary Council but it fails to demystify the paradox.

Only two a half years ago, the international community had charged that talks on status could not start before a set of basic human rights standards was achieved. Since then, however, as it became clearer that the Kosovo Albanian majority was unwilling to meet the criteria and the UN unable to enforce them, there was a permanent watering down of prerequisites, until the proclaimed policy of "standards before status" was finally buried with Mr. Eide's report.

Why has it failed? Is it because of the fear of the Kosovo Albanian threat of inciting violence if talks on status did not start soon, or was this policy a bluff from the start?

What kind of signal does it offer for the fairness of the upcoming talks? Will threats of ethnic violence in case "the only option for Kosovo Albanians -independence" is not achieved again play a role? Or will the international community overcome its fear and offer both Pristina and Belgrade reasons to believe that the solution would negotiated and long-lasting rather than imposed, one-sided and conflict-prone?

Advocates of Kosovo's independence such as the International Crisis Group, Wesley Clark, Richard Holbrooke and various US members of Congress argue "independence is the only solution." The U.S. has more urgent problems elsewhere. But full independence cannot be negotiated, it can only be imposed. "Independent Kosova" implies that the Kosovo-Albanians achieve their maximalist goal

with military means while Belgrade and the Kosovo Serbs and Roma would not even get their minimum -- a recipe for future troubles. It would be also counterproductive for Europe and the U.S.: to side with the Kosovo-Albanians and isolate Serbia - a highly multi-ethnic, strategically important, constitutional state with a market of 10 million people - would be foolish. Keeping punishing Serbia and Serbs collectively for Milosevic's brutality would be immoral.

An "independent Kosova" would set a dangerous precedent for the region, not least in Bosnia and Macedonia, for international law, for European integration. And if Kosovo, why not Taiwan, Tibet, Chechenya, Tamil Eelam, Kashmir? The world has about 200 states and 5,000 ethnic groups. Who would like 4,800 new states? The future is about human globalization and integration.

Independence would also violate UN Security Council Resolution 1244 of 1999 on Kosovo. Not even liberally interpreted does it endorse independence. Independence would reward Albanian extremists who have been behind the ethnic cleansing campaign against the non-Albanian communities, encourage those who exported violence from Kosovo to the neighbouring southern Serbia and to western Macedonia. The 'disarmed' protectorate of Kosovo was a major player in all that.

Milosevic's authoritarian policies clearly prevent Kosovo from returning to its pre-1999 status. Belgrade recognizes that today. The international community on its side refuses to see that the UN, NATO, EU and OSCE in Kosovo have failed miserably in creating a multi-ethnic tolerant and safe Kosovo. There has been virtually no return of the 200,000 Serb and tens of thousands of other non-Albanians who felt threatened by Albanian nationalists and terrorists in 1999-2000. Proportionately it is the largest ethnic cleansing in ex-Yugoslavia. Half a million Serbs in today's Serbia, driven out of Croatia, Bosnia and Kosovo, make up Europe's largest - but ignored - refugee problem. The economy of Kosovo remains in shambles 70% unemployment and mafia-integrated.

There is never only one solution to a complex problem. Between the old autonomy for Kosovo and full independence is a myriad of thinkable options - combining internal and regional

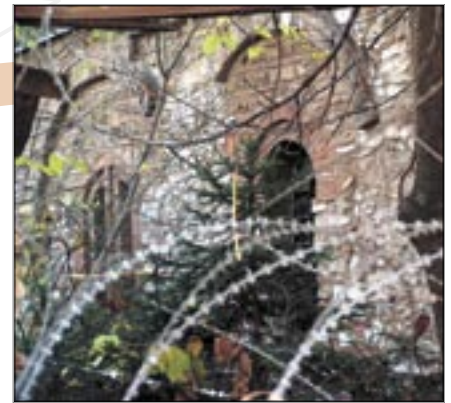
features. They should all be on the negotiation table: a citizens' Kosovo where ethnic background is irrelevant, cantonisation, consociation, confederation, condominium, double autonomy for minorities there and in Southern Serbia, partition, trusteeship, independence with special features such as soft borders, no army and guarantees for never joining Albania.

Finally, no formal status will work if the people continue to hate and see no development opportunities. If we ignore human needs for fear-reduction, deep reconciliation and economic recovery, "independent Kosovo" will become another failed state, perhaps consumed by civil war. And a dangerous burden on the EU.

Kosovo is about the future of that province and Serbia, but also about the region and the EU. Kosovo is about global politics. In this 11th hour, the EU and the U.S. should re-evaluate their post-1990 policies and recognize the need for much more intellectually open and politically pluralist approaches.

TFF has been conducting conflict-mitigation work in all parts of ex-Yugoslavia since 1991. TFF teams served in the 1990s as goodwill advisers to both Yugoslav governments and the Kosovo-Albanian leadership of present President Rugova. More about it at www.transnational.org

Aleksandar Mitic



KOSOVO'S DANGEROUS COSMETIC SALON

BRUSSELS - "If we do not get our independence, we will get so upset and frustrated that we will bring hell upon Serbs, other non-Albanians and the internationals in Kosovo" this paraphrase could sum up bluntly the stance of the province's majority Albanians as the world prepares for the start of talks on its future status.

The go-ahead was suggested by UN Secretary General's Special Envoy Kai Eide in the form of a highly-critical report on the failure of Kosovo to reach human rights and governance standards set up by the international community.

These criticisms had a cool water effect on both the Kosovo Albanian leadership and the UN administration in the province, which has for years argued that progress was overwhelming, sending to New York's Security Council pink-coloured reports and citing Potemkin-like examples. The Kosovo Albanian leadership believed that the laissez-faire policy of the international community towards their unique objective secession from Serbia would last forever and at any cost.

They could hardly be criticised for that perception after so little has been done to punish those responsible among them for the spread of hatred in the province, the violent expulsion of some 220,000 Serbs, the hundreds of cases of ethnic-motivated murders of Serbs and other non-Albanians, the lack of freedom of movement for the minorities, the export of violence in neighbouring western FYROM and southern Serbia. Or for the three-day anti-Serb ethnic cleansing campaign of March 2004, in which some 4,000 Serbs were displaced, 30 monasteries destroyed, dozens were killed and hundreds wounded.

The multiethnic character of the province has suffered dramatically. Out of 220,000 Serbs who have fled the violence of Albanian extremists since 1999,

only 6,027 have come back to their homes. For years, the Albanian leadership and the UN administration cited "lack of security," they now cite "lack of money." There is no freedom of movement for non-Albanians.

There is however "legal chaos," as written and testified by the international ombudsman for Kosovo, Marek Anthony Nowicki in his mid-July report. According to Nowicki's report, human rights are protected only on paper, while "there is no real mechanism to put that in practice."

Indeed, discrimination on ethnic grounds is visible in every aspect of life in Kosovo. In local courts and hospitals where access is largely unavailable for the Serbs and the Roma.

In the municipalities where Serbs who bring documents in the Cyrillic letter face Albanians employed in the administration who often reject them as "illegible and unclear."

In the fields and the food markets where proper work, the cultivating of fields and selling of agricultural products at local markets is extremely difficult for the Serbs and the Roma, although this is their main source of revenue.

In Serb graveyards many of which have been destroyed and are impossible to visit, let alone to repair. In Orthodox churches and monasteries 150 of which have been destroyed since 1999, many are still endangered and need specific international protection.

In the maps where the UN regulation 2000/43 under which geographic names in Kosovo cannot be changed into "Albanised" names has not been respected. Thus, the Serb-populated town of Leposavic has become Albanik and Obilic has become Kastriot.

Even in official tourist guides where centuries of Serbian heritage in Kosovo have been simply wiped out and the term "Serb" is nowhere to be read.

Faced with all this discrimination, some 120,000 Serbs remaining in Kosovo and living in either

northern Kosovo or in the so-called enclaves ghettos heavily protected by NATO troops have called for a decentralisation of the province.

Decentralisation, a key existential - not a political question for the survival of the Kosovo Serbs and other non-Albanian communities would allow them to manage justice, police, health, culture, social affairs and education without fear of discrimination by the Albanian majority. Yet, despite its importance and its designation as a key priority following the massive anti-Serb violence of March 2004, the decentralisation process has not even started as of August 2005. Faced with the prospect of Kosovo's failures, international officials visiting Pristina during the evaluation process have begun to use the phrase "need for compromise" as a keyword in messages sent to the province's Albanian majority.

There are indeed numerous strong arguments against an independence of Kosovo: it is a maximalist solution in which one side the Albanian community gets it all, and the other side the Kosovo Serbs and Serbia loses it all. It would create a dangerous precedent for secessionist movements around the world, endanger international law and create a completely new state from the scratch, thus breaking up the most multiethnic country in the region Serbia.

Furthermore, Kosovo is simply not viable as a state. Its economy is in ruins, it exports less than 3 percent of the value of its imports, lives on donations, has the largest unemployment rate of any European region.

Instead of implementing key standards, the Kosovo Albanian leadership and the UN mission chief in Kosovo are putting efforts to artificially paint a "multiethnic success story" in the province. Kosovo's cosmetic changes and threats of violence if ethnically-exclusive political projects are not achieved should however be firmly and decisively rejected as recipes for both regional and European instability.

By Aleksandar Mitic. A version of this article has appeared in "The New Europe".

TOP 10 REASONS WHY KOSOVO SHOULD NOT BE INDEPENDENT

1) WHY SHOULD ONE SIDE GET IT ALL, THE OTHER SIDE LOSE IT ALL?

The independence of Kosovo is a maximalist solution in which one side – the Albanian community – gets it all, and the other side – the Kosovo Serbs and Serbia – loses it all. The Kosovo Serbs and Serbia will never accept this solution – it can only be imposed but can never be a result of a compromise. Such a solution also plants on the long run the seeds of injustice, frustration and instability in the region.

2) WHY CREATE A COMPLETELY NEW STATE FROM THE SCRATCH?

An independent Kosovo would be a completely unprincipled solution for the borders in the Balkans, after that same independence was refused to some other nations during the 1990s. Let's take the example of Bosnia and Herzegovina, which is, under the Dayton accords, composed of two entities – the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina (Muslim and Croat entity) and the Republika Srpska (Serb entity). Just as Kosovo, Republika Srpska is a protectorate, with the troops from NATO countries on its soil. Just as in Kosovo, some 90% of its population is made of one ethnic community. Strategically, the Serbs as the majority community in Republika Srpska have the same aspirations as the Kosovo Albanians: to become independent. But in Republika Srpska, the international community is tearing down all existing symbols and structures of statehood, even those allowed by the Dayton peace accords. Republika Srpska is in fact, in the process of being absorbed in a centralized state of Bosnia and Herzegovina, in the proclaimed name of stability, multiethnicity and European integration – but against the will of the majority community.

In Kosovo, only 100km south, that same international community is doing a completely opposite thing: it is building a new state from the scratch and treating Kosovo as an “independent state in the making”. Is there any logic in that?

3) WHY BREAKUP THE MOST MULTIETHNIC COUNTRY IN THE REGION?

Just as it rushed with the breakup of the former multiethnic Yugoslavia in the early 1990s, with an independence of Kosovo, the international community could be rushing to break up Serbia, the most multiethnic country in the Balkans. If the majority Albanian community in Kosovo gets independence, what kind of example would that represent for the Muslim majority in the Sandzak region, the Albanian one in southern Serbia, the Serbian one in eastern Montenegro, the Albanian one in western Macedonia, the Serbian one in eastern Slavonia or the Hungarian one in northern Vojvodina?

4) WHY ENDANGER INTERNATIONAL LAW?

It is clear that Kosovo could get independence only outside the UN Security Council, where at least Russia and China would veto such an option (due to Taiwan, Tibet, Chechnya). A solution without the UN Security Council approval would be a new slap in the face of international law. The framework for the resolution of the future status of Kosovo can be found in the resolution 1244 of the UN Security Council. Under that resolution, “the people of Kosovo can enjoy substantial autonomy within the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia”, nowadays Serbia and Montenegro. In Resolution 1244 “self-governing” is mentioned 3 times, “self-government” 4 times, “self-administration” 1 time, “substantial autonomy” 3 times whereas neither “self-determination” nor “independence” is mentioned in the document. The “sovereignty” of Yugoslavia is mentioned 3 times.

5) WHY WOULD KOSOVO BE AN EXCEPTION IN THE WORLD?

Kosovo cannot be an exception in the world. It would be necessary to carefully consider the future status of Kosovo since it would likely have an effect on secessionist movements elsewhere in the region, in Europe and in the world: Basque province, Corsica, Tibet, Taiwan, Kurdistan, Scotland, Quebec, Tamil Eelam, Abkhazia, South Ossetia, Northern Cyprus, Kashmir,

Southern Thailand, etc. All the secessionist movements in the world will follow with great attention the situation in Kosovo as a possible precedent.

6) WHY DID NATO INTERVENE IN 1999?

Given the developments in Kosovo since 1999, the independence of Kosovo would, sooner or later, most probably lead to a monoethnic Albanian Kosovo. As such, it would completely undermine the arguments of those who supported the NATO bombings in 1999 in the name of the “multiethnicity” of Kosovo. The bombing of 1999 would historically be seen as a campaign for the independence of Kosovo, which is light years away from the proclaimed goals of a “humanitarian intervention”.

7) WHY PUNISH THE DEMOCRATIC SERBIA?

The democratic authorities in Belgrade are firmly on the pro-European road. They have started negotiations on the Stabilization and Association Accord with the EU, are adopting European laws and reforms proposed by the international financial institutions. They have established an efficient cooperation with the International War Crimes Tribunal in The Hague (all those indicted for the 1999 war crimes in Kosovo are in The Hague). Serbia has fulfilled all security demands required in the process of reforms: it has respected from A to Z the articles of the 1999 Kumanovo accords with NATO on the retreat of security structures from Kosovo; it has shown restraint and close cooperation with NATO in the management of the Albanian uprising in 2000-01 in southern Serbia; it has succeeded in preventing the spillover of violence from Kosovo to the rest of Serbia during the March 2004 massive anti-Serb violence in Kosovo; it has been praised by Western diplomats for its management of ethnic tensions in southern Serbia and in the Vojvodina province; it has reformed its military and police structures along the lines of the standards of the OSCE and the Partnership for Peace. It is proposing a compromising solution for the future status of Kosovo. Why punish it with the loss of a part of its territory, a birthplace of the Serbian state, which is still today home to some 1,300 Serbian monasteries, churches and other Orthodox objects – many of them jewels of medieval architecture. What kind of consequence would an independence of Kosovo have on democracy in Serbia? If the Albanian side gets a maximum of its demands just so that it does not provoke new tensions and conflicts, who can guarantee that Serbs would peacefully watch and accept the loss of Kosovo? Does that mean that the threat of barbarism and violence is winning over interethnic cooperation and tolerance?

8) WHY CREATE A SECOND ALBANIAN STATE?

The independence of Kosovo and its likely monoethnic character would mean the creation of a second Albanian national state in the world: the nation of “Kosovars” in fact does not exist in the European meaning of the word. There are Albanians, Serbs and other communities who live in Kosovo. On the other side, according to the UNDP, there are some 5,000 different ethnic groups living in some 200 countries of the world. Under the figures of the study “Minorities at Risk”, some 509 ethnic groups in the world consider themselves as politically discriminated. A huge number of them are dreaming of autonomy. Why would one nation – the Albanian one – get two independent STATES?

9) WHY IMPOSE INDEPENDENCE AS “THE ONLY SOLUTION FOR KOSOVO”?

The key objective should be to give the Kosovo Albanians a maximum of opportunities and real means to manage their future without feeling threatened, but also without threatening the interests of other groups, the security and the shaky stability of the region. Within the principles of the international community (no return to the situation from before 1999, no joining to neighbouring states, no partition), there is a series of options that look much more like a compromise than an imposed solution of independence. A sustainable and just solution is one that lies between the standard autonomy for Kosovo - unacceptable for the Albanian aspirations - and the full, “conditional” or “immedi-

ate” independence - unacceptable for the Serbs and the Serbian state. Between these two, there is a myriad of thinkable options - for Kosovo in the region and internally inside Kosovo: substantial autonomy, confederation, Kosovo as a Euro region, the Hong Kong model (one state – two systems), South Tirol, Bavaria, etc.

10) WHY CREATE NEW STATES IN A “BORDERLESS EUROPE”?

If the entire southeastern Europe is going towards European integration and membership in the European Union – where borders are no longer “important”, if this process is underway and will be finished in the decade to come, why create a new state in the heart of Europe? Why create new borders at such high cost if those same borders will be brought down in the matter of several years? Where is the logic of European integration in the independence of Kosovo?

By Aleksandar Mitic

Aleksandar Mitic is Chief Analyst at the Institute of Serbia and Montenegro in Brussels and Lecturer at the University of Belgrade (amitic5star@yahoo.com).

INTERVIEW WITH OLLI REHN:

“Belgrade has the key role in the Western Balkans”

BRUSSELS - When on 3 October he appeared at a late-night press conference to announce a deal on the opening of accession talks with Turkey, the European Union enlargement commissioner, Olli Rehn, looked tired but relieved.

It had been a long week of tense bargaining in Luxembourg over a compromise allowing for the start of historic talks with Ankara, culminating with 30 hours of tough and uncertain negotiations among the 25 foreign ministers of the EU states.

By early morning of 4 October, the accession talks with Turkey and Croatia had started, while Serbia and Montenegro was given the green light for talks on a Stabilization and Association Agreement (SAA), the first formal step toward full EU membership.

Republika Srpska, one of the two entities constituting today's Bosnia, was just about to accept EU principles on police reform, thus paving the way for SAA talks with Bosnia to start before the end of the year.

In his office at the European Commission's Berlaymont headquarters, Commissioner Rehn made final preparations for a week-long Balkans tour that would take him from Turkey through Croatia to Serbia and Montenegro.

Rehn and other EU officials were not unaware that the opening of SAA talks with Belgrade coincided with the fifth anniversary of the October 2000 events that brought down the Milosevic regime.

Olli Rehn: “This is very symbolic. It is reflecting the fifth anniversary of the democratic Serbia and the reform process that has taken place in the country in recent years. I hope that the decision on the concrete European perspective will open a new chapter in the history of Serbia-Montenegro and will pave the way for the country to join the European Union in the long term”.

What will be the pace of Serbia and Montenegro's SAA talks given that there will be certain obstacles and three different delegations to negotiate with?

Rehn: That's right. It's difficult to say anything specific about the length of negotiations. From our side, we approach them seriously



and professionally, meaning that the pace of the negotiations depends pretty much on the pace of reforms and meeting the conditions of an SAA agreement by Serbia and Montenegro, which means that now all energies should be focused on the EU negotiations and related economic and political reforms, so that Serbia-Montenegro is also serious about meeting the criteria of the agreement.

We have a dual-track approach which facilitates negotiations and I expect that all will respect the Constitutional Charter of Serbia-Montenegro. I would like to remind that in order to make progress in the negotiations, all available energies should be focused not only on negotiations but also on the reforms on the ground, which are important for the ordinary Serbs and Montenegrins.

... I think it is necessary that Serbia-Montenegro continues to further improve its cooperation with the Hague tribunal. There has been significant progress this year especially, which was critical in the [European] Council's decision to agree on the negotiating mandate. But still, the most wanted indicted war criminals, Ratko Mladic and Radovan Karadzic, are at large and it is clear that the EU member states and the ICTY expect that Serbia does its utmost to locate, arrest and transfer Mladic and also Karadzic [to The Hague]. There is now a very good cooperation between Serbia-Montenegro and Republika Srpska.

Other major issues [include] the rule of law and the reform of the judiciary [as well as] economic reforms. ... I took it as a positive note of the [World Bank] assessment that Serbia was the best last year in cutting red tape from entrepreneurial activity. The statistics show that the number of enterprises has increased in the country. Of course, we know that Serbia still has major economic challenges but it is a good sign that there is concrete action and now, as we have the association agreement in sight, I am sure this will have a positive impact for foreign direct investment. This all together means that the combined impact of the government actions and the European perspective should facilitate a better economic future for Serbia-Montenegro.

How would a referendum on Montenegrin independence affect the talks?

Rehn: It is indispensable to respect the Constitutional Charter which concerns both

Montenegro and all the other actors. At the same time, we are in favor of smooth progress in the SAA negotiations, which requires that Serbia-Montenegro indeed uses its political energy on achieving political objectives.

Does that mean that you believe that a referendum should take place after the talks are finished?

Rehn: I respect the Constitutional Charter and I leave it to the actors

in Serbia and Montenegro to decide what is the best thing to do taking into account the interests of the people of the country. But it is not a correct assumption that moving separately would speed up the accession progress toward Europe. For instance, in Montenegro, a separate road towards Europe won't be any faster than as part of the state union of Serbia and Montenegro. We are concerned with the administrative capacity of Montenegro. There are certainly problems in the administration in Serbia, but the capacity of the administration in Montenegro is for the moment weak and we have certain doubts about its capacity to implement the SAA agreement.

It is expected that UN special envoy Kai Eide's report will lead to negotiations on the future status of Kosovo in the coming months. Will this be an obstacle to the completion of the SAA talks?

Rehn: I don't think so. On the contrary, I would say that the SAA talks can provide such a credible European perspective to Serbia and Montenegro that it [will be in its] national interest to be constructive on the future status of Kosovo.

Some argue that Serbia must give up Kosovo in order to advance faster toward the EU. Could you elaborate on the European perspective of Kosovo?

Rehn: My view is that in the long term, perhaps in the early part of the next decade, we could see Serbia and Montenegro, including Kosovo, as a member or members of the EU, irrespective of the status of republics or entities. In other words, whatever the outcome of the status talks, Serbia and Montenegro and Kosovo will one day be part of the European Union, which means that they have a common market. They are part of the European single market, but they have a common market between themselves and there is a normal European freedom of movement in the area. The outcome will be that Serbia and Montenegro including Kosovo will be part of the European Union one day. It may go different routes, there are different scenarios concerning the future status of Kosovo, but our view and objective as the European Commission is to assure that whatever the outcome of the status talks it is compatible with the European perspective of Serbia and Montenegro and Kosovo.

Do you believe that more disintegration in the Balkans is needed in order to have better integration?

Rehn: The disintegration in the Western Balkans caused a lot of suffering in the past decade and it is in the interest of every citizen in the Western Balkans that we peacefully solve the status issue while at the same time working toward better regional cooperation and better integration into the European Union. My aim is that, in the run-up period toward the European Union, we provide to the countries of the Western Balkans a better arrangement of regional economic cooperation than at present. There are right now 29 bilateral free-trade agreements and only a few of them are working properly. This means that we have to think very carefully about how to improve economic integration in the region itself, as part of the European framework. This will be one of the focal points of our proposals next year when the EU is going to take new steps in our policy towards the Western Balkans during the Austrian presidency. We are working well on this with the Austrian presidency.

Will it involve more funds or clearer agreements?

Rehn: It will certainly include economic reforms in the countries themselves, better regional cooperation, including free trade, and also better economic assistance, although the last point depends on the EU budget.

How do you see the future role of Belgrade in the region and the EU?

Rehn: Belgrade has a key role in the regional context of the Western Balkans. We know the history of Yugoslavia and the history of the breakup of Yugoslavia. I would expect that Belgrade has a similar strong, self-confident but not overconfident role in the region. I come from Finland. We had in the Nordic countries a long history of conflict. Swedes and Danes have been slaughtering one another hundreds of years ago in Copenhagen or in Stockholm. One has to take a look at the role that Sweden has taken in the regional cooperation in the last decades -- self-confident but respecting other partners. I believe that Belgrade has to assume this kind of a role in the future. Self-confident but not aiming at dominance, this is part of the philosophy of European integration.

Do you believe that "enlargement fatigue" or problems with the EU "absorption" capacity could put at risk the European prospects of the Western Balkans?

Rehn: I think that yesterday's [3 October] decisions were a proof that we are taking care of our responsibilities concerning security and stability in Southeastern Europe. If there was at some point last summer in some circles some wobbling about our commitment to the Western Balkans, it is now history and the commitment of the European Union is very clear for working for the stability, democracy and prosperity of the Western Balkans.

Olli Rehn was interviewed by Aleksandar Mitic. Versions of this interview were published by the Tanjug news agency (www.tanjug.co.yu) and Transitions Online (www.tol.cz).

TEN REASONS FOR SERBIA AND MONTENEGRO

Benjamin Disraeli, the founder and leader of the British conservatives and one of the most important foreign ministers of the United Kingdom, described state politics as politics defined by the cross of national and strategic objectives. By proposing five national and five strategic reasons FOR maintaining Serbia and Montenegro as one state, I will try to add my modest contribution to the thesis that the separation of Serbia and Montenegro will not bring good to either party involved, as well as to the thesis that the creation of some Union of independent states is not an alternative. The classification shows that the stated reasons are interrelated, interwoven: Serbia and Montenegro is one, joint tissue, separable only through a sharp cut, and with all painful consequences, post-traumatic conditions that inevitably follow amputation.

Demographic reality

Following the census in Montenegro, two things are evident. First – that the Montenegrins do not represent a 50% majority in Montenegro, and second – that the Serbs in Montenegro represent at least one third of the population. Serbia needs to take care of a great number of Serbs in Montenegro. This is much easier to do through a common state since the Serbs in this case represent the constitutive element of Montenegro, and not a national minority. The number of ethnic Montenegrins (40%) shows that Montenegro cannot be constituted as an independent country in a way that the previous members of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia - Croatia, Slovenia and Macedonia - could.

Historical links

Historically speaking, Serbia and Montenegro have always been regarded as two Serbian countries. Likewise, the people living in Montenegro were regarded as Serbian people. Something started to change in this way only in 1941, something in 1945, and many things in 1997. However, historical ties cannot be erased over night. They cannot be undermined by an aggressive campaign of pro-independence media in Podgorica. King Nikola I tried in 1915 to negotiate a separate peace with Austria-Hungary. He wanted to separate the destiny of his country from that of Serbia, which was at the time erased from the map. He ended up fleeing on a boat from Kotor to Italy due to the pressure from Montenegrin patriots, who recognized treason to Serbia in his initiative.

Spiritual, cultural and language unity

The ties between two nations of the same origin or of one nation separated by a border are rather important. Between West and East Germany, there was little trade, little or no border crossings, no population or work force fluctuation, and all this lasted for half a century. Yet from the cultural or language point of view, the German nation lived as one organism. The wish to reconnect the two unnaturally divided parts prevailed over all those who warned against financial and economic danger of fast unification. In addition to the ties existing between the East and West Germans, the relationship between Serbs and Montenegrins is characterized also by spiritual unity. In 1840, Petar II Petrović of Montenegro wrote on his dream about Kosovo set free, so that the Serbian Tsar could again rule in Prizren, and himself be the Serbian patriarch in Pec.

Local security

By local safety I understand all the issues that will be raised in Montenegro, but also in a part of Serbia in case two independent countries are constituted. In her work "Black Lamb and Grey Falcon", Rebecca West describes Montenegro

in 1937: "How awkward was it to look at these two men, each of whom thinks it would be the end of the world should people start behaving according to the measures of the other". Almost 70 years later, Montenegrin present days could be hardly described in any other way. The danger of radicalization within Montenegro is rather realistic. It is even more realistic in the north of Montenegro and in the southwest Serbia, in the area some call Sandzak, and I prefer to call (Stara) Raska. The Muslim population living on each border side in a certain number, for more than a century and a half lives within one ethnic, cultural and commercial system. Separation of this population, making difficult the movement of the people, goods and capital, would certainly affect the politics of their political elite both in Serbia and in Montenegro. Instead of further normalization and advancement of the relationships between various ethnic groups, we will have new barriers, new animosities, new tensions.

Regional stability

The independence of Montenegro would certainly complicate further the status of Kosovo and Metohija. It is not a secret that some Albanian lobbyists would see Kosovo as independent if Montenegro gets independence. They argue: "Why should then the ethnic Albanians live in one country with the Serbs, if even the Montenegrins so close to Serbs do not want that?" All this brings a new instability spiral in the West Balkans. It starts a domino effect of questioning the issues of functionality of Macedonia following the Ohrid agreement, the Dayton Bosnia and Herzegovina. It raises new issues in chains that would further the Western Balkans from the European Union for a couple of decades at a moment when our region represents, at least according to GDP growth, one of the economically most active parts of Europe.

European perspective

Local and regional security are among Brussels' worries. Therefore, SCG gained open support to start negotiations on stabilization and association with EU as an international legal entity. Separation of Serbia and Montenegro would probably represent a partial slowdown for Belgrade on its way to Brussels, and for Montenegro total discontinuation of any further activities in this respect. Even worse, the attention of Belgrade and Podgorica to such a sequence of events would lead both to a totally opposite direction. Instead of working on the white Schengen list, providing the means for further system reforms and negotiations on the perspectives of our agriculture, we would have squabbles and disputes as dominant topics on our political scene. This "luxury" we should not allow.

International criteria

The referendum issue in Montenegro raises the issue of criteria which it has to meet. Two things raised a lot of talk – "who has the right to vote?" and "what makes the qualified majority?". As the right to vote has been discussed at large, I would like to focus on the matter of qualified majority that can decide the state legal status. If the referendums should be categorized according to the question asked, then there are three referendum groups. First, when the question is motivated only by some social interest groups (e.g. where can a waste depot be made, raising disagreements between ecological and economic lobbies in the local or regional environment) -- which in general needs a simple majority of those who voted in order to pass. Second, treating the issues of higher social importance (e.g. the issue of private data retention of the state organs) that would mostly need more than a half majority of the total number of adult citizens. And third, dealing with the state-legal status, there needs to be "a convincing majority". "Convincing", since in the case of "thin" majority, it would be possible for this majority to change within a four years' period, so that some new referendum on the state legal status could change the situation again, which would weaken the institutions, bring difficul-

ties to the international state position and create internal tensions. Also, once a rule is set for a European country and is verified by Europe, it becomes common for all the states, thus posing threats of new divisions and separatism spreading throughout the continent.

Economic interests

One of the primary interests of Serbia in the coming period is the creation of a climate for strengthening the national economy system and reaching perspectives for its expansion in the region. Serbia needs to expand its economic space to Montenegro. Also, the economic interest of all commercial subjects in Montenegro is to have an internal market of around eight million consumers. An internal market, unburdened by custom duties, control points, problems in payment.

Economic and infrastructure network

In the spring of 2006 major works will start on the modernization of roads and the rail of the European Corridor X, which in great part passes through Serbia. Montenegro can be a part of Corridor X, if modern highways and communication lines are built between Belgrade and Podgorica. Thanks to its geostrategic position, this seems to be the only opportunity for Montenegro to open its economic perspectives, and especially its tourism. The beginning of construction of a Adriatic-Ionic corridor, building a vertical connection on the line Greece-Albania-Montenegro-Croatia-Slovenia is postponed yet again. This is mostly due to high construction expenses, but also technical solutions, showing that it would be very difficult to build a modern and fast road in this area. Another opportunity of traffic connection of Montenegro with central European countries could be joining the corridor Budapest – Ploče port, but this represents a longer and more expensive way of people and goods transportation. Furthermore, both mentioned alternative models treat only one, southern part of Montenegro, leaving the other half of Montenegro as isolated both in terms of economy and infrastructure. On the other hand, a legitimate interest of the Serbian economy is to have its port and access to the sea. Sceptics would say that today, for Serbian producers, it is cheaper to export their goods by Kopar or Thessaloniki. But this is mostly due to the state of the port of Bar. With inadequate access and incapable of mass container transportation, Adriatic ports of Montenegro are not competitive. Thus, Serbia should provide guarantees for their modernisation, participate in the building of a common sea fleet and registration of maritime insurance services.

Citizen rights

The rights that the citizens of Montenegro have in Serbia and vice versa are not negligible. Montenegrin students in Serbia are treated as domestic, they are allowed to work without any restrictions. This is all normal since we live in one country called Serbia and Montenegro. This would perhaps not be normal if we would live in two separate countries. Why should a substantial number of students of independent Montenegro and not of Serbia be inscribed to universities on account of the Serbian budget? Why employ foreign citizens when unemployment rate is already high enough? The issue of thousands of properties possessed by the citizens of Serbia in Montenegro would be raised as well as the issue of their taxation. Politics should be in the function of the citizens. It should provide normal life conditions. By keeping the common state of Serbia and Montenegro, and strengthening, at later stages, the relationship between Belgrade and Podgorica in the future, this is exactly what would be done.

By Dušan Proroković

Dusan Prorokovic is a deputy at the National Assembly of Serbia and an Associate of the Institute of Serbia and Montenegro.

KOSOVSKA MITROVICA NORTH 1999-2005 Conference:

Northern Kosovska Mitrovica - Possible Model for the Survival of Serbs

The "Kosovska Mitrovica North 1999-2005" conference was held on 23 September 2005 in the very heart of the city. The conference was organised by the NGO Jelena Anzujaska and sponsored by the Balkan Trust for Democracy from Belgrade, German Marshall Fund Program. The Institute of SCG in Brussels was among the panelists.

It was the very first time since the conflict in 1999 that a local entity initiated a public debate on the northern part of Kosovska Mitrovica. The event brought together Kosovo Serbian political leaders, prominent representatives from Belgrade and leading international agencies and foreign offices from Pristina and Mitrovica.

"There is no problem called Northern Kosovska Mitrovica", was the opening remark of the newly-appointed chief of the state's Coordination Centre for Kosovo and Metohija, Sanda Raskovic Ivic. "Official Belgrade views northern Kosovska Mitrovica as a possible model for the survival of Serbs. It does not want to destabilise the province, as is alleged by the international community and Albanians".

"Serbia has a right and an obligation to protect its interests in Kosovo and Metohija. The right stands from the UN SC Resolution", concluded Sanda Raskovic Ivic.

Kosovo Serbs have a common goal - preservation of the province under Serbia. But bringing together Oliver Ivanovic and Marko Jakšić, who represent the key confronting Kosovo Serb political options respectively, was no easy task.

Still opposed to last autumn's Kosovo's elections, Marko Jakšić denies the legitimacy of the Serbian list for Kosovo and Metohija since it represents "only 0.3% of the Serbian vote."

"We have tried to protect Serbian state institutions from dismantling in this territory", emphasized the leader of the SNC for Northern Kosovo and Metohija, convinced it was the reason why northern Kosovska Mitrovica was often perceived as a problem.

Oliver Ivanovic said that the only way to bare responsibility over improving the situation was in Kosovo's institutions.

"Dialogue between Belgrade and Pristina is of the utmost importance, but I must say there is another, very important, internal dialogue between Serbs and Albanians. Where would a dialogue commence? In the streets, on the bridge or in the institutions, in the presence of the international community?"

Misa Djurkovic, Secretary of the State's Council for Kosovo and Metohija, said that Belgrade does not support direct Serbian participation in Kosovo's institutions where they could not win their rights. However, Belgrade encourages Serbs to participate in those institutions as-



sesses as the ones where positive results could be accomplished. He underlined that Belgrade seeks ways to resolve the problem with the international community and Albanians.

Decentralisation was the vital issue for the democratisation of Kosovo's society, agreed the speakers.

"Decentralisation is one of the key processes in Kosovo", highlighted Ruairi O'Connell, the deputy Head of the British Office in Pristina.

"Mitrovica has been the symbol of mistrust between the two ethnic communities for a long time. As we are coming to the process of determining Kosovo's status, we must turn our attention fully to Mitrovica. I do believe that

that over the years there had been some improvement in the movement of Serbs around Kosovo:

"This is only to be expected as people through time adjust to the circumstances in which they find themselves. However to say that there is "freedom of movement" is to imply that people move freely without fear, without anxiety and without restriction. That is not the case and nor has it been. People do not travel when they want to but only when they have to."

On the margins, a dominant impression was that Serb and international participants should meet more often.

"A poor communication between Serbs and



people here must find a solution by themselves as they share the same goal, and that is the EU", said Ruairi O'Connell.

Security issue was on the agenda, too. Dusan Prorokovic, Chairman of the Serbian Parliament's Committee for Kosovo and Metohija stated that more than 900 ethnically motivated crimes occurred against the Serbs in the past six years.

Former UNMIK regional police commander in Kosovska Mitrovica, Joe Napolitano, said

international community results in misunderstandings and prejudgements that both of the sides were practising until now. We believed that this conference would benefit all in order to change this trend", concluded Nevenka Medic, the executive director of Jelena Anzujaska.

By Tatjana Lazarevic



HEALTH&SCIENCE: MENTAL PATHOLOGY DISTRIBUTION DURING THE NATO BOMBING OF YUGOSLAVIA

Mental health protection represents an important element of social functioning. The mentality and culture of a nation as an expression of its intellectual and emotional life modify the expression of mental disorder. In order to understand the specificity of mental pathology tendencies in conditions preceding the period of transition and resulting in the NATO campaign against Yugoslavia in 1999, an interdisciplinary explorative study was realised by a group of authors of psychological-psychiatric orientation. The first research of this kind, entitled "The Effects of the NATO Bombing Campaign on Mental Pathology Distribution" and produced by psychiatrist dr Lidija Čuk-Jovanovic and a team of psychologists -- Olivera Dzunić, Tamara Perović and Vojislav Jovanović of Belgrade -- was invited to participate at the XIII World psychiatry congress (Cairo, September 2005). The work was published within a group of reports devoted to the victims of forceful resolution of conflict situations in the world ("11 September").

Namely, by examining mental disorder types shown in 1264 Belgrade inhabitants, of both gender, aged between 18 and 30, who asked for psychiatric help for the first time at the relevant institution (INPB "Dr Laza Lazarević", Belgrade), a considerable frequency of certain disorders was established as well as a difference in disorder type in male and female population.

The diagnostic criteria of international classification of mental behaviour disorders (MKB - 10) were followed. The disorders in which formation the dominant effect was the factor triggering stress for the group majority were singled out. According to this, reactions of a return depressive type (F33) and sudden, temporary psychotic disorder (F23) were analysed further. Simultaneously, a greater frequency of depressive episodes and adaptation disorder was noticed in the male population. Despite expectations, the increase of anxious reactions in female population was not registered.

The results were further compared with the most frequent types of mental disorders in the same time period (24 March - 15 June) in 1998 and 2000. In

1998, an increase of panic anxious disorder and reactions to intense stress with adaptation disorder were noticed. During 2000 the increase in posttraumatic stress syndrome was registered as well as specific personality disorder (F60).

The real sense and psychological-psychiatric logic of these results was looked into within professional findings between 1997-2004. In this context, the discovery of a frequent comeback of depressive episodes can be seen as strengthening the general depressive position of individuals in a society where the system of values is disappearing. Emotional experience of low self-esteem, feeling of guilt and dull future as depressive reaction content considerably influenced perceptions of self-identity and national identity. Depressive reactions among younger population can thus represent an expression of a general depressive tendency of one side. Simultaneously, the exhaustion of their mechanisms of hyper activity in an endeavour of overcoming socio-economic difficulties imposed the model of learnt helplessness.

Psychotic disorder as the discontinuation of contact with reality appeared in a smaller percentage. It was defined as a sudden, short-lived and temporary disorder caused by intensive emotional anxiety. Its development includes the conditions of real life threat due to the campaign of NATO powers among which were the countries perceived in our people's mentality as friendly or historically and culturally close. Emotional suffering was further deepened due to the lack of external support and by media and political manipulation of emotional identity from inside. Irritation, following by definition emotional anxiety, would usually appear in behaviour leaving the impression of aggressivity. The discontinuation of the contact with such, emotionally unbearable reality can be also understood as a way of preserving psychic existence.

Within Belgrade's population which did not use its vital psychic potentials, denial was registered as a primary defence mechanism. Its psychologic sense represents a preservation of emotional balance and as such denies pathological, psychotic loss of contact with reality. Within the female population this attitude illustrates the widely-known "dilemma" of a housewife with a message "should I wait for the bombing or should I paint the house". On the other hand, the real campaign circumstances with the efficiency of "invisible" bombing actors have, in accordance with the population mentality, also ac-

tivated the life defensive reactions that could seem irrational at first sight. Their deep psychologic sense best illustrates the known spontaneous gathering of citizens on the bridges. Physical protection of the bridges as universal symbols of connections among people demonstrated also the nonverbal, archetypal, message of the need of communication with others, with the NATO campaign actor. In this situation of emotional vulnerability, there was a lot of space for political manipulation and personal promotion which further frustrated the inhabitants and caused a type of belief where reality was nothing but a nightmare from which it might be possible to wake up.

By analysing the results of 2000, an increase in the expected post-traumatic stress syndrome as well as personality disorder can be noticed. Personality disorders are defined as forms of inflexible behaviour based on deviation in perception, thinking, feeling and communication of an average person of a certain culture in personal and social relations.

Within this group, one should distinguish between a permanent change in adults naturally arising from extreme prolonged stress and communication deprivation. At the same time, these conditions enable fixation or conservation of extreme and deviated behaviour in communication with others among very young people. In this context, their sudden expansion in the society is considerably easier due to the lack of natural inhibition of a healthy society, i.e. it is enabled by a general depressive tendency. Its escalation in the sphere of criminogen behaviour and further frustrative influence to the rest of the population was registered and followed by media in the period from 2000 until present.

According to the logic of our mentality, the present incremental return to communication with ourselves and the world, based on the authentic national archetype form, is understandable. One has the impression that its appearance is still blocked by psychologic mechanism of suffering loss of memory for the sake of reintegration to the system from which we have been excluded. In this way, the behaviour model "as if nothing happened" represents a temporary phase of identity establishment. One should expect that the functionality of a new identity can get its confirmation only through responsible dialogue with ourselves and the world.

By Lidija Čuk-Jovanovic, Tamara Perovic, Olivera Dzunic and Vojislav Jovanovic

MONTHLY NEWS ROUNDUP:

EU INTEGRATION

- EU starts talks on a Stabilization and Association Agreement (SAA) with Serbia-Montenegro on 10 October in Belgrade in the presence of EU Enlargement Commissioner Olli Rehn and Serbia-Montenegro's dignitaries.

- The start of talks was previously given a go-ahead by a decision of the Council of ministers on 3 October in Luxembourg. The progress of talks will depend on reform implementation, EU legislation requirements and the pursuit of cooperation with the Hague war crimes tribunal.

KOSOVO

- EU supports the report on standards in Kosovo by Kai Eide, including its conclusion that talks should start soon on the future status.

- EU insists that it will not take sides in Kosovo and rejects claims that it has already decided that the solution will be "conditional independence" as suggested by some lobby groups, analysts and media.

- Greek MEP Panagiotis Beglitis warns

in the European Parliament about the dangers of a new round of ethnic cleansing against the Serb population in Kosovo

- Belgium says it wants to play a role in the Kosovo status talks as it prepares to take on OSCE presidency in 2006.

- EU announces plans to take over policing in Kosovo from the UN after the status talks.

STATE UNION

- The future prospects of the State Union of Serbia-Montenegro boosted by the beginning of SAA talks

- EU High Representative for Foreign and Security Policy Javier Solana warns that a referendum on secession in Montenegro would be accepted only if it respected high European standards and was accepted by all sides.

- EU insists that a Montenegrin referendum on secession is "not a priority"

ATLANTIC INTEGRATION

- Serbia-Montenegro chairs an ambassadorial-level meeting of the SEEGROUP (Southeast European Group) in the presence of NATO Secretary-General Jan de Hop Scheffer, who calls the meeting run by ambassador Branislav Milinkovic and

SEEGROUP chairman Milena Mitic a "milestone" in its five-years long history.

- The arrest of former Bosnian Serb general Ratko Mladic, indicted by the Hague tribunal for war crimes, remains the last requirement for Serbia-Montenegro's adherence to the Partnership for Peace programme, says US Undersecretary of State Nicholas Burns in a visit to NATO headquarters.

VOJVODINA

- The European Parliament adopts in Strasbourg by 78 votes in favor a resolution warning Serbia-Montenegro about the breach of minority rights in the northern province of Vojvodina.

- Serbia-Montenegro's Minister for Human Rights and Minorities Rasim Ljajich rejects "unfounded" accusations in the resolution at a hearing of the European Parliament in Brussels.

- Chairwoman of the hearing, German MEP Doris Pack, says the hearing "opened the eyes to everyone, including the European parliamentarians".

MONTHLY CULTURAL/ SPORTS ROUNDUP

- Serbia-Montenegro chairs an ambassadorial-level meeting of the SEEGROUP (South East Europe Security Cooperation Steering Group) in the presence of NATO Secretary-General Jaap de Hoop Scheffer, who calls the meeting run by ambassador Branislav Milinkovic and SEEGROUP chairman Milena Mitic a "milestone" in its five-years long history.

- Serbia's leading documentary film director Boris Mitic received a double best-film award for his documentaries "Unmik Titanik" and

"Pretty Dyana" at the Novosibirsk Documentary Film Festival.

- The long-awaited English version of the most complete and luxurious monography about Belgrade -- "Belgrade: the Town of Secrets" -- by Serbia's hottest monography publisher "Lepa Srbija" ("Beautous Serbia") is to be presented in Brussels and other European capitals.

- Serbia-Montenegro's football squad qualified for the 2006 World Cup in Germany after topping its qualifying group, ahead of Spain, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Belgium, Lithuania and San Marino.

- Serbia-Montenegro hosted two European sport championship within a month: in volleyball and in basketball. The Eurobasket 2005

finals at the Belgrade Arena reached record attendance in the history of the competition -- 20,000 fans, including some 8,000 Greeks, were in the stands of the newest and largest sports arena in this part of Europe.



LINK OF THE MONTH: www.senzal.co.yu

The modern financial market has a relatively short tradition in Serbia, but the shares of Serbian companies and state bonds have rapidly attracted the focus of both domestic and foreign investors. From just a few companies listed on the Belgrade stock exchange in 1999 to 700 companies today, there has been quite a progress both in law and the technological aspects of the development of securities trade. Today, the Belgrade stock exchange and its members, the Treasury of the National Bank of Serbia Treasury other emittents of securities offer institutional and individual investors a wide choice of money investments.

As a leader on the financial market of Serbia, the broker-dealer society "Senzal" of Belgrade has with its proactive strategy set new standards of services and information for all types of clients. At the end of 2001, the "Senzal" team in cooperation with the Belgrade software company SW4I developed an Internet presentation www.senzal.co.yu according to the mod-

ern financial market requirements. Apart from the current data on the daily financial instrument prices, graphics and basic indicators, this website provides various information which investors need when deciding on the sale or purchase of securities, risk diversification and creation of profitable securities portfolios. Updated on a daily basis, and visited 1,200 times a day, www.senzal.co.yu provides quality information on the financial market. With the help of standard and special reports created according to the standards of developed stock exchanges, daily, weekly and monthly newsletters, data on trade and continuous communication with analysts, our clients have a detailed account of the financial market, macroeconomic environment trends already under way or the ones to come.

Two new services which are being developed will improve investment support of our present and potential clients. The first service applies to an online review of invested resources, i.e. portfolio of shares and bonds, while the other service would help the clients to review easily and quickly, also online, the analysis of business activi-

ties of the companies with shares listed on the Belgrade stock exchange. At this moment all reports and analyses are sent to the clients according to their requests, and upon the launch of these two services all clients will be able to control the existing and look for new investments by internet from any computer at any time, by using their user name and password.

Along with these services, "Senzal" is already preparing the ground for the highest service form in the broker business-- a software platform for online trading where all the clients will be able to purchase or sell orders of shares. At the top of "Senzal" business policy is the complete client service and all our forces are joined in that direction. The trust that some of the biggest multinational companies and professional investment funds active in Serbia and some 30.000 individual clients have in us is only a confirmation.

By Rade Rakocevic, director of "Senzal"



THE STORY OF BELGRADE

— *an ancient city with a rich history; that is said to be the most frequently destroyed city in the world; the city with the most beautiful location in Europe and the metropolis with the most interesting men and most beautiful women — is described in an impressive book written by the city's most prominent narrators and explorers.*

Every city, just like a man, has a biography and a character. Its history includes a childhood and a period of youth, holidays and defeats, just as any living person's — reads the introduction of the book titled "Belgrade, the City of Secrets." It is a luxurious edition that gives an informative, extremely thorough, beautifully narrated account of the history, character, people, quarters, scents and colors of the city. Within its 1 008 pages, the story unwinds of a city at once located where the borders of two civilizations meet, at the confluence of two rivers and at the foot of Mt. Avala. Belgrade, the hero of its own destiny, recount in the first person singular all that has happened to it; its dreams, hopes, fears and secrets. The chronicle of the city with three names -Singidunum, Dar Ul Jiha, Bjeligrad- was written on its behalf by Miloš Crnjanski, Milorad Pavić, Momo Kapor, Bogdan Tirnanić, Svetlana Velmar-Janković, Jovan Ćirilov, Vladimir Pištalo, Milan Kašanin, Srđan Šaper.... The authors, who together created the voice of a single narrator, were aided in this endeavor by Belgrade's faithful companions and accomplices: its writers, journalists, photographers, por-

traitists, draftsmen, bibliographers, archivists, polyhistorians, encyclopedias, historians, theologians, philosophers and so forth. They made mention of other famous Belgraders in this long story — from the Roman Emperor, Belgrade-born Tsar Iovianus, and Belgrade noblemen such as princes, despots and educators to charmers and poets: from King Dragutin and Despot Stefan to Stanislav Vinaver and Miloš Crnjanski; from Janko Hunjadi and Nikola Doksat de Morez to Srđan Dragojević and Vladimir Pištalo.

The key institutions behind this great venture were the publishing house Veduta and the advertising agency Freee Communications, the resources of which were heavily exploited in the past three years — leading to the unparalleled synergy achieved by project director, Predrag LJ. Ćeranić, who is currently working with his creative team on expanding the project by introducing a whole new movement of "Beauteous Serbia". Of his new-born concept he says:

„Beauteous Serbia is a magazine, monograph, diary, anthology, brand... but it is not only that. Beauteous Serbia is a dream of the beauty of life and also an aesthetic prayer, an invitation for an imaginary journey, yearning to overcome the boundaries, chronicle of and ideal Serbia within Europe, optimistic about its future.

All this is particularly important here and today, in this hard times of great changes.

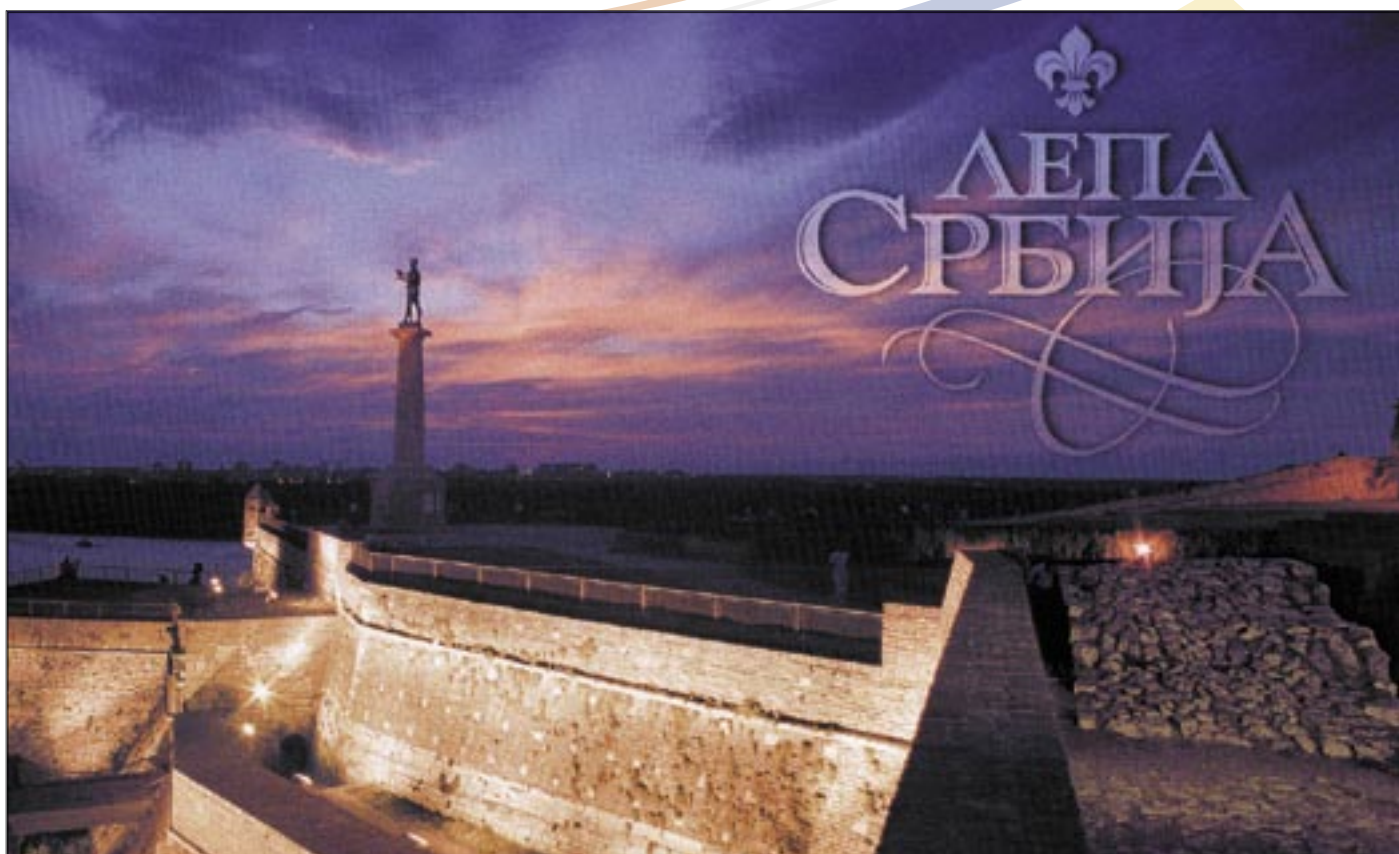
Today is when we mostly need the proofs for having faith in the meaning of our country and our lives.

The all source of all respect we have for other people and for different people, but also the respect we get from other and different people, is in the respect for one's own talents and values. It is also in being familiar and respectful of one's own culture and doing one's best to realize all of its still unexploited potentials. Serbia must become a synonym for respect and self-esteem. We must not let our recent crises jeopardize everything we accomplished by the endeavors and success of all past generations!

As far as our culture is concerned, we are a bridge between different civilizations, a link between close differences. As far as time is concerned, we are a tie between the past and the future, the connection between memory and hope.

Bogdan Tirnanić:

„For I know the hell Belgrade went through. If anything similar had happened to Paris, today goats would be grazing along the shores of the Seine. I had the rare luck (or misfortune) to walk a greater part of that road with Belgrade. I survived its many wars; among which were the two World Wars. In one of those World Wars, in the first one, a bomb dropped by one of the Allied Armies, destroyed my house near the Bajloni Market. They wanted to hit a near brewery, but they missed it. I was allowed an excuse that day; I had something to do at the maternity hospital. I had better luck in another war: during that deadly, dangerous spring, I lived across from the zoo, and there is no living American who would drop a bomb on a giraffe.”



UNMIK TITANIK: “Happy New Year – well in advance”

Serbia's leading film director writes on why he filmed “Unmik Titanik”, a dark, deep and troubling film on how these 100 Serbs in Pristina have celebrated their last New Year's Eve before the March 2004 ethnic cleansing campaign in Kosovo.

Imagine if someone promised you to watch a film, but you never got to watch a film.

Imagine you wanted your money back, but got beaten up instead.

Imagine if you wanted to get back home, but your home was destroyed.

Imagine if you wanted to scream out in protest, but got lynched for speaking Scottish.

Imagine if you wanted to run away from here, anywhere, anyhow, but could not get even leave this building, and had nowhere to go to anyways.

Imagine if you didn't get to watch a film, got no money back, had no home to return to, no way to get out of here, no more language, no more history... and that on top of this, the whole world was convincing you that you were actually doing fine, and that you should be proud for contributing to the creation of a new, internationally sponsored utopia called “Kosovo”.

I am sorry for not being here with you to celebrate the United Nations' 60th birthday in some appropriate manner. I wanted nonetheless to tell you some background info about this film. It was shot all in one night, almost accidentally.

I didn't want to spend yet another ecstatic New Year's Eve in Belgrade, so I took my camera and went for an adrenalin-fix to Prishtina, the capital of Kosovo.

I wanted to record the sick new iconography of the city, as well as glimpses of the hypocritical atmosphere of New Year's Eve celebrations, as some sort of video commentary of my five years of covering the post-war Kosovo chaos for a renowned international news agency.

In Prishtina, as you might or might not know, all Serbs and Gypsies have been expelled after the war ended, some 6 years ago, and this despite the presence of tens of thousands of Rambo peacekeepers.

Only one hundred brave and lost souls chose to stay inside one downtown building, naively believing the situation in the city would improve.

What actually happened is that this apartment block became a surreal one-building ghetto, from which these people couldn't even walk out without getting harassed or attacked.

Belgrade saw them as heroes of Serbian resistance, while UN authorities branded them as saviours of much-desired multiethnicity and put protective checkpoints all around.

The residents couldn't care less. They organized their life inside the building, and lived indoors for almost five years, stuck in time and hope.

I didn't plan to film their story, because I knew very little about it at that time. But I had to leave my bags

somewhere, so I sneaked my way inside the building, got friends with the kids and ... spent the whole night filming them, as you will see.

It turned out to be my best New Year's Eve ever, and a poignant metaphor of the disgusting hypocrisy of UN peacekeeping, which people recognized and identified with at festival screenings around the world.

The film is also a unique and important document, because of what happened at the end.

The empty building is now painted in bright white color, as if nobody ever lived there...

After returning to Prishtina to shoot the epilogue scene, I definitely and irreversibly quit any kind of journalism, thank God! Now I am doing documentaries only, full time.

Sorry for the technical quality of the film, it is quite dirty sometimes, but it is also very true – and that's what most important.

Maybe a little too long at times, but then, just think about how it might feel to stay inside one building for five years...

Maybe a little disturbing also, but I am sure that in the end, you will be more than happy to get out of this theatre and return to your homes.

Keep watching docs, not news.

Awe Ra Best

By Boris Mitic, author of “Pretty Dyana” and “Unmik Titanik” (www.dribblingpictures.com). To win copies of the film, please refer to the Editor's word on Page 2.



Emir Kusturica awarded European architecture award for Kustendorf

BRUSSELS – The Foundation for Architecture in Brussels has awarded Serbian film director Emir Kusturica the “European architecture award Philippe Rotthier” for the construction of his village Kustendorf in Western Serbia.

The head of the jury, French architect Rudy Ricciotti, called Kusturica’s village a “revolutionary, romantic” piece and a “victory over cynism, defetism and cretenism”.

Kusturica said he was surprised by the award.

“I have never had on a map of my mind an idea that one day I would be getting an architecture award”, he said.

“It is surprisingly pleasant and is making me think backwards. In fact, it makes me think of my film education, when my professor, architect and one of Europe’s best directors Otakav Vavra, always insisted during our lectures to compare film and the history of architecture, that in fact the musicality of each project which is seen but not heard is in fact the basis of every good film”, he said.

The award of the Foundation for Architecture was this year focussed on “alterarchitecture”.

“It is as if I could choose as a film director whether I would like to enter my late years as Bunuel or as a director of commercial films. I would always ask to be Bunuel from the one who could award me that because that is in

fact a constant, live reaction to the environment and oneself. That is what I am doing in music and in film”, Kusturica said.

no longer believed to be possible: to have a radical romantic project to transform a reality that is not real at all”.



In the official catalogue of the Alterarchitecture exhibition, displayed at the Foundation in late October, Rudy Ricciotti wrote:

“In Kustendorf, the village is a miracle; it wages war on mediocrity. The true prophecy of the Tarabic brothers is this, that which one

Several hundred invitees attended the award ceremony, during which the Institute of Serbia and Montenegro and its partner Veduta from Belgrade presented the newest edition of the project “Beautous Serbia” – a luxurious monography “Belgrade: City of Secrets”.



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