

IFIMES

International Institute for Middle East and Balkan Studies

2004



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Crisis prevention – still an illusion ?

Expect the unexpected?

For years “Crisis management” and “Crisis prevention” have been key words in the political debate.

Unfortunately, no significant progress has been achieved.

The world still has to live with surprises – crises and conflicts emerge without early warnings.

Political leaders and the public learn about crises and conflicts if and when CNN cameras transport the horrifying pictures via TV into our homes.

Political leaders express their surprise about emerging crises and conflicts in Rwanda, Haiti, Former Yugoslavia, Ivory Coast, Congo, Middle East, Former Soviet Union, Ukraine, Uzbekistan, Kyrgyzstan, Iraq, Afghanistan – just to name a few.

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Is this cycle a natural law ? Are those political crises – like Tsunami – a fact of life we have to live with fatalistically ?

Are we not capable with all our instruments of world-wide access to information, communications, computers, exchange of knowledge within a nation, between nations and alliances, state and non-state organisations to net a safer world ?

Are we not willing to spend some money to prevent crises and conflicts ? Is there no political resolve to – at least – reduce the number of surprises ?

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- International terrorism combined with organised crime
- Production, transport and consumptions of drugs
- Human trafficking
- Ethnic minorities under pressure
- Religious tensions
- Social tensions – such as the level of unemployment especially of young people
- Territorial claims
- Rift between the have- and the have-not
- Level of education
- Status of women
- Status of health care

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INFORMATIONS ABOUT THE INSTITUTE

IFIMES - International Institute for Middle-East and Balkan studies, based in Ljubljana - Slovenia, gathers and selects various information and sources on key conflict areas in the world. Based on the selected information, the Institute analyses mutual relations among parties with an aim to promote the importance of global conflict resolution of the existing conflicts and the role of preventive actions against new global disputes.

Idea to establish IFIMES Institute is a reflection of our common reality and the needs of the world to reach for common solutions - now more than ever in the past. Common interests and bonds among different policies, nations, religions, world regions and diverse interest parties in the unipolar world are essential. Constant search for differences and rejections is like searching for a needle in a pack of hay, while insisting on cooperation and respect for diversity provides a chance to create a better world.

The area of research and work of IFIMES Institute is the Middle East (Gulf states) and the Balkans (South-Eastern Europe), where relations among different entities are based on religious, ethnic, national and racial grounds. Associates of the Institute are respected experts, scientists, managers, journalists and researchers, who are introducing younger colleagues from all over the world to work, with a purpose of additional education, promotion of knowledge and scientific achievements with an emphasis on the political and economic connections within the region, among the regions and on the global level.

The IFIMES Institute is through organizing seminars, symposiums, conferences, round tables, (with participants from various interest groups: scientists, politicians, managers, representatives of religious institutions, journalists, artists and others), performing analyses, studies and projects, as well as through its own publications presenting the results of its work and achievements, also targeting leading international media.

IFIMES will in the future cooperate with relevant institutions from the USA, EU, Gulf states and countries from South-Eastern Europe on projects, studies and analyses prepared individually or based on specific demands from a known party. The activities of IFIMES are especially directed towards the areas of international (foreign) politics and economy, international relations, counselling the state institutions, companies and individuals and more.

IFIMES is searching for and recommending political solutions to the govern-

ments of the world, especially and foremost for the regions of the Balkans and the Middle East.

The International Institute IFIMES is a partner of:

- World Security Network, New York
- Globalvision News Network, New York
- Mejdunarodniyi obchestveniyi fond »Eksperimentalniyi tvorcheskiyi centr«, Kurginyana Center, Moscow

The International Institute IFIMES is a co-founder of the International Counter-Terrorism Academic Community (ICTAC), Herzliya, Israel.

The Global Development Network from Washington has marked the relevancy of the researches performed by the International Institute IFIMES with the relevancy rate of 93,00%.

FOUNDERS OF ICTAC - INTERNATIONAL COUNTER-TERRORISM ACADEMIC COMMUNITY

The International Counter-Terrorism Academic Community (ICTAC), was established at ICT's third international conference in September 2003. The ICTAC's members include leading counter-terrorism researchers and research institutes from countries around the globe. Among ICTAC's goals: developing and expanding academic cooperation in counter-terrorism; conducting research that will lead to more efficient decision-making in counter-terrorism; promoting new policies and initiatives to fight terrorism:

- International Policy Institute for Counter-Terrorism (ICT), Israel
- International Institute for Middle-East and Balkan Studies (IFIMES), Slovenia
- Unconventional Concepts, Inc., USA
- Georgia International Law Enforcement, Exchange-Dept of Criminal Justice, Georgia State University, USA
- Center for Tactical Counter-Terrorism for the NYPD Institute of Defence and Strategic Studies (IDSS), Singapore
- International Foundation Experimental Creativity Center, Russia
- Center for High Studies on Counter-Terrorism and Political Violence (Ce.A.S.), Italy
- Oklahoma Regional Community Policing Institute, USA
- National Center for Emergency Preparedness at Vanderbilt University Medical Center, USA
- Environmental Planning Specialists, Inc-and-Georgia State University, USA
- Counter-Terrorism Research Center of Georgia, Georgia
- Center of Security & Terrorism Research, Institute of Political Studies, SCG
- Center for Globalization Studies, SCG

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CRISIS PREVENTION - STILL AN ILLUSION?

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HOW SHOULD “CRISIS PREVENTION” WORK ?

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- # Social tensions - such as the level of unemployment especially of young people
- # Territorial claims
- # Rift between the have- and the have-not
- # Level of education
- # Status of women
- # Status of health care
- # Environmental problems
- # Cultural tensions
- # Strains from history
- # Shortage of strategically important raw material, energy, crude oil, gas and water and resulting dependencies
- # “no future” feeling of the “losers” of industrialisation and globalisation
- # demographic development - over ageing and overpopulation in poor countries
- # Flight from the country into “Megapolis”
- # Migration
- # “failed states”
- # Non-state armed groups
- # Shortage of food

These factors do not need further explanation, they are self explanatory.

Where and when some factors are combined crisis and conflicts become almost inevitable.

A nation state needs a “National Security Adviser” who systematically observes the factors which might create crises and conflicts at home and abroad.

He needs a interdisciplinary team with expertise from all walks of politically relevant areas.

This team forms a hub in a national and international network of state and non-state organisations - UN, NATO,EU, World Bank, International Monetary Fund, African Union, ASEAN states, G-8, G-21,OECD, OSEC, research institutes, multinational companies - and so forth.

Computer freaks can use the opportunities of the internet. As “Open source intelligence (OSINT)

All these sources fill an ocean of information. The art of “crisis prevention” is to select the relevant information and transfer this “unfinished intelligence” into knowledge as “finished intelligence”.

WHAT TO DO WITH “FINISHED INTELLIGENCE” ?

It makes no sense if and when the “National Security Advisor” keeps this knowledge on his desk. He has to “sell” it to the decision-makers – including the advice : who should do what and when and how ?

That’s not an easy task.

Governments in democracies tend to think and act in short periods of time – looking at the next election. Why should a government invest scarce resources when a crisis is still beyond the horizon of public awareness ? Why should they tackle a problem of the future under pressure of pressing actual competing issues ?

The reality tells us that many nation states do not have the instruments for “crisis prevention” nor the political resolve to start.

They accept to be surprised and to react instead of pro-active decisions and actions.

WHAT IS THE PRIZE FOR FAILED “CRISIS PREVENTION” ?

The prize for failed “crisis prevention” can be seen in the media.

Crises and conflicts are very expensive. Losses of lives, destruction of infrastructure, deployment of military and police forces, costly damage control, expensive reconstruction of the infrastructure as well as nation and state building.

If crises and conflicts are not brought to a satisfying end the next crisis and conflict is borne.

Responsive governments and individuals have to break this vicious circle in the interest of mankind.

THE VALUE OF IFIMES’ CONTRIBUTION

As consumer I appreciate very much the contribution of IFIMES in the area of “Crisis prevention”. The in-depth going analyses about the development in the Middle East and in the Balkans are very helpful for decision-makers and other institutions which work in a similar way. These analyses are part of an “early warning system” telling decision-makers where crises and conflicts might occur.

IFIMES is a very important part in the world-wide network.

As Global Editor of www.worldsecuritynetwork.com I benefit from the products of IFIMES. We have common goals and objectives: Network a safer and better world. For this aim and objective “crisis prevention” is a challenge and worth our common efforts.

ARE EARLY ELECTIONS TO BECOME THE POLITICAL REALITY?

The International Institute for Middle-East and Balkan Studies (IFIMES) in Ljubljana, Slovenia, constantly analyses events in the Middle East and the Balkans. It is presently dealing with the political situation in Bosnia and Herzegovina, collective resignation of the presidency of the Serbian Democratic Party (SDS) and unsuccessful replacement of the government of Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina. The most important and interesting sections of the comprehensive analysis are given below.

The collective resignation of the presidency of the Serbian Democratic Party (SDS), unsuccessful attempts by the Party of Democratic Action (SDA) to replace the government of the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina and the signing of the agreement called »the Platform for Program Co-operation« by the Social Democratic Party (SDP), the Party of Independent Social Democrats (SNSD), the Socialist Party (SP) and the New Croatian Initiative (NHI) in November 2003 represent the new political reality in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

»The Platform for Program Co-operation« is the first agreement achieved by the political groupations at the level of the state of Bosnia and Herzegovina without the initiative and intervention of the international community. It represents a new quality which paves the way for the stability of political relations in Bosnia and Herzegovina and promotes political structures which are able to achieve that goal. For the first time they actually discuss the interest of the state of Bosnia and Herzegovina and the selection of the best solutions which can strengthen, protect and bring Bosnia and Herzegovina closer to the world. The Platform contains chapters dealing with the society, jobs, justice, foreign policy and Euro-Atlantic integrations, parliamentary co-operation and early elections.

In contrast to the agreement between SDA, SDS and HDZ, which was signed as back as in 1990 and never terminated, the Platform offers something utterly new in the political life of Bosnia and Herzegovina. The result of the 1990 agreement between SDA, SDS and HDZ was among other the war in Bosnia and Herzegovina and a vast number of victims which led to the physical disappearance of the nation, hundreds of thousands of killed, 2,5 million displaced and deported and the damage of about \$50 billion.

The ethnic parties in Bosnia and Herzegovina are still trying to be reformistic with the strong support of the High Representative for Bosnia and Herzegovina, Paddy Ashdown. Regrettably, most of the reforms which have been undertaken are in fact the reforms of the High Representative Ashdown in which the ethnic parties take only a passive part. Hence, it would be justified to wonder whether Bosnia and Herzegovina can exist as a state if the reforms are led by the High Representa-

tive Paddy Ashdown or the OHR and not by the domestic political forces.

The only participant in those reforms is Ashdown since he is their initiator. The three-national coalition supported by the Party of Democratic Progress (PDP) and the Party for Bosnia and Herzegovina (SBiH) has accepted this game since in this way it can remain in power hoping secretly that the reforms would fail if a geopolitical change happened in the region - a new structure of the states in the region of the former Yugoslavia (Kosovo, Macedonia, the state union of Serbia and Monte Negro).

The ethnic parties have basically not changed their political philosophy, they have only changed their operational tactics which does not offer any other solutions. The Serbs and the Croats in Bosnia and Herzegovina want two separate communities and the SDA is strengthening the clericalistic politics through a reform: the notion of the first, the second and the third nation by size and hence by power which is contrary to the essential principle of equal nations in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

The agreement on program co-operation of the calm and democratic parties in Bosnia and Herzegovina (SDP, SNSD, SP and NHI) is based on the presumption that Bosnia and Herzegovina is a modern, civil, democratic and prosperous state established on the principles of the rule of law in which sovereignty is asserted by the citizens and in which the nations are equal, autochton and constitutive, participating collectively in the structure of power on the basis of proportionality, parity and consensus. The signatories to the agreement are striving to replace the present inferior relation with the international community with the partnership relation which had already been established in the past.

In the present political processes in Bosnia and Herzegovina, the role of the High Representative Paddy Ashdown and the OHR is inevitable and is reflected by the following:

At certain point, the interventionism of the High Representative for Bosnia and Herzegovina was productive aiming at moving the political processes from the stiff positions, but today it has the opposite effect since it has developed a bad habit in some domestic political structures (parties) which leave it to the High Representative to take care of everything and to conceive new projects in which the ethnic parties participate only passively. The High Representative represents a curtain behind which the national parties are hiding and which enables the politicians from those parties to remain in the political scene and to develop a thesis that everything would be the same even if the democratic and non-national parties were in power. A good example is the current SDS president in resignation and president of the National Assembly of the Republic of Srpska, Dragan

Kalinić, who had carried out the ministerial functions as the minister in the war and post-war government of the Republic of Srpska and now lives in fear that the Hague Tribunal may call him to account (for his earlier connection as the minister of health, labour and social protection with the events at the Foča/Srbinje prison (1992/93) when several tens of prisoners registered at the International Red Cross disappeared from the prison). The fear of potential responsibility has transformed him into one of the most willing politicians in the Republic of Srpska to co-operate with the international community, often to a direct detriment of the Serbian nation and the voters who elected him;

With his activities the High Representative enables the survival and political strengthening of natiocratic structures which, whenever they were dominant in Bosnia and Herzegovina, led to the weakening of the state and to conflicts aimed at the disappearance of the state of Bosnia and Herzegovina;

The presence of High Representative affects the legislative sphere through the adoption of numerous laws and the deletion of purely administrative laws of the executive power in Bosnia and Herzegovina;

A special mistake was the role of High Representative in the running of foreign affairs such as his authoritarian visit to Moscow and Washington without the representatives of Bosnia and Herzegovina, a state with its own Presidency and Ministry of Foreign Affairs;

None of the High Representatives so far have made efforts or knew how to provide economic support to Bosnia and Herzegovina. They failed to attract capital and foreign investments into the state. The High Representative refuses to accept any responsibility although he is the creator of the entire politics in Bosnia and Herzegovina. If the High Representative is ready to assume such an important role in Bosnia and Herzegovina, he should also assume the responsibility which he has always refused to accept (Ashdown is the best example). Therefore it may soon be expected that the workers and the citizens address their dissatisfaction (with wages, pensions, jobs and other rights they are deprived of) first to the OHR and High Representative and only then to the domestic authorities (the High Representative has been given the role of Tzar or Maharaja).

The inevitable question is: What kind of state is Bosnia and Herzegovina if it is planning to join the European Union in 2009 when 5 years prior to its accession to EU the international community in the form of High Representative for Bosnia and Herzegovina deals with the legislative, executive and judicial power of the

state? The essential question is whether such state can become a member of the EU if the political leadership which is aware of the need to join the EU has failed to take the key decisions since all the decisions of vital importance were taken by the High Representative, i.e. the OHR.

The most topical demand in the agreement is the question of early elections due to the events in Croatia and Serbia. It is obvious that there are political parties in power which due to their numerous limitations such as their political and program concepts can not ensure faster changes which Bosnia and Herzegovina has to make in order to recover its economy, improve the difficult social position and enter the circle of European states which had carried out the fundamental transition processes long ago. That is why it is urgent to carry out new elections in Bosnia and Herzegovina which could, for the reasons of rationalising expenses which are anything but negligible as well as to enable timely qualitative preparations, be held at the same time as the local elections (simultaneous elections) in Autumn 2004. If early elections are to be carried out in Bosnia and Herzegovina the activities of the present opposition parties are very important. They can not address the citizens with the demand to agree to elections because of the criticism of the government. The opposition has to have clearly presented qualitative solutions which will develop interest of the citizens for the alternative solutions and arouse the feeling that qualitative changes will be possible after the elections since at present the citizens share the opinion that all the political parties are the same, that is to say, equally unready to change anything and that nothing would happen after the elections because everybody in Bosnia and Herzegovina is simply used to the fact that the supreme authority is not a domestic institution but the OHR and the High Representative, which causes great distrust of all institutions.

Bosnia and Herzegovina is still burdened with numerous criminal structures which have created a chain of interdependent organisations such as import lobbies connected with domestic distributors of high-tariff goods which damage the budgets and therefore rob the citizens of the money they provide by laundering it. Another example is the road (truck) lobby which is blocking the passing of the railway act.

It is therefore justified to wonder why the governments (of the entities and at the level of the state of Bosnia and Herzegovina) and especially the High Representative do not want to adopt a single law which would apply to Bosnia and Herzegovina as a whole and regulate the domestic market with oil derivatives thus helping and protecting the domestic production and the budgets. For example, the oil refinery Bosanski/Srpski Brod, which employs 1.200 workers, has not operated for several years but if it operated it could provide the budget with about KM (Convertible Mark) 500 million. In this case, since the domestic authorities and their oil lobbies do not wish to regulate the oil market, it would be justified for this

field to be regulated by the High Representative and by the law on single tax rate, duties and levies for high-tariff goods imported to or traded with in the territory of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

The IFIMES International Institute believes that it would be contraproductive to replace domestic politicians either on substantiated or unsubstantiated grounds since the atmosphere of fear makes it difficult for the politicians to work properly and productively in the interest of all the citizens of Bosnia and Herzegovina. IFIMES proposes that the Peace Implementation Council of Bosnia and Herzegovina denies the High Representative this right and at the same time introduces the mechanisms of early replacement of the High Representative.

The hope for the future of Bosnia and Herzegovina lies in the sincere agreement between the domestic political structures on the principles of open dialogue led by influential calm political parties and personalities.

The extended Agreement on co-operation should unite the parties of social-democratic character and of socialist character as well as other parties in the political centre. Through this Agreement the political scene in Bosnia and Herzegovina would be profiled into two blocks, the block of the left centre and the block of the right centre.

The politics of ethnic parties have been dedicated to leaders. However, their results are well known. On the other hand, the politics of calm parties of the social-democratic and socialist character during the same short period have been dedicated to achieving essential reforms in the state (talks on the conditions for accession to the Council of Europe, numerous reforms which have been implemented in the fields of jurisdiction, education, police, state border service, SIPA, customs policy, unified excise duties). At that time, the »Sloga« coalition was present in the political scene of the Republic of Srpska while the »Alliance for Change« was present in the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina and at the level of the state of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

The results of activities undertaken by the »Sloga« and the »Alliance for Change« are normal relations with the neighbouring states, intensive communication with Europe and the world, with the institutions, end of the legal and political isolation of the state and establishment of relationship with the IMF and the World Bank through the reform of the fiscal system.

The terrorist threats in Bosnia and Herzegovina due to the allegedly prepared coups d'état represent another weakness of the present authorities. They will continue with their attempts to »push« into the terrorist network also some of the leaders of the calm parties from the Agreement block (e.g. the SDP leader Zlatko Lagumdžija). Due to their disastrous results in combating terrorism the present authorities are under severe pressure of the international community. When travelling abroad the citizens of Bosnia and Herzegovina are subjected to increased

control at borders because the domestic authorities have failed to take actions to fight terrorism.

A few years ago the national parties, especially the SDS, stubbornly refused any serious discussion on the reforms in the fields of defence, indirect taxation and security system while today the SDS is quite loud in the implementation of those reforms which were regrettably not initiated by the SDS but by the High Representative for Bosnia and Herzegovina. Such parties lack the consistent policy and constantly deceive the voting body by sudden turns so it is realistic to expect that the voting body will punish them for using false bases to win the votes.

Having analysed the results of the surveys which were carried out, the IFIMES International Institute believes that early elections are turning into a political reality and that the most acceptable and rational solution would be to organise them together with the local elections in Autumn 2004. They would represent the first step towards changes and towards the establishment of a new structure of the state as well as towards faster accession to the Euro-Atlantic integrations in which the signatories to the Platform (SDP, SNSD, SP and NHI) as well as other parties which will accede to the Platform should play the leading role.

The IFIMES International Institute is of the opinion that the collective resignation of the Presidency of SDS put forward on Wednesday, February 1, 2004, represents a political trick and at the same time an additional impetus to hold early elections in Bosnia and Herzegovina. By putting forward the resignation, the SDS leadership recognised it had carried out the wrong policy, often at the detriment of the Serbian nation in Bosnia and Herzegovina. The replacement of the Government of the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina has further added to the atmosphere in favour of early elections. The question is whether the citizens of Bosnia and Herzegovina at the last elections chose this kind of authorities and if the present authorities enjoy the trust of the citizens. Early elections would enable the citizens to express their will which is according to the surveys carried out not in favour of the present authorities in Bosnia and Herzegovina. However, the fact which raises concern is a large number of citizens (voters) who have no opinion on many questions which confirms the citizens' indifference and distrust of the political structures and politicians in general.

The IFIMES International Institute suggests that, when looking for new constitutional and legal solutions in Bosnia and Herzegovina, it should be taken into account that it is not only the Bosniaks, Serbs and Croats who live in Bosnia and Herzegovina but also numerous national minorities which are discriminated against and marginalised through the present constitutional, legal and political solutions. The national minorities should also have their representatives in the legislative power.

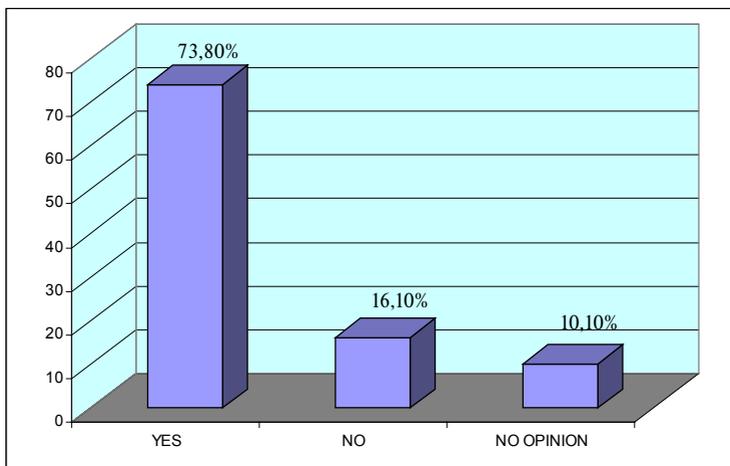
DATA ON THE SPECIMEN

- The specimen: random, three-stage
- Size of the specimen: 4230 respondents
- Methodology: telephone survey
- Period: February 2, 2004 to February 13, 2004
- Degree of trustworthiness: 95%
- Control: per 10% specimen

The IFIMES International Institute has carried out the opinion poll in order to examine the present opinion of the citizens on the political situation in Bosnia and Herzegovina and their trust in the present authorities. The survey was carried out in the period from February 2, 2004 to February 13, 2004 at random tree-stage specimen of 4.230 citizens of Bosnia and Herzegovina (the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina, the Republic of Srpska and the Brčko District) of full age and of both sexes. The control of the survey was carried out for 10% of the specimen with the 95% degree of trustworthiness and the +/- 3% degree of possibility of statistical mistake.

1. Are you in favour of maintaining the present structure of the state of Bosnia and Herzegovina?

- YES, with the need for reforms which include the improvement of constitut. solutions ~ 73,80%
- NO, not in any case ~ 16,10%
- NO OPINION ~ 10,10%



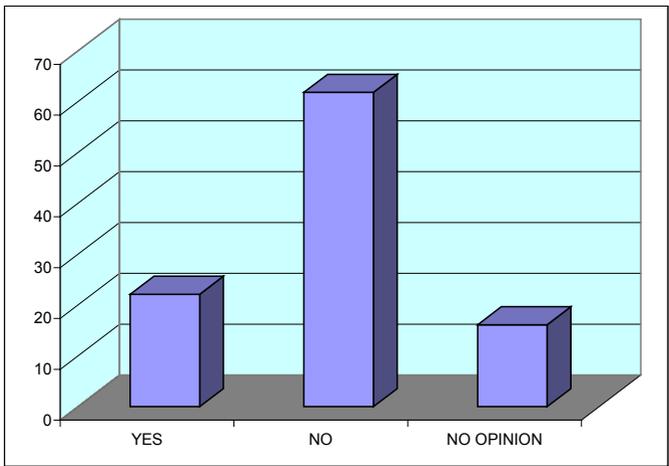
2. Are you satisfied with the present authorities?

- At the level of the Republic of Srpska?

YES ~ 22,10%;

NO ~ 61,80%;

NO OPINION ~ 16,10%

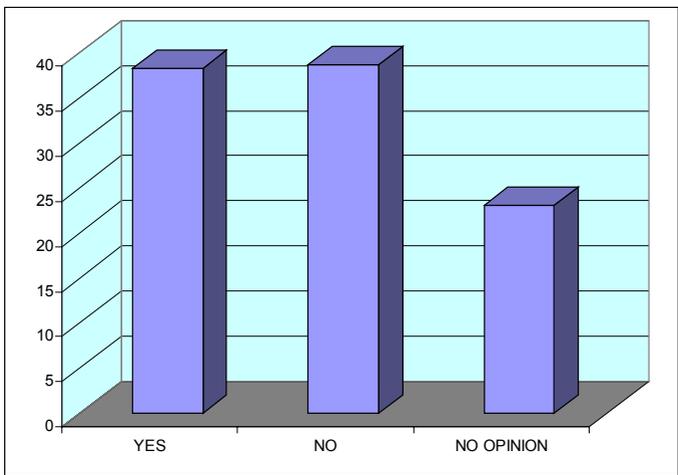


- At the level of the Federation of B&H?

YES ~ 38,30%;

NO ~ 38,70%;

NO OPINION ~ 23,00%

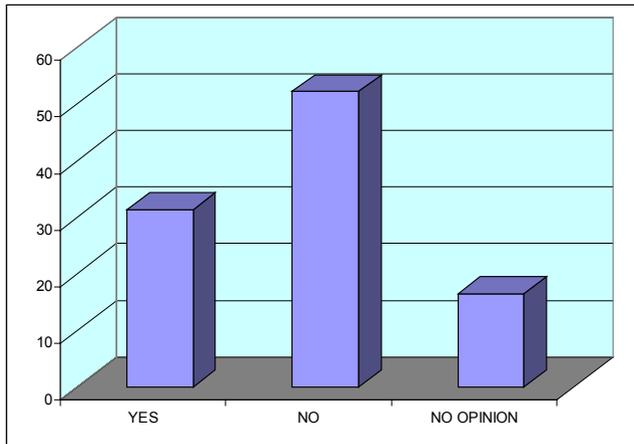


- At the level of the state of B &H?

YES ~ 31,40%;

NO ~ 52,20%;

NO OPINION ~ 16,40%



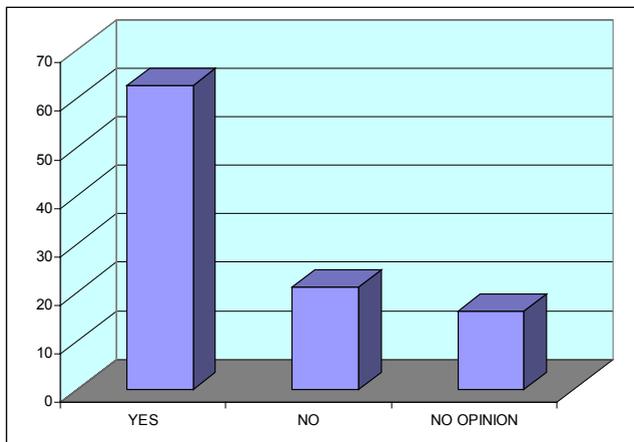
3. Are you in favour of early elections in Bosnia and Herzegovina at all levels of power?

- The Republic of Srpska

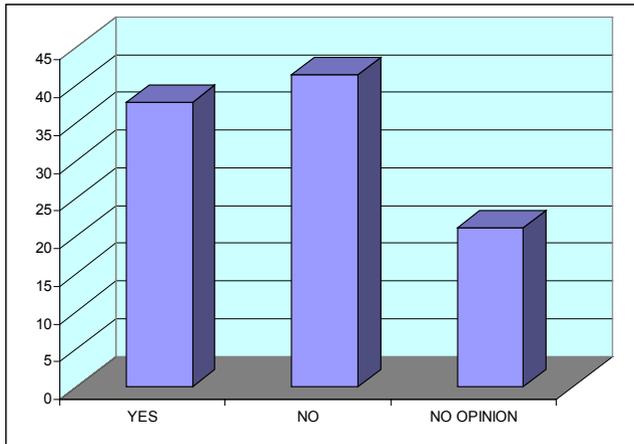
- YES ~ 62,60%;

NO ~ 21,20%;

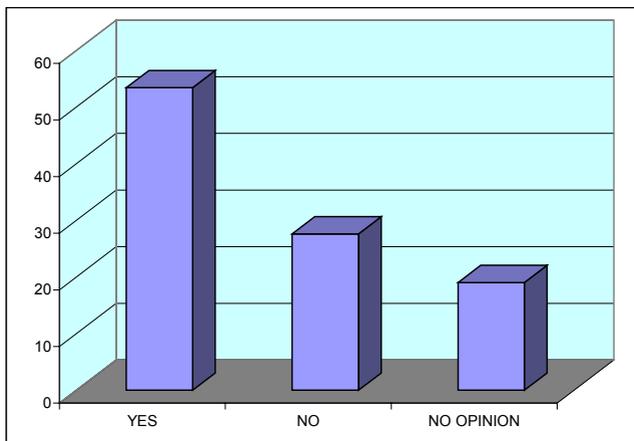
NO OPINION ~ 16,20%



- The Federation of B&H
- YES ~ 37,70%;
NO ~ 41,30%;
NO OPINION ~ 21,00%



- The State of B &H
- YES ~ 53,40%;
NO ~ 27,60%;
NO OPINION ~ 19,00 %



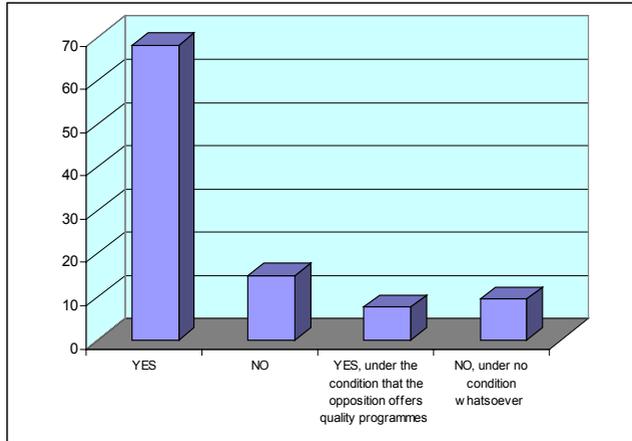
4. Do you support the change of the authorities at the levels of the state and entity at the early elections?

- YES ~ 68,10%

- NO ~ 14,90%

- YES, under the condition that the opposition offers quality programmes ~ 7,50%

- NO, under no condition whatsoever ~ 9,50%

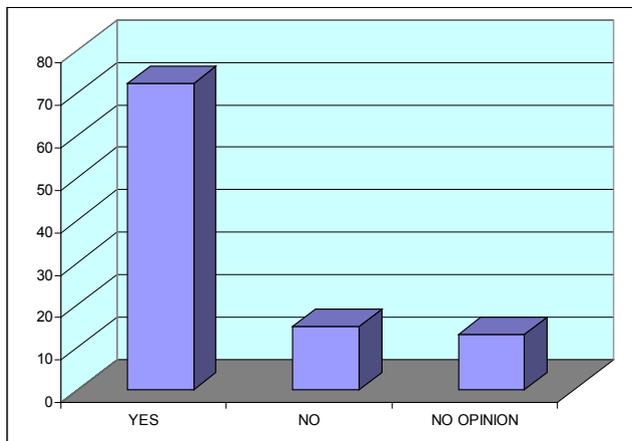


5. Do you support the establishment of a block of opposition parties which would oppose the nationalist parties in Bosnia and Herzegovina?

- YES ~ 72,20%

- NO ~ 14,90%

- NO OPINION ~ 12,90%



EARLY ELECTIONS ARE COMING CLOSE - POLITICAL INSTABILITY IS INCREASING

The International Institute for Middle-East and Balkan Studies (IFIMES) in Ljubljana, Slovenia, constantly analyses events in the Middle East and the Balkans. It has analyzed the situation in Bosnia and Herzegovina following the announcement of demonstrations of the opposition to be held in Banja Luka on 23 March 2004. The most important and interesting sections from the comprehensive analysis are given below. The announced demonstrations of the opposition to be held in Banja Luka on 23 March 2004 raise concern among the leading structures which are aware that they did very little during the past two years to improve the economic and social situation in RS (the Republic of Srpska) and BiH (Bosnia and Herzegovina). Moreover, they are also aware of the fact that even in the next period they would not be able to do any better since they failed to timely adopt the programmes of economic development which would have included also the changes of the privatization concept (during the present course of privatization, the already war-stricken economy has become completely passive so that the industrial production is at the lowest post-war level with numerous workers being laid off and privatized factories being closed down). The incapability of the leading structures of SDS (Serbian Democratic Party) and PDP (Party of Democratic Progress) is reflected in their inability to find appropriate investors or to attract foreign capital. They are planning to sell the majority share in the most valuable economic operator in RS (Elektroprivreda RS and Telekom Srpske) which represents an apparent unpatriotic act. The sale of those companies would enable the present government to temporarily resolve some of the open social problems. However, the public strongly opposes the majority privatization of Elektroprivreda RS and Telekom Srpske since there are no economic reasons for such decision. The IFIMES International Institute believes that the sale of majority state share in the companies Elektroprivreda RS and Telekom Srpske is absolutely unnecessary and that the present government should rather deal with the essential issues of improving the business performance of these economic operators. The so called protectors of national interests (SDS and PDP) are prepared to sell all the national valuables only to preserve their own position in power. In this they are strongly supported by SDA (Party of Democratic Action) which is their reliable coalition partner.

Data on the sample:

- The sample: random, three-stage
- Size of the sample: 1211 respondents (male and female citizens of lawful age)
- Methodology: telephone survey

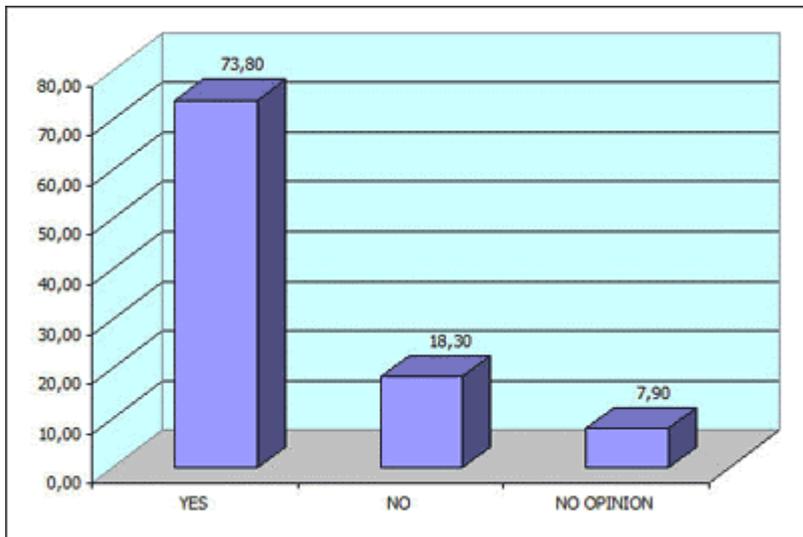
- Period: March 10, 2004 to March 12, 2004
- Degree of reliability: 95%
- Control: per 10% specimens
- Standard deviation +/-3
- Territory: the Republic of Srpska

Are you in favour of selling the majority state share in Elektroprivreda RS and Telekom Srpske to foreign purchasers?

- NO ~ 73.80%

- YES ~ 18.30%

- NO OPINION ~ 7.90%



It would be justified to wonder why the demonstrations are raising concern. For the first time after several years of separated political acting the three most important opposition parties in RS succeeded in uniting: SNSD (Union of Independent Social Democrats), SP (Socialist Party) and DNS (Democratic National Union). For the first time after several years these parties managed to gain the incredibly large favour and support of the most important associations of citizens, trade unions and non-government organisations. This confirms our earlier surveys in which we found out that the majority of the citizens of RS wanted changes and that they could only see those changes coming if new elections were held.

Data on the sample:

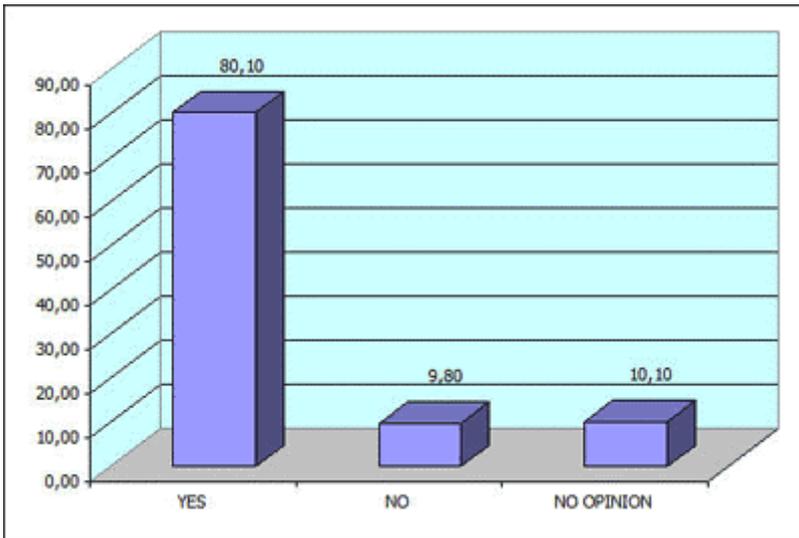
- The sample: random, three-stage
- Size of the sample: 1211 respondents (male and female citizens of lawful age)
- Methodology: telephone survey
- Period: March 10, 2004 to March 12, 2004
- Degree of reliability: 95%
- Control: per 10% specimens
- Standard deviation +/-3
- Territory: the Republic of Srpska

Do you support the announced demonstrations of the opposition (SNSD, SP and DNS) to be held in Banja Luka on 23 March 2004?

- YES ~ 80.10%

- NO ~ 9.80%

- NO OPINION ~ 10.10%



Due to the lack of will and continued action to fight crime and corruption which is an evident phenomenon in the society, the citizens' dissatisfaction with the coalition government composed of SDS, PDP and SDA has been constantly increasing especially since 2000 when SDS with mainly SDS and PDP staff regained power. The citizens' dissatisfaction has also been caused by the unexpected servant-like (submissive, vassal) behavior of SDS and PDP towards the representatives of international community which is evident in the policy

of the SDS leaders Dragan Kalinić, president of the National Assembly of the Republic of Srpska, and Dragan Kalinić, president of RS, who, contrary to the constitution of RS and following negotiations, secretly transferred the competencies of RS to the level of joint bodies of BiH which the voting body perceives as national betrayal. The voting body, which had supported those parties and believed they would protect the national interests, was disappointed. Trying to find a way out of this situation and restore thrust of the citizens, the SDS leading members led by Kalinić and Čavić took advantage of the expulsion from active politics of Mirko Šarović, former member of the Presidency of BiH, and as an act of sympathy gave in their irrevocable resignations only to revoke them later on at the meeting of the SDS Committee. This act reflects the moral qualities of those politicians. The irrevocable resignation in any democratic society means a final position. However, SDS has created an innovation, which is inconceivable in the modern political practice, and thus further degraded the moral political code and additionally undermined the already weakened interest of politicians in BiH. Regarding this issue the IFIMES International Institute estimates that further conflicts could occur in SDS, namely the eastern part of RS against the Banja Luka part of SDS. This shows that SDS is obviously ready to divide RS into two parts which would also suit some international circles in BiH. Further problems which SDS and its leader Dragan Kalinić are facing are potential charges against the HDZ (Croatian Democratic Union) leaders such as Prlić, Čorić, Stojić, Petković and Praljak, who were at certain point eager to co-operate with the international circles only to be rewarded with the Hague charges. The same destiny might be awaiting some members of SDS among which Dragan Kalinić is one of the most interesting suspects. His readiness to co-operate is therefore not surprising as he is trying to save his own skin without thinking of the interests of his party and of the voters. Aware of the destiny that might await him, Kalinić has started to show an extreme level of nervousness, especially during the meeting of the National Assembly of RS, in a more and more severe and open conflict with the opposition parties.

Data on the sample:

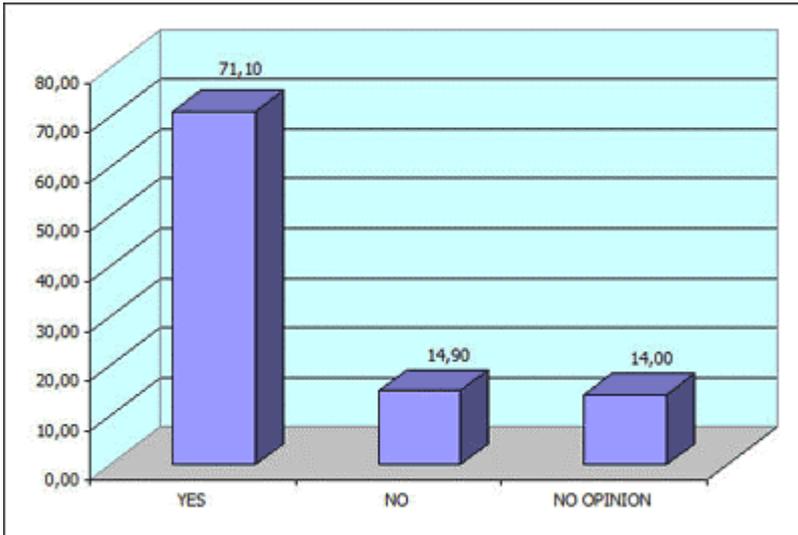
- The sample: random, three-stage
- Size of the sample: 1211 respondents (male and female citizens of lawful age)
- Methodology: telephone survey
- Period: March 10, 2004 to March 12, 2004
- Degree of reliability: 95%
- Control: per 10% specimens
- Standard deviation +/-3
- Territory: the Republic of Srpska

Do the citizens of the Republic of Srpska wish SDS to leave power?

- YES ~ 71.10%

- NO ~ 14.90%

%- NO OPINION ~ 14.00%



The mere act of announcing demonstrations of the opposition is the proof of crisis in the present government and of disappointment with the results of their policy. The public has shown a strong interest in the opposition parties which are perceived as the only sound alternative that may be expected to achieve concrete results. According to the estimations of the IFIMES International Institute, the opposition parties led by SNSD and SP, which have developed communication with the world and with a large number of related parties in the world, could open new markets for the economy of BiH which is after all the only way out of the present difficult economic situation in RS and BiH. Moreover, talks organized through the mediation of SNSD and SP are underway regarding the participation of companies from RS and BiH in the post-war reconstruction of Iraq. In view of the announced demonstrations the opposition is facing a new stern challenge. The citizens legitimately expect them to offer new programmes of economic development in BiH. Bearing in mind that at the 2002 election campaign it was only the Socialist Party which had a very concrete programme with several development project we may rightfully hope that the protests to be held on 23 March will not be in vain. The opposition parties can clearly state what they can change and

how they are going to carry out those changes when they gain power. The role of Milorad Dodik and Petar Đokić is very important and responsible in this situation. The IFIMES International Institute is concerned since the leading structures faced with great fear are even thinking of using violent actions in order to provoke alarm and fear among the citizens during the protests by causing individual or collective incidents for which they would accuse the opposition parties as the organizers of the demonstrations. The leading parties could thus accuse the opposition of causing disorder and chaos and consequently weakening RS. Paddy Ashdown is the first High Representative for BiH till now who has supported the work of the national parties. He hopes to carry out - together with the national parties - urgent reforms which are of vital importance for the functioning of BiH and all of its structures. However, Ashdown will have to pay a high price for his delusion that the greatest and most responsible protagonists of the war could be reformers in peace. It is well known that the initial and final goal of national parties is to satisfy national needs at the detriment of other nations. Unfortunately, it will be the citizens of BiH, i.e. all of its nations, who will pay a much higher price for Ashdown's delusion. After all, BiH is still the state with the lowest GDP in Central Europe with no clear perspective nor vision for any changes to the better in the years to come. Offering support to the media such as the »Dnevni Avaz« (»portparole of SDA politics«) backed by the national parties is another sign that the High Representative has made wrong estimations. Ambassador Robert Mason Beecroft, Head of the OSCE Mission to Bosnia and Herzegovina, also co-operates with the national parties trying to carry out together with them the reforms of the educational system in BiH. He has developed a thesis that one generation of young people should be educated and promoted in order to assume the leading role in the society of BiH which means that he would like to incapacitate numerous people who contributed to quality changes by organizing calm parties in BiH. However, relying only on the young is only a new delusion of Ambassador Beecroft since it is the young who grew up during the war and during greatest post-war tensions and who represent the least tolerant part of the population in BiH within all of its nations. That is why calm political options and people who represent those options must be promoted and supported in BiH. Although even this goal can not be achieved easily, in looking for a possible solution it represents the only hope for a long-term success in BiH. As the solution in finding a way out of the absolute regime of natiocratic structures, i.e. national parties, and ending the agony of the citizens of BiH, IFIMES proposes, following the analysis of the whole situation, radical reconstruction of an important constitutional and political principle, namely the manner of exercising the right to political organizing. IFIMES believes that the organizing of political parties on national basis should have been prevented already back in 1990 when constitutional changes were

made in the former Socialist Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina. This mistake should be recognized and corrected although this would be politically painful and unpopular in democratic societies. Many societies protected themselves during the periods of their establishment and development from the negative influences and destructive effects of certain ideologies and policies (e.g. communism in the USA, national-socialistic party in Germany). The IFIMES international institute believes that serious consideration should be given to the possibilities of constitutional prohibition of political organizing on national and religious basis in BiH. If it has the courage and will to take this way, the international community will be able to help itself as well as BiH. The Peace Implementation Council of Bosnia and Herzegovina can realize this by amending the Constitution of BiH and thus prevent the repeated danger of dividing the state of Bosnia and Herzegovina. Every day we are witness to the incapacity of the three-national government which has been in power in BiH since 1991. Another proof is present resignation of HDZ from power and its discontinuation of the coalition with SDA with a paralyzing effect on the functioning of the state which creates political instability and discourages foreign investors from Bosnia and Herzegovina. Over half a million unemployed are recorded in BiH and according to the estimations the figure is even higher. Therefore, political organizing on national and religious basis in a society as complex, multiethnic and multireligious as is the society of Bosnia and Herzegovina can not bring long-term stability and positive development. Should the political organizing on national and religious basis be prohibited IFIMES proposes, as one of the possible models which would enable better political organizing and functioning, the proportional national representation on the election list of each party in accordance with the population structure in the electorate community. In this way, extreme nationalistic and other parties could be eliminated from the political life since the representation of all the citizens (nations) including the minorities must be ensured on the lists in proportion to the population structure. If the international community is to intervene in BiH, this intervention should represent a decisive step towards the normalization of relations in the state and prove the possibilities for establishing healthy structures and creating a stable society in BiH. Extremist forces would thus be defeated and the stability in the Balkans become more certain.

Data on the sample:

- The sample: random, three-stage
- Size of the sample: 2489 respondents (male and female citizens of lawful age)
- Methodology: telephone survey
- Period: March 10, 2004 to March 12, 2004
- Degree of reliability: 95%

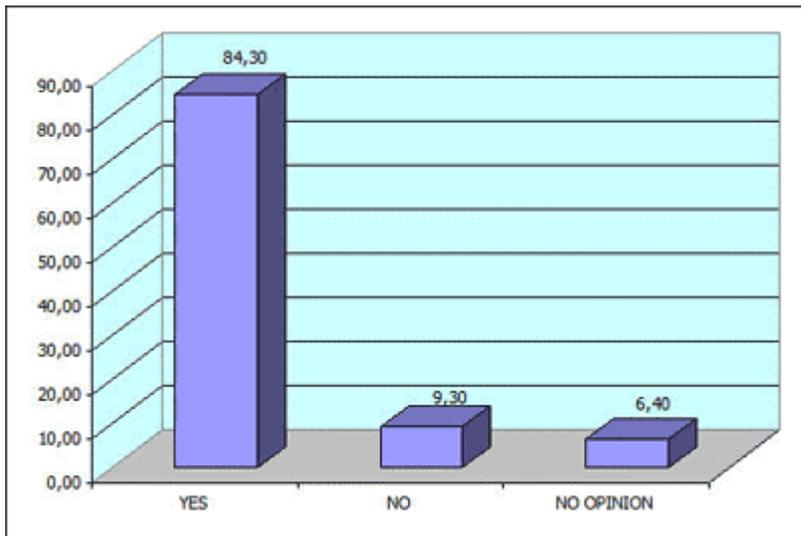
- Control: per 10% specimens
- Standard deviation +/-3
- Territory: Bosnia and Herzegovina (the Republic of Srpska, the Federation of BiH, the Brčko District)

Do you believe that the national parties are responsible for unsuccessful restoration of the new society of Bosnia and Herzegovina?

- YES ~ 84.30%

- NO ~ 9.30%

- NO OPINION ~ 6.40%



Data on the sample:

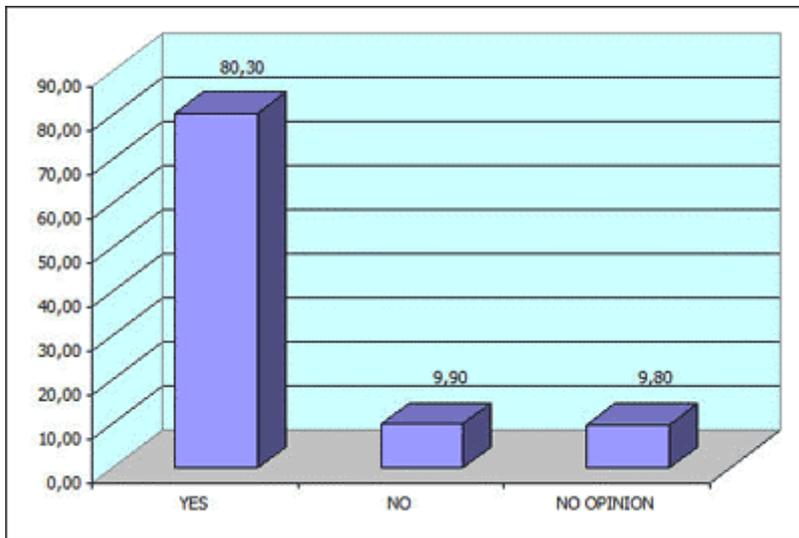
- The sample: random, three-stage
- Size of the sample: 2489 respondents (male and female citizens of lawful age)
- Methodology: telephone survey
- Period: March 10, 2004 to March 12, 2004
- Degree of reliability: 95%
- Control: per 10% specimens
- Standard deviation +/-3
- Territory: Bosnia and Herzegovina (Republic of Srpska, Federation of BiH, Brčko District)

Do you believe that the international community and the high representative in BiH are responsible for the unsuccess in bih and for the new political crisis which might occur?

- YES ~ 80.30%

- NO ~ 9.90%

- NO OPINION ~ 9.80%



CHALLENGES OF SECURITY IN THE REGION OF THE WEST BALKANS

*Dr Jožef Kunič, Ambassador
President of the Slovenian Association for International Relations (SDMO)
and member of the IFIMES International Institute*

For the past sixty years, since the army of the Great Sultan Murat I defeated the Serbian army at Kosovo polje in 1389, the Balkans, especially the part which has been lately referred to as the West Balkans, has been the site of conflicts, revenges and wars with a wide global effect. In this very region of Europe, the First World War started, important battles fought during the Second World War and bloody conflicts took place in the last decade of the previous century.

Unfortunately, each time the wars led by the superpowers or regional powers incited old resentments, opened the wounds which can not be healed fast and fostered hatred among different groups of people. These tensions were mostly of ethnic or religious character and resulted in extremely cruel conflicts during each of the war periods so they should not be underestimated.

However, no bloodshedding nor brutal conflicts took place within the ethnic or religious groups in the region of the West Balkans. Within those groups, mutual trust was never completely lost. The ethnic or religious tie has become much stronger, stable and reliable than any other tie such as adherence to a region or state or political orientation.

Hopefully, with the establishment of democracy, the system of values would change or, so to say, »Europeanise«. However, it takes a long time to change the values, cool the passions and forget the cruelties and this process may in no case be disturbed by another war and another extremist political adventure which would reverse the process back to the point it was at the end of one of the previous adventures or even worse. After the Second World War the wounds were cut deep and in the 1990s they were opened again and cut even deeper.

In such situation, very favourable conditions are created for international crime. The trafficking in human beings, drugs and stolen cars is already widely spread and the conditions for other illegal activities are also very convenient. We should therefore not be surprised if international terrorist organisations find their shelter in this very part of the world.

The international community was obviously taken by surprise when Yugoslavia dissolved and had no strategy for solving such conflicts (based primarily on ethnic and religious clashes). The USA supported the unity of Yugoslavia while some EU States, notably the Federal German Republic, supported the recognition of new

independent states of Slovenia and Croatia though these were already defined at the moment of recognition. France, though obviously not willingly, backed the Federal German Republic. After the initial differences and the period of looking for strategies, the international community including the EU, the USA and the Russian federation actively started to calm down the situation, stop the wars and establish peace. But they are still far from achieving a stable and lasting peace. In the West Balkans, new conflicts can be stirred any moment. It would be a grave mistake to believe that a new clash of arms can only occur in Kosovo. It can happen at any moment in Macedonia and in Bosnia and Herzegovina and it would not even take a special incident to trigger it. It would probably suffice if the peace forces were not present any more. Resumed conflicts would weaken the whole Europe.

As a consequence of this situation where there is no war nor stable and lasting peace, nationally oriented parties or groups are gaining importance. After the Dayton Agreement, nationally oriented parties won the elections in the then Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, Bosnia and Herzegovina and Croatia. A known Croatian analyst said: »In 2000, the West Balkans was seized by a wave of democracy, the regimes in Croatia, Bosnia and Herzegovina and Serbia were defeated, while today the same region has been seized by a strong reverse wave.«

In Bosnia and Herzegovina, the national parties are in power again and the reform results of the democratic coalition can hardly be noticed. In Croatia, the pre-election union of Tudjman's nationalists and the post-fascist Croatian Party of the Right won the great majority of votes. However, due to international pressures, Tudjman's party leader, Ivo Sanader, did not form a coalition with the post-fascists but with the minority government in which not even one democratic party participates in the parliament. In Serbia, the radicals are the major political fraction. Two of the Hague suspects, Milosević in Seselj, were elected delegates to the parliament of Serbia. This fact speaks for itself. As a known Kosovar ideologist pointed out: »National goals have remained unsolved, people want the solution.« At Kosovo, the Albanians vote exclusively for the Albanians and the Serbs vote exclusively for the Serbs – there are no compromises. It is similar in Bosnia and Herzegovina and in Macedonia. Nationalism has been smouldering throughout the region of the West Balkans. Though there is no fire, smoke is pouring in many places.

The world obviously needs a strong European Union, but the cracks that were hardly noticeable have started to show significant depth during the past year. It was the Iraqi crisis that caused a split between the major supporters of the role of the United Nations in resolving international issues/conflicts and those who believe this role should be much lesser. The so called »New Europe« played a significant role in this process. New cracks and new problems became even more visible

during the adoption of the new »European« constitution. According to another expert, there is »a crisis in trust, a crisis in management and a crisis in the future of the European spirit.« In any case, the notion of a two-speed Europe, whatever it should mean, deviates sharply from the original idea of Europe of co-operation, trust, mutual tolerance, harmonisation and help without any rifts. Besides, the EU is about to enlarge with ten new members and another two are already knocking on the door, followed by others. The programme envisaging EU to become the first economic force in the world by 2010 is nothing but a written dream.

Nobody wants the unstable Balkans to weaken the EU which is already facing enough internal problems. There is also no reason for concern that the EU might become too strong. But to preserve the EU as strong as the world needs it, lasting peace and stability must be established in the Balkans. It would take too long to wait for a Europe without borders. The West Balkans of today is, unfortunately, still far from this idea. In the long-run we may expect the Balkan wounds not only to heal but also to be finally forgotten, but we need safety as soon as possible, we need it now. However, there is no safety without democracy and there is no democracy if the ethnic origin is more important than the programme of candidates, parties or political groups. It is hard to imagine democracy without an ethnically non-biased civil society. Regrettably, in the regions of the West Balkans the conditions are not met at the moment to enable a viable and real democracy.

The policy of small steps can only be implemented if the conditions of peace and sober judgement are in place. Peace should therefore be maintained by all means even if it is forced and artificial. If the peace forces were not present, the imbalances would be too strong and this would lead to serious problems. An important element of the policy strategy in the West Balkans is persisting in the peace that has already been achieved – any violence, any outburst of conflicts must be nipped in the bud. Thus, the policy of international community in the West Balkans comprises two essential components: the security-military component and the political component.

The security-military component aims at preventing any conflict and illegal activities and fighting any kind of terrorism. This component is to be carried out by NATO and the EU forces. It is very important that the people start feeling safe, that they become aware of the stability of the system and that the trust in the state and its institutions is restored.

In the implementation of the political component, the neighbouring countries in the region should - besides the international community and the EU - play an especially active role. The political concept should comprise three basic elements:

the international community should convince the people that the door to Euro-Atlantic integrations is open. It is necessary to eliminate the feeling that the states

in the West Balkan region are in a way excluded from the processes in the international community which would arouse hope for better life among the people;

the economic position in the West Balkans is relatively very bad. The international community, especially the EU, should take much more efforts to improve the living conditions. Unemployment and poverty negatively affect the safety and provide the conditions for numerous illegal activities;

the strategy of dealing with the Balkan issue should be changed. The theories on how the changes of borders in one country influenced another nearby or distant country have often proven to be unfounded. The dissolution of Yugoslavia did not in any way encourage secessionist ideas and activities elsewhere in the world. Due to historical facts, the conditions present in the West Balkans differ immensely from the conditions in other countries where the state borders have not changed much for centuries. The strategy applied so far, which essentially aimed at preserving the borders set in the socialist Yugoslavia at any price, has failed to bring the desired results. Though this does not present a major problem throughout the region, there are three serious burning points: Kosovo, Macedonia and Bosnia and Herzegovina.

It would be a big mistake to look for a common solution for all the three of them. Each of the three potential burning points has its genesis and characteristics and each of them must be resolved in a different way.

The first burning point is the fear of Great Albania: the Albanian-speaking inhabitants live in Albania, their country of origin, in Kosovo, which is still a »para-state«, in Macedonia, where they represent an important ethnic group, and elsewhere. Though it is perhaps not the most appropriate comparison, let us be reminded that the German-speaking inhabitants live in Germany, their country of origin, in two other states, Austria and Switzerland, as an important minority in South Tyrol and elsewhere. On what basis can we claim that it would be a great threat for the West Balkans to establish the state of Kosovo for the Albanian-speaking community – of course, under the condition of »Anschlussverbot« – if the region nearby the German-speaking community is not facing any such danger? I am convinced that the independent state of Kosovo, if it unconditionally renounces any union with Albania and any interference with other neighbouring states, especially with Macedonia, can not in any way endanger peace and stability in the Balkans.

If the world and Europe want stable peace, they have to stop supporting the agony of forced and ineffective cohabitation. The strategy of forcing too many different ethnic groups into one framework should be replaced by the strategy of paying more regard to self-determination. A part of Kosovo should belong to Serbia and

a larger part to a newly-established state. It should be noted that some inhabitants of the Serbian ethnic group have recently emigrated. The so called »Paris formula« used after the Second World War to resolve the Italy-Yugoslavia issue, could be applied mutatis mutandis in this case. Some inhabitants of the Albanian ethnic group would remain in Serbia but the experience based on the Italy-Yugoslavia case show that this can lead to a stable and lasting peace. Though the question of opting for the citizenship of a chosen country would arise, we would be much closer to achieving the goal of peace and stability. Similarly as the demarcation line between Yugoslavia and Italy was drawn on the basis of data on inhabitants before the war-time migrations, the line of »ethnic equidistance« should be drawn on the basis of the situation before the mass ethnic cleansing. Attention should also be paid to the cultural historical aspect. Thus, all the Serbian monasteries and Orthodox churches should remain fully owned by Serbia and free movement and access to such buildings should be ensured. Though the emotional tensions render the independence of Kosovo unacceptable, a rational consideration shows that the independence is actually a *fait accompli*.

The second burning point is Macedonia: there are two very different ethnic groups who »dislike« each other and, for the time being, conciliation is practically impossible. The only option is some kind of federal regulation which is, of course, very hard to be accepted by both of them: for one group it is far too much, for the other not nearly enough. Again, a compromise has to be reached between the principle of self-determination and the principle of not changing the borders or not introducing new borders.

The third burning point is Bosnia and Herzegovina. Here it will be the most difficult to work out a compromise between the two contradictory principles: the principle of self-determination and the principle of not changing the borders or not introducing new borders. On no account should only one principle be adhered to in the region of the West Balkans, especially not in the territory of Bosnia and Herzegovina. Attention should be paid to the ethnic groups and their wishes in determining the status instead of directing the wishes according the predetermined status. If the Serbs from Bosnia and Herzegovina want to be residents of Bosnia and Herzegovina more than merely being the Serbs, let them be so. If they want to be the Serbs more than the residents of Bosnia and Herzegovina, let them be so, too. The fear that one state of the West Balkans might become a too strong regional force is completely unfounded. The status of Croats in Bosnia and Herzegovina is similar. If new delineation was eventually determined, the Bosniaks would have no difficulties adapting. We should listen to the nations and strive to adjust the situation without any big and fast changes. For the time being, high level of autonomy should be ensured for each of the three ethnic groups.

The myths which had a decisive role in tailoring the politics in the Balkans will

lose their significance if the international community adopts a strong, well weighted and persistent strategy. In any case, it would be utterly misconceived to try to establish peace and regulate economic conditions and quality of personal life before determining the status. Historical experience shows that the status is very important for the inhabitants of the West Balkans, hence the priority is to regulate the status.

The experiences of other nations in other regions with different cultural tradition and historical development can not be applied in the West Balkans. This was the mistake made by the empires in the ancient history, the socialism in recent history and now the international community. If we want to achieve a lasting and stable peace in this region, we should consider the facts which might be regarded elsewhere as irrelevant.

SOURCES

Davor Gjenero, independent Croatian analyst, Delo, 4 February 2004.

Adem Demaçi, a lecture in Ljubljana, 5 November 2003.

Ludger Kühnhardt, a lecture in Ljubljana, 26 January 2004.

Statutory prohibition for Germany and Austriaof to unite, the Austrian Constitution, Article 4.

Boris Gombač, Slovenia, Italy from contempt to recognition, Debora 1996, p 103.

POLITICAL CRISIS OF THE LEADING COALITION OF THE NATIONAL PARTIES AND THE PRESSING NEED FOR EARLY ELECTIONS

The International Institute for Middle-East and Balkan Studies (IFIMES) in Ljubljana, Slovenia, constantly analyses events in the Middle East and the Balkans. Recently it has examined the current situation in Bosnia and Herzegovina. The most important and interesting sections of the comprehensive analysis are given below: The pre-election campaign is underway in Bosnia and Herzegovina for the October local elections and probably also for early parliamentary elections. The conflicts between political parties continue. The political combat is especially intensive between the leading national parties (Serbian Democratic Party, Party of Democratic Action, Croatian Democratic Union).

The present political conflict among the national parties in Bosnia and Herzegovina shows two characteristics:

1. The national parties are trying to capitalise on the conflict in order to strengthen their influence on their respective nations before the local elections claiming that they are the only autochthon protectors of the national interests.
2. They are producing the conflict wilfully and in agreement since there was a sudden growth of social tensions which are developing into a new and very serious revolt and dissatisfaction with the government.

In order to preserve their influence, the leading national structures are carefully tackling the insufficiently resolved national issue in Bosnia and Herzegovina and thus try to avoid the essential problems in this state. The national politicians are developing new political conflicts since they do not want to admit publicly their failure which was probably caused by their incapability and lack of knowledge to resolve the accumulated economic and social problems. In contrast to the neighbouring states which have recorded substantial growth rates, Bosnia and Herzegovina has been stagnating or showing minimum improvements which do not suffice for serious changes of very complex and burning economic and social issues. According to the data of the Foreign Investment Promotion Agency of Bosnia and Herzegovina (FIPA), direct investments to Bosnia and Herzegovina in the period from May 1994 to December 31, 2003 amounted to 2,1 billion Convertible Marks, which is insufficient and points to the incapability of the government to attract foreign investors. The privatisation led by the national parties administration has turned into a plundering of the state property. All the three national par-

ties are present in the background of those privatisation activities. The strings are pulled by those who were close to the war leaders of all the three sides (Croats, Serbs, Bosniaks), and together with a group of sympathisers positioned in all towns of Bosnia and Herzegovina they accumulated a wealth by plundering their own people during the process of war profiteering. Even today they operate from the background and have a strong influence on the present leaders of national parties. Thus, Dragan Kalinic and the SDS leaders are still controlled by Momcilo Mandic with a group of »fledgling businessmen«, the SDA is influenced by Hasan Cengic and the HDZ is under the power of the Herzegovinian business tycoons. A blatant case is the privatisation plundering in the banking sector in the Republic of Srpska led by Mladen Ivanic. When he was President of the Republic of Srpska he sold banks worth several millions for only one Euro (Kristal banka a.d. was sold to Hypo Adria Bank for EUR 1). Also, Banjalucka banka a.d. was sold for KM 200.000 without having the real value of the capital defined in advance. The building of the Kristal banka in Brcko has recently been sold for about KM 1 million while the whole bank was sold for EUR 1. Ivanic's main consultant and operator in the privatisation of banks was Milenko Vracar, who the USA and EU banned from entering their territories. This raises doubts that it is actually the criminal structures which have played the key role in Bosnia and Herzegovina for the past 12 years. The people are aware that this government offers no prospects for the future. Increasing dissatisfaction is expressed on the streets which threatens to turn into very serious mass protests throughout Bosnia and Herzegovina. Bosnia and Herzegovina was lead into such a situation after the power was once more taken over by the national parties in the entities and at the state level after a very short period of the reign of the democratic parties of the left (SDP, SP, SNSD). Bosnia and Herzegovina is another example which shows that the political right-wing in the Balkans is very different from its counterpart in the developed Western societies. The attempt of the national parties to transform and reform into calm conservative parties proved abortive. It was nothing but an »empty rhetoric« of the national parties which tried once again to deceive the representatives of the international community. Unfortunately, the High Representative for Bosnia and Herzegovina Lord Paddy Ashdown »fell« for it. It is the High Representative Paddy Ashdown who is to assume the responsibility for strengthened role of the national parties which still identify themselves as the national movement. Ashdown is the first representative for Bosnia and Herzegovina to back the nationalists after the 2002 elections by proclaiming them to be reformed and democratic. This was perhaps the greatest

delusion that could have occurred in the post-war Bosnia and Herzegovina. Though the national parties carried out the »cosmetic« changes, their ultimate goals remained the same. Bringing up again and realising the goals of the national parties would represent the complete ruin of Bosnia and Herzegovina. This ruin would not only be the failure of the nations and citizens in Bosnia and Herzegovina but also the failure of the international community to implement its policy in this part of the Balkans. It is therefore high time to start resolving the problems in Bosnia and Herzegovina fundamentally. The protest gatherings of the opposition in Banja Luka and Vlasenica were a sign of hope that the changes have been initiated and that the iceberg peak has begun to melt. Despite bad weather about 30.000 people gathered in Banja Luka. Regrettably, the police of the Republic of Srpska used sophisticated methods to discourage the citizens from gathering. They spread information (threats) that the opposition is ready to take destructive action, even the destruction of the Republic of Srpska, but that never happened. It was the most dignified and greatest mass gathering in Bosnia and Herzegovina. The IFIMES International Institute believes that International Conference on Investment in Bosnia and Herzegovina held in Mostar on February 26 and 27 this year was yet but another futile attempt of the present government. What could have been the reasons for selecting Mostar as the place of the Conference if it was known that Mostar lacks among others an appropriate airport which would enable safe landing and takeoff? Such information must have been known to the President of the Conference Organisation Committee as well as to the then President of the Presidency of Bosnia and Herzegovina, Dr Dragan Covic. After all, the Conference was to be attended by the eminent statesmen and economists from abroad. Dr Covic should therefore not escape from the objective responsibility and should be included in the investigation in order to clarify definitely all the circumstances of the tragic death of Macedonian President Boris Trajkovski. Such an international conference with eminent guests and this kind of concept can not bring concrete results. As it is practice, after the speeches of eminent statesmen are delivered very little time is left for concrete answers to the questions posed by those who actually came to the conference for this reason. At the Conference the floor was mainly given to the representatives of companies and organisations which have dominated in Bosnia and Herzegovina for several years as the support pillar for the country's development and which feel confident of their important mission: WB, EBRD, USAID. The main sponsors of the Conference made best use of the time for self-promotion and presentation of their plans for the future (Unicredito, Coca Cola, Hypo Alpe

Adria, Daimler Chrysler). The first day of the Conference was concluded by Director of the Foreign Investment Promotion Agency of Bosnia and Herzegovina (FIPA) who presented the achievements of the past years and the potentials in various fields of economy in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Perhaps this kind of presentation would have some sense somewhere in Japan, but even there the questions posed would not be about the conditions of ownership transformation of the projects concerned but concrete questions which would require concrete answers and data. On the second day of the Conference round tables were organised to discuss banking, industry, power supply, infrastructure, agriculture, food and tourism. The moderators were experts in their fields. The round tables enabled at least some concreteness which was essential for the Conference. The IFIMES International Institute is of the opinion that the main aim of the International Conference on Investment in Bosnia and Herzegovina was to promote the political elite and international community rather than to deal with the reasons for the insufficiency and the lack of interest in investing in Bosnia and Herzegovina since the end of the war until today. There were not enough concrete information and data on the implementation of laws which would end the privatisation process and on proposed measures to be implemented by the authorities of Bosnia and Herzegovina in order to create a more favourable environment for foreign investment. One of the problems of the newly established states in East and Southeast Europe is close connection between the political and criminal structures. The latter claim a debt against the political structures originating in the period of establishment and gaining independence of those states when the criminal structures substantially supported the political structures in their intentions. According to the data of the World Bank regarding corruption, Bosnia and Herzegovina occupies the 2nd place among the states of Europe and Central Asia, following Macedonia. Since the anti-corruption, higher education and other laws have not been adopted, \$ 118 million of the World Bank wait to be allocated. The adoption of the law on direct election of the heads of municipalities in the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina represents a positive step in the discriminatory election system which is the result of the Dayton Peace Agreement. The capturing of suspected war criminals, notably Karadzic and Mladic as well as others, will continue to aggravate the relations of Bosnia and Herzegovina with the international community. The voluntary handing over of six Bosnian and Herzegovinian Croats charged with war crimes in Bosnia and Herzegovina (Prlic, Coric, Stojic, Petkovic, Praljak and Pusic) was a positive act. However, this will put an additional burden on the Republic of Croatia for being

involved in the war in Bosnia and Herzegovina (1992-1995). The six Bosnian and Herzegovinian Croats, though they are the citizens of BiH, insisted on having their bill of indictment sent first to Zagreb so that they could be submitted to the Hague Tribunal by the Croatian authorities. Their release and ability to defend themselves at liberty have further contributed to the destabilisation of Bosnia and Herzegovina since they were the ones who implemented the policy of destruction the state of BiH and the discriminatory policy towards non-Croats (Serbs and Bosniaks), especially Jadranko Prlic as Prime Minister of the so called Croatian republic of »Herceg-Bosna« which was the marionette in BiH in the hands of the official Zagreb. The Government of the Federation of BiH made a false move by giving the guarantee for the six Hague suspects, who turned over to the Hague Tribunal through the mediation of the neighbouring state of Croatia while requesting guarantee from the Government of the Federation of BiH for their release and defence at liberty. EU approval of the commencement of accession negotiations represents a positive step for Croatia, though it will also cause problems, since Croatia will have to answer numerous (unpleasant) questions. Croatia will have to resolve the open issues with the neighbouring countries (Bosnia and Herzegovina, Slovenia, Serbia and Montenegro), the issue of the return of property to the citizens of Serbian nationality, the issue of affirmation (discrimination) of minorities, the issue of the reconstruction of the synagogue for the needs of the Jewish community in Zagreb which was destroyed under the NDH regime during the World War 2, as well as the issue of the return of property to Bosnian and Herzegovinian citizens seized during the recent war and other issues. The present EU approach based on the notion that Croatia is much closer to EU than Bosnia and Herzegovina, could further destabilise the situation in the region and cause new tensions, especially since the delegates of the Croatian Prime Minister and HDZ leader Ivo Sanader still secretly meet with the HDZ leaders in Bosnia and Herzegovina and through them they are ready to destabilise Bosnia and Herzegovina at any moment - which is what they are actually doing. The policy of the SDA leaders as well as of the current President of the Presidency of Bosnia and Herzegovina Sulejman Tihic further contributes to this destabilisation. Tihic pursues an open »pro-Croatian« policy together with a part of SDA which was established by Alija Izetbegovic and which is still present latently. This policy is based on the invisible need to establish a union which would serve as counter balance to the Serbian interests. After all, in the Bosnian history there was allegedly a traditional policy of uniting Bosniaks and Croats to oppose the Serbs. It is most appropriate to justify

such policy by apparent accession of Bosnia and Herzegovina to Europe through Croatia as (its) Western neighbouring country. Though such justification is well-founded, this policy in fact means union against the Serbs and it damages the unity of Bosnia and Herzegovina in which Serbs are to live as a constitutive nation. Sulejman Tihić, who was a prisoner in Serbian concentration camps during the recent war, has been running a very clear »pro-Croatian« policy and confronting unsuccessfully the refined and »new« Dr Dragan Cović, leaving him to deal with all the economic issues in Bosnia and Herzegovina (Cović opened the fairs in Mostar and Gradacac and ZEPS in Zenica, convened the International Conference on Investment in BiH, through his ministers at the level of the state of Bosnia and Herzegovina and the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina completely controls the finance and the budget etc.). In the meanwhile, Tihić deals with the problems of refugees and especially with the emphasised issue of the police and FOSS (Federal Intelligence Security Services), the strikes of impoverished Bosniaks, organises the solemn opening of the old bridge in Mostar etc. Additional tensions in Bosnia and Herzegovina are caused by false measures and behaviour of the international community, such as the recent unsuccessful SFOR action to arrest the war crime suspects Karadžić and Mladić at Pale, in which an Orthodox priest Jeremija Starovlah and his son Aleksandar were seriously injured. The example of capturing Saddam Hussein in Iraq has proved that war crime suspects can only be arrested successfully if the domestic authorities take part in the action. The present situation in Bosnia and Herzegovina was described perhaps most illustratively by Petar Djokić, President of the Socialist Party, who said at the recent round table of the opposition (SDP, SNSD, SP, NHI) in Sarajevo: »The power is in the hands of parties which were dominant before the beginning and during the recent war, and that makes the process of integration very difficult. We have to stop thinking of Bosnia and Herzegovina as of a temporary solution, since it will never be divided nor will it become a unitarian state. We have to give up such ideas and resolve the problems such as plundering privatisation or else we will end up in a desperate state of crime and corruption.« The IFIMES International Institute believes that the present political situation in Bosnia and Herzegovina leads to early parliamentary elections and elections to the Presidency of Bosnia and Herzegovina, since numerous surveys have shown that though the present government has the legality, it lacks the necessary legitimacy and authority. Early elections would show the real attitude of political forces at the tumultuous political scene in Bosnia and Herzegovina. PUBLIC OPINION POLL

Data on the sample:

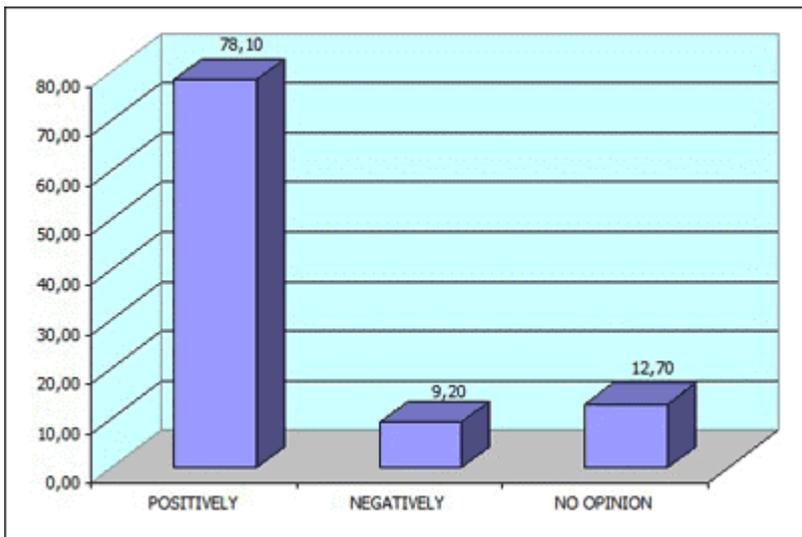
- The sample: random, three-stage
- Size of the sample: 1143 respondents (male and female citizens of lawful age)
- Methodology: telephone survey
- Period: April 20 to April 23 2004
- Degree of reliability: 95%
- Control: per 10% specimens
- Standard deviation +/- 3
- Territory: the Republic of Srpska

How do you rate the protest gathering organised by the opposition (SNSD, SP AND DNS) which was held in Banja Luka on 23 March 2004 and in Vlasenica on 17 April 2004?

POSITIVELY ~ 78.10%

NEGATIVELY ~ 9.20%

NO OPINION ~ 12.70%



Data on the sample:

- The sample: random, three-stage
- Size of the sample: 1143 respondents (male and female citizens of lawful age)
- Methodology: telephone survey
- Period: April 20 to April 23 2004

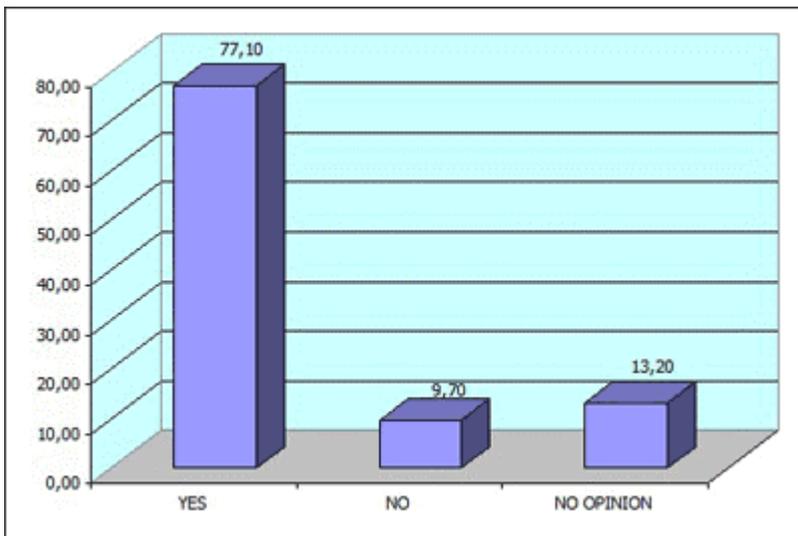
- Degree of reliability: 95%
- Control: per 10% specimens
- Standard deviation +/- 3
- Territory: the Republic of Srpska

Do you believe that the present leading structures in the Republic of Srpska are criminal structures (SDS, PDP)?

YES ~ 77.10%

NO ~ 9.70%

NO OPINION ~ 13.20 %



Data on the sample:

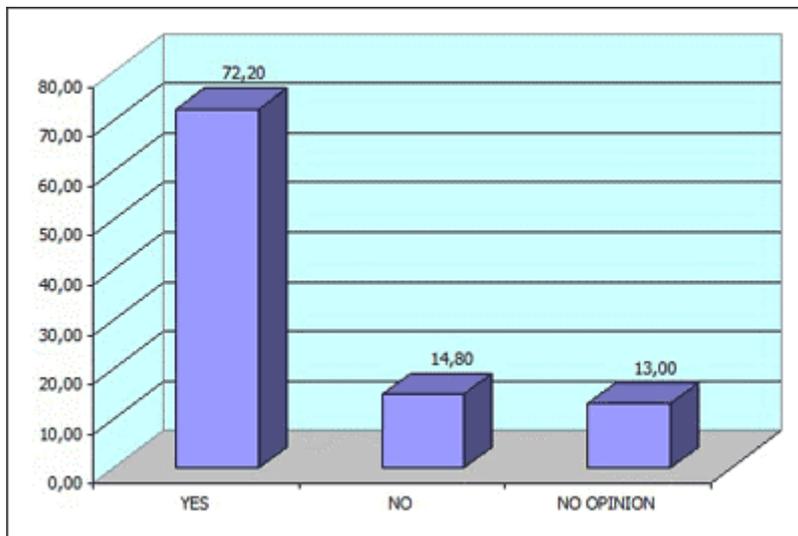
- The sample: random, three-stage
- Size of the sample: 1143 respondents (male and female citizens of lawful age)
- Methodology: telephone survey
- Period: April 20 to April 23 2004
- Degree of reliability: 95%
- Control: per 10% specimens
- Standard deviation +/- 3
- Territory: the Republic of Srpska

Do you expect the opposition to announce publicly new development programmes?

YES ~ 72.20%

NO ~ 14.80%

NO OPINION ~ 13.00%



Data on the sample:

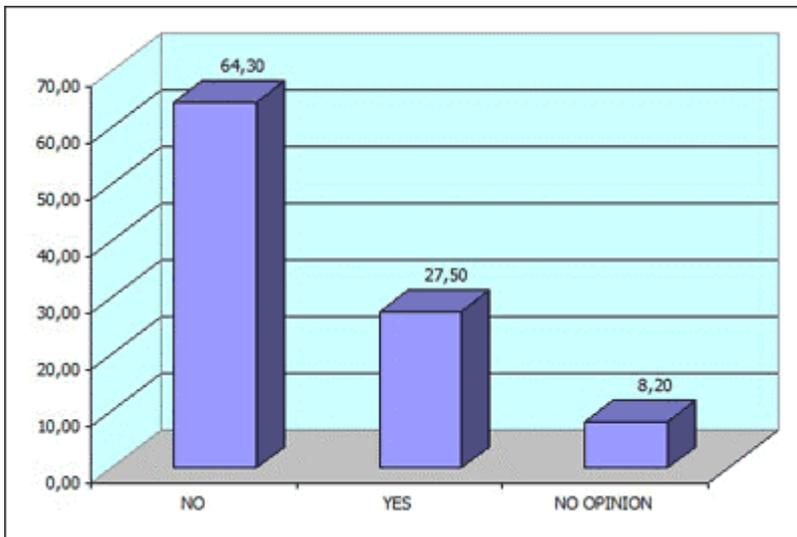
- The sample: random, three-stage
- Size of the sample: 2101 respondents (male and female citizens of lawful age)
- Methodology: telephone survey
- Period: April 20 to April 23 2004
- Degree of reliability: 95%
- Control: per 10% specimens
- Standard deviation +/- 3
- Territory: Bosnia and Herzegovina (Republic of Srpska, Federation of BiH, Brcko District)

Can such organisation of judicial power in Bosnia and Herzegovina offer objective protection to the citizens and ensure trust in foreign investors?

NO ~ 64.30 %

YES ~ 27.50%

NO OPINION ~ 8.20%



Data on the sample:

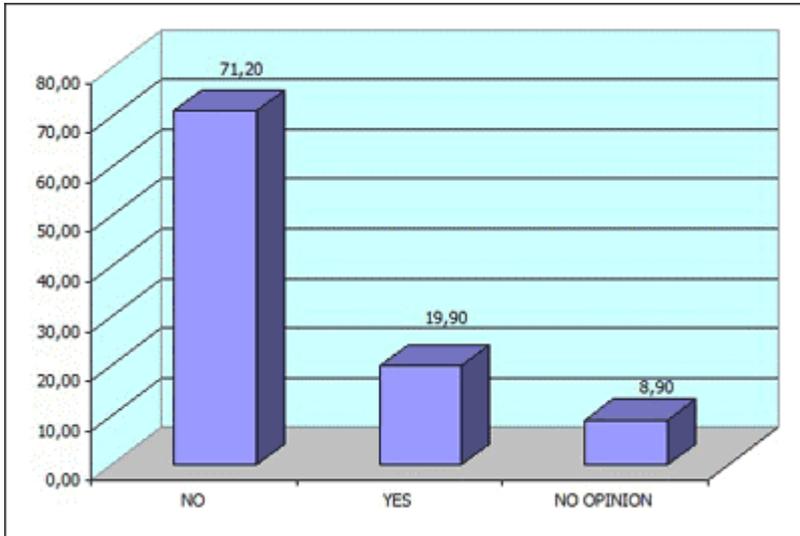
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- Control: per 10% specimens
- Standard deviation +/- 3
- Territory: Bosnia and Herzegovina (Republic of Srpska, Federation of BiH, Brcko District)

Do you believe the high representative for Bosnia and Herzegovina, lord Paddy Ashdown and his politics which he is implementing in Bosnia and Herzegovina?

NO ~ 71.20%

YES ~ 19.90%

NO OPINION ~ 8.90%



THE CURRENT SITUATION IN IRAQ

Excerpts from the lecture delivered by Bakhtyar Aljaf, Director of the International Institute for Middle-East and Balkan Studies (IFIMES), at the Slovenian International Relations Association (SDMO) in Ljubljana on May 5, 2004:

After thirteen months of occupation, the situation in Iraq is difficult. The state is in the process of transition from the totalitarian to a democratic system. The situation is still under control, but it is deteriorating and power of control is weakening, especially with July 1 approaching when the power is to be handed over to the Iraqis.

The problems stem from the implementation of democracy. However, it would be wrong to claim that Iraq and the Arabic world in general are not ready for changes. The experience of Iraqi Kurdistan in spite of some imperfections confirms that changes are possible in Iraq, too. The problems in Iraq can be divided into five segments:

THE FIRST SEGMENT

This segment encompasses the confusion in American politics and constant conflicts in the Administration between the Pentagon, which is controlled by the neo-conservative Republicans, and the State Department, controlled by the moderate Republicans. Nevertheless, on the eve of American elections, the conflict is about to be concluded. Today, the National Security Council administers Iraq while Robert Blackwell, chief deputy of the National Security Advisor, is staying in Iraq, and together they directly implement the American politics in this state.

American mistakes and the confusion in the Coalition Provisional Authority (CPA) are the main reason for the increase of terrorism in Iraq. At the beginning, the Americans disbanded the Iraqi army and the Iraqi security machine and established the Supreme Commission for deBaathization of the state and eradication of the Baath party from the life in Iraq. Today, after the events in Falujja, the Americans decided to grant amnesty to high members of the Republican Guard and to appoint them to the leading positions in the future army. The appointment of general Mohammed Latif as commander of the Falujja brigade caused exasperation among all political structures in the state except for the Arab Sunnites and Iraqi rebels who are celebrating the victory over the Americans. This is a wrong signal to the terrorists in Iraq and Ambassador Bremer is responsible for the consequences of such decision.

The appointment of Ambassador Negroponte, though an expert in Latin America and the United Nations Organisation (UN), to the position of the Ambassador

in Iraq is, in my opinion, a mistake similar to the appointment of Bremer to the position of General Jay Garner in May 2003.

THE SECOND SEGMENT - SECURITY

Security problems represent the most pressing problems in this segment, which have caused the stagnation of the whole economy. Terrorism is increasing, the Islamic terrorists chose the territory of Iraq to deal with the USA, the boundaries between rebellion, terrorism and crime are blurred. In some cases, terrorists and criminals have formed an alliance. For example, the kidnapping of foreigners is a popular methods among terrorists, criminals and rebels as well as among competitive foreign companies (such as the assassination of two Finnish engineers in front of the Ministry of Electricity in the centre of Baghdad in March this year). Nevertheless, the rebels can be classified into 4 groups:

Followers of the former regime, who are deprived of all privileges.

Islamic terrorists, who have chosen to get even with the USA in the territory of Iraq.

The fanatics, who are ready to die for their ideals.

The mercenaries, who regard terrorism as profitable business and profession.

Ordinary criminals and prisoners amnestied by Saddam Hussein 3 months before his regime was overthrown, who are engaged in kidnappings and among others responsible for the assassination of two Finnish engineers in front of the Ministry of Electricity at the end of March this year by the competitors, etc.

Revolted and dissatisfied individuals, who want to revenge for the mistakes of the alliance.

The dissatisfaction of Iraqis stems from the real situation in the society:

Lack of security;

Lack of electricity, water, municipal services, health services;

Corruption in every segment of the society from American civil administration to the lowest ranks of officials;

Unemployment exceeding 70%.

American mistakes stem from:

Ignorance of the mentality of the Iraqi people;

Arrogance of American soldiers;

Unprofessional approach of the officials in the CPA.

The rebels have already achieved some of the set goals. Thus, foreign companies such as Siemens, General Electric, Foster Wellerare and others are leaving Iraq.

THE THIRD SEGMENT - ECONOMY

Iraq is facing internal and external blockade. The South motorway towards Basra and Kuwait and the West motorway towards Jordan are dangerous and constantly closed down for traffic. The only operating Iraqi border crossing is Khabur on the border with Turkey which is controlled by the Kurds. Thousands of trucks and road tankers cross this border crossing every day. The procedures are lengthy and bureaucratic both at the Turkish and Kurdish side, and there are also procedures at the administrative border between Kurdistan and Iraq (borders as established on March 19, 2003).

Iraq is running short of electricity and water. Refineries and thermal power plants are not operating. Unemployment has inflicted more than 70% of the population and corruption is blossoming from the lowest ranks of officials to the top of Iraqi political elite and American administration, as the Halliburton affair proved. The pensioners are most severely inflicted by the situation. Instead of pensions they receive rewards, but they have received only two rewards since April 2003. However, this is not the case in Kurdistan and in the cities of Kirkuk in Mosul which are under temporary Kurdish control.

After the diplomatic mission of James Backer and write-off of the main part of foreign debt, the latter still amounts to over \$ 50 billion. The economy is devastated. The provisional administrative council has adopted the law on privatisation of state-owned enterprises which enables investors to hire factories. Still, except for the oil industry, there is no interest in the vital industry. The reconstruction of the state is very slow. Foreign companies do not have the courage to send workers and equipment to a state which lacks security.

THE FOURTH SEGMENT - POLITICAL AND ETHNIC ISSUES

This segment includes political and ethnic issues. The country is burdened by conflicts between the Shiites, i.e. between the religious school of Al Sistani and Muqtad Al-Sadr. It is also troubled by the Shiitic-Sunni conflicts. The Arabs in general (Shiites and Sunnites) are exasperated at American indulgence towards the Kurds. The border determined by the Americans on March 19, 2003 is the actual border of the Kurdistan region. The Kurds enforced the new Iraqi flag which is similar to the Israeli colours. The Arab League has already declared that it would never hang out the new flag at its headquarters in Cairo.

The status of Kirkuk and Mosul, which are actually under Kurdish control, additionally aggravates the ethnic intolerance between the Kurds on one side and the Arabs and Turkmen on the other side.

However, we can commend on the constructive role of the Turkish Government which stopped using the language of intimidation towards the Kurds and abandoned its threats to occupy the oil sites in Kirkuk and Mosul.

Today, the Government of Prime Minister Erdogan closely co-operates with the Kurds and Arab Sunnites. In my opinion, Turkey can play a decisive role in the stabilisation and establishment of a secular and democratic state. Commendatory words are expected to be delivered by NATO in Istanbul regarding this role. Furthermore, Turkey will play the leading role in the Great Middle East Project which will be presented at the Summit of the Eight.

The process of deBaathization of the state has been stopped which additionally burdens the relations within the political structures in Iraq.

THE FIFTH SEGMENT - CONSTITUTIONAL ISSUES

The last segment of problems in Iraq comprises constitutional issues. The provisional constitution adopted on November 15, 2003 ensures full independence of the Kurdistan region. Article 60.c of the constitution vests the Kurds with the right to veto on any decision of the federal government and the parliament relating to Iraq as a whole.

July 1 is approaching. With the new elections coming near, the Americans want to get rid of the Iraqi issue as soon as possible. For the time being they have no alternative as to whom to hand over the power. When the occupation ends, the provisional administrative council will be dissolved. In looking for the right alternative and international legitimacy, the USA chose (the UN) and the controversial pro-French oriented representative Lakdar Brahimi. As the representative of the Arab League, Brahimi allowed the Syrian occupation of Lebanon in the 1980s, and he was closely connected with the former Iraqi regime. The appointment of

Brahimi was the act undertaken by the National Security Council and President Bush with the aim to get rid of the influence of the Pentagon neo-conservatives who provided him with false information on Iraqi weapons.

The first reactions to his appointment came from Ahmed Chalabi and his followers and from neo-conservatives in Pentagon who accuse the UN for stealing and accepting bribe in the framework of the »Oil for Food« Programme. Those accusations have reached General Secretary Kofi Anan who has established the commission to look into those allegations.

In this dirty media war Brahimi announced his programme in which he envisages the appointment of a technocratic government and exclusion of all political parties from the new government. Brahimi also proposed the return of the former Baath party to the political life of Iraq.

His statement that Israel is poisoning the region was addressed against the Kurds and Ahmed Chalabi. Brahimi alone has prepared no plan nor mechanism to hand over the power to the Iraqis which he confirmed by stating he was going to Baghdad without any plans and instructions. In any case, Brahimi needs a new UN Security Council resolution which would replace the two preceding Resolutions which legalised the occupation of Iraq, namely the Resolutions 1483 and 1511.

The USA are engaged in secret talks with France, Russia and Germany in relation to the composing of the UN multinational forces. The only reaction is coming from Moscow. Duma Vice President L. Slutski declared that Russia does not intend to send soldiers to Iraq to fight various fractions.

In any case, the UN does not want its forces to be services which would support American forces which are most likely to remain permanently in Iraq on the basis of an agreement to be concluded between the provisional administrative council and the USA just before the dissolution of the council on June 30.

The whole process of constitutional changes has been halted. The British want to incorporate the Arab Sunnites, united in the Iraqi Tribal National Council, in the political life. Clearly, they were the ones who were in favour of the regime and their territory is known for the most severe rebellion and attacks on the Americans. The attempts of Ambassador Greenstock were unsuccessful.

The Iraqi Tribal National Council unites 120 tribes, i.e. 3 million Arab Sunnites who want to co-operate with EU and to involve Europe in the political process. To this end they have authorised the IFIMES International Institute to represent them in the EU bodies. This authorisation is related to the Iraqi Tribal National Council as well as its political parties and non-government organisations.

TURKEY - EUROPEAN UNION RELATIONS

Mr. Balkan Kizildeli
Ambassador of Turkey in Slovenia

Turkey's European Union membership is a major transformation project encompassing the whole of Turkish society. Now the long-standing Turkey-EU relations are at an important turning point since in December 2004 the EU will give its decision concerning the launching of accession negotiations. Turkey has been determined in continuing with its EU harmonisation efforts. The main reasons behind its determination are the firm commitment by the Parliament and the Government to full EU membership, the strong support deployed by the business community and NGOs and, most important of all, the fact that 75% of the entire Turkish public embraces this objective.

POLITICAL ISSUES

Turkey's aim has been to complete the legislative harmonisation work regarding the political criteria by the end of 2003 and focus mainly on implementation in 2004. Turkey has been resolutely progressing in this direction. The clearest indication of this is the rapid adoption of four consecutive EU harmonisation packages since the beginning of 2003. With these harmonisation packages, new laws and major legal amendments to strengthen the legal basis of the freedom of thought and expression have been made.

In addition to these legislative reforms, significant international agreements on human rights and fundamental freedoms have been approved and, within the Parliament, a Commission on EU was established in order to monitor and facilitate harmonisation work.

Turkey is paying a high degree of importance to implementation as well. Various projects are launched to train the personnel in the implementing agencies and the government has put in place regulations to secure proper execution of the political reforms. One of the most crucial developments in this regard has been the establishment of a »Human Rights Advisory Board«, comprising representatives of the public sector and civil society, responsible for monitoring human rights practices throughout the country and taking necessary action. The recent formation of two different bodies, namely the »Reform Monitoring Group« and the »EU Communication Group«, is quite important in the sense that it demonstrates the strong will and determination of the country for EU membership. The »Reform Monitoring Group« consists of the Ministers of Foreign Affairs, Justice, Interior Affairs as well as the Secretary General for EU Affairs and the Head of the Human Rights

Advisory Board. The Group is responsible for following up the implementation process and spotting its problems. It is a high-level body that evaluates all positive and negative developments concerning implementation; it receives complaints and opinions and acts immediately. A recent example of the Group's activities was the correction of a practice which was contrary to legislative reforms and which impeded the freedom to name one's child in a language other than Turkish.

The »EU Communication Group«, of which the Economic Development Foundation is a party, works in order to identify the prejudices against Turkey in the EU public and to explain »modern Turkey« in a realistic manner. The »EU Communication Group« is an NGO-government joint initiative and, being a core institution, is open to contributions and participation of all NGOs.

ECONOMY AND FINANCE

Turkey is aware that membership criteria should not be fulfilled only for the EU integration process but primarily for conforming to the standards of a democratic welfare state. In this regard, it is striving hard for completing them and is aiming to attain a significant move in economic - as well as acquis-harmonisation by the end of this year. On the economic front, Turkey is progressing well with its economic stability programme, which coincides with the Copenhagen economic criteria.

In 2003, the lowest inflation rate recorded in the past 20 years was achieved. In 2002, GNP per capita had increased by 21,7% in comparison with the previous year. The current positive trend in the Turkish economy relies on the drop in inflation rate in June, July and August. Moreover 13,8% inflation recorded in September and 5,4% economic growth in the first half of 2003 strengthened the expectations and the government's macroeconomic targets of 5% growth and 20% inflation for the end of 2003 became highly attainable.

Continuing positive trend in exports in first half of the year 2003 are also important factors for reassuring economic confidence. In the first eight months of 2003 compared to the same period of previous year, exports increased by 33,7% and reached 29,8 billion \$. The increase in capacity utilisation rate in the Turkish manufacturing sector indicates that the increase in exports will continue in the next period. Turkey third Pre-Accession Economic Programme (PEP), covering the period 2003-2006, aims at strengthening macroeconomic stability in an effort to increase the resources allocated to the implementation of social policies for the creation of a welfare society.

Although PEP projected the inflation rate for 2004 as 14,4%, during the preparatory meetings of Turkish Budgetary Committee, the inflation target for the same year was announced to be 12% and growth rate to be 5%. According to PEP, a one-digit-inflation rate for the Turkish economy would be achieved in 2005.

These positive economic developments have raised confidence in the Turkish economy and increased Turkey's credibility in international economic circles. However Turkey is also well aware that success in controlling inflation can only take root through a sustainable fiscal policy based on structural reforms. Within the context of Structural reforms: The adoption of the law amending the Law on Consumer Protection has not only harmonised Turkish legislation in this area with that of the EU, but has also enhanced and furthered consumer rights in Turkey. Amendments to the Customs Law, the Public Procurement Law and the Public Administration and Budgeting Administration Law and the ongoing efforts to amend the laws on Tax Administration, on Financial Sector Reform and the completion of the preparations regarding the draft Law on Public Finance Management and Financial Control constitute significant steps.

The adoption of the Foreign Direct Investment Law provides an important step in achieving an investment environment that conforms to international standards. Turkey has also adopted the CE marking system and made its application compulsory in the internal market for a range of products; has adopted a regulation with respect to the Ministry of Industry's authority of market surveillance and has established the NUTs classification system required for harmonising with EU's regional policies.

TURKISH PUBLIC STANCE

A private research Foundation has carried out an informative project covering 24 cities all around Turkey and aiming to inform the Turkish people on the EU, EU-Turkey relations and the membership process. Seminars have been held in eleven cities in Eastern and Southeastern Turkey. Attendance was quite high and the feedback obtained indicates a positive trend. Effects of the changes brought about by recent political reforms are clearly visible; there is an ongoing transformation in daily life and this always to the better. Under such auspicious circumstances, it is certain that the Turkish people will react very positively to a decision by the EU for the launching of accession negotiations as the people believe that once the accession negotiations start, reforms on raising the standards of democracy and human rights will gain a new momentum.

So, the Hague European Council of December 2004 will provide a historic opportunity for the EU to convey and clarify its intentions regarding Turkey's membership to the Turkish public. Namely, despite the intense support, there are lingering doubts about EU's determination and certain circles in Turkey question the sincerity of the EU. And the Turkish public is concerned that, if negotiations do not start, the reform process will be jeopardised. Thus, in case EU fails to decide positively in December this year, such worries will prevail and as the Turkish public will be greatly disappointed, harmonisation work may lose the strong public support it now enjoys.

Another striking feedback from these seminars related to a certain concern of the EU members as to Turkey's membership is migration. As understood from the answers, EU membership would mean better economic and democratic standards. So, in contrast to the wide-spread perception in EU member countries, the Turkish people seem to think that EU membership will bring prosperity to their own region and thus increase job opportunities where they are.

ADVANTAGES OF TURKEY'S MEMBERSHIP TO THE EU

Turkey's EU membership will, first and foremost, demonstrate that the EU stands for common values and ideals rather than a common civilisation and religion. When a country with a predominantly Muslim population becomes a member, this will demonstrate that the Union is not a »Christian Club« and thus will help the EU to contribute, in a stronger fashion, to world peace and to the protection of a multi-cultural mosaic.

With Turkey's membership, the EU would also gain indispensable strategic benefits in terms of its security. As frequently expressed by NATO officials, Turkey is not a consumer of security but a producer of security. Furthermore, in the current NATO evaluations concerning the »new threat« perceptions that are re-shaped after the 11 September attacks, Turkey is regarded as a »key-state«. Apart from the security dimension, Turkey's central and unique position among three continents will provide the basis for deriving expected gains from Euro-Mediterranean Partnership. EU with Turkey as a full member will see its influence increase in the international arena, specially in the Middle East, Balkans and Caucasus.

Furthermore, Turkey will contribute to the solution of EU's problems associated with the security and diversity of energy supplies by virtue of its proximity to energy sources and its strategic position in oil and gas pipe-lines. In terms of market opportunities, in addition to the Turkish market, EU companies will have better access to the Middle Eastern, Russian and Central Asian markets. They will have the opportunity to form partnerships with Turkish firms which are active in these markets and will benefit from their experiences. Turkey is aware that it still has a distance to cover in particular regarding the implementation of reforms already legislated. It needs a cooperative approach instead of the frequently biased attitudes it receives from the EU. In spite of the forty-year long relationship and Turkey's determination, prejudices against Turkey can still be seen in the Union. Some quarters in the EU seem to regard Turkey more as a "problem" than a »partner«. Turkey expects the European Commission, other EU institutions and member states to support it and to work with it in eradicating such prejudices and to explain to the citizens of the EU members that Turkey's membership will be a »win-win« case for all the parties involved. The synergy to be brought by Turkey's membership will pave the way for the EU to achieve new successes.

SERBIA: VICTORY OF THE RADICALS AND THE AGGRAVATION OF CRISIS

The International Institute for Middle-East and Balkan Studies (IFIMES) in Ljubljana, Slovenia, constantly analyses events in the Middle East and the Balkans. In view of the presidential elections in Serbia which are to be held on June 13, 2004, IFIMES has prepared a comprehensive analysis. The most important and interesting sections are given below.

For the eight time since the fall of the Berlin Wall, presidential elections are held in the Republic of Serbia (1990, 1992, 1997, two times in 2002 and two times 2003) with 6,531,549 voters having the right to vote and 15 candidates competing: Dragan Marsicanin, Boris Tadic, Tomislav Nikolic, Ivica Dacic, Bogoljub Karic, Branislav Ivkovic, Milovan Drecun, Ljiljana Arandjelovic, Borislav Pelevic, Vladan Batic, Dragan Djordjevic, Zoran Milinkovic, Jelisavete Karadjordjevic, Marjan Risticjevic and Mirko Jovic. The populist rhetoric is what most of them have in common.

There are three favourites among them: Tomislav Nikolic (Serbian Radical Party), Boris Tadic (Democratic Party) and Dragan Marsicanin (Democratic Party of Serbia backed by the current government coalition). In Serbia there are 287 political parties registered at the moment.

Serbia is facing the adoption of a new constitution. The proposal for the constitution prepared by the Government of Prime Minister Vojislav Kostunica defines the Republic of Serbia as the state of the Serbian nation and of other citizens, which implies a series of negative consequences for members of national minorities. All the autochthon minorities living in the Republic of Serbia should be stated in the preamble of the new constitution in order to define the appropriate model for minority participation in the political life of Serbia. The national minorities are discriminated against already in the Elections Law which provides for the 5% election threshold thus preventing the national minorities to enter the parliament even by means of the minority coalition called »Together for Tolerance«. If the national minorities are stated in the constitution, the Republic of Serbia will have to resolve the issue of participation of national minorities in the political life of Serbia as is the case in the neighbouring Croatia where minorities participate in the political life of Croatia through the guaranteed number of deputies in the Croatian Parliament (thus the Serbs have 3 deputies and other minorities or groups each have 1 deputy). This is probably the reason for avoiding the stating of national minorities in the constitution of Serbia.

Unresolved relations within the State Union of Serbia and Montenegro raise an open question: Who needs the State Union more, Serbia or Montenegro? Analy-

ses have shown that Montenegro needs the State Union more than Serbia, however, the present Montenegrin leadership has skilfully and successfully introduced the thesis that the State Union is more necessary for Serbia although it is well-known that 95% of the costs of functioning of the State Union is financed by Serbia. Does Serbia need to finance simultaneously the functioning of two states: the Republic of Serbia and the State Union of Serbia and Montenegro? There are certain prejudices present in Serbia related primarily to the exit to the sea which is regarded in some circles as being of vital importance for the future of Serbia. However, it is a known fact that a large number of states without an exit to the sea are very successful while some states which have long coasts are placed among the least developed states in the world. Obviously this is the remnant of Serbia's former conviction that it is vital to have the necessary size and to border a large number of states.

Serbia is facing regionalisation which, as it seems, will not be carried out in line with the standards since the current government gave up the envisaged regionalisation according to which the state should have been divided into six regions. This raises a very sensitive issue of regionalisation or autonomy of Vojvodina as well as Sandzak which will, according to the forecasts, become the new crisis point. Kosovo will remain an open issue and the place where the Serbian nation will try to become homogenous in critical moments. Giving the right to vote to the diaspora has opened numerous questions in Serbia, primarily how to control the polling place in the diaspora and whether it is appropriate for the citizens living outside Serbia to decide on the future of Serbia by voting. However, the diaspora has shown a negligible small interest in participating at the elections.

Regarding the corruption, Serbia is placed at the inglorious fourth place in Europe following Bosnia and Herzegovina, Macedonia and Kosovo. The long years of unwillingness to co-operate with the Hague Tribunal lead Serbia to a situation in which it became hostage of a few Hague defendants. Serbia has still not consolidated as a state - the consequences of the period 1990-1995 are still present as well as the distressing social situation, the Kosovo issue and the unstable political situation which prevent foreign investments, relations with the neighbouring states etc.

THE FAVOURITES AT THE 2004 PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS ARE

Tomislav Nikolic

Deputy President of SRS - Serbian Radical Party (President is Vojislav Seselj). He is the favourite of the forthcoming presidential elections. He advocates the changes of foreign policy, improvement of the economy and, most of all, co-operation with the EU. Nikolic wishes to introduce control of the Government of Serbia.

He advocates the policy of »Great Serbia« with the border line Karlobag - Ogulin - Karlovac - Virovitica. He is the unwanted person in the EU and USA states. He is inexperienced in international politics nor has he any political experience with the representatives of the EU, USA and NATO. He threatens to dissolve the parliament and order early elections should he be elected as President of Serbia. His political rating increased as his SRS won convincingly at the last parliamentary elections (December 2003) but due to international pressures Nikolic did not become the mandatory for the formation of the new government. This is, among others, where the reason for the increase of his popularity lies. It would be justified to wonder whether the Radicals should have been allowed to form the government in December 2003. The fact is that the above situation led to the formation of a kind of a »myth« about the Serbian radical party, especially since its President Vojislav Seselj has been isolated in the prison unit of the Hague Tribunal for five months. Tomislav Nikolic will become the new president of the Republic of Serbia since this kind of politicians actually reflect the present Serbian reality.

Boris Tadic

President of the Democratic Party (successor of assassinated Prime Minister Zoran Djindjic). Tadic said: »I am not satisfied with the work of the Government since we are witnessing the restoration of the party-state. For example, people from political parties are appointed as heads of intelligence services, security services, banks.« Tadic believes President should control the legitimacy and the work of the parliament and, indirectly, the legitimacy and the work of the Government. Should he be elected he will not order early elections. He advocates the »cohabitation of President and the Government« since he believes that President can not be the extension of the Government, as the presidential candidate Dragan Marsicanin states. Serbia must be oriented towards the West, its strategic partners are the EU, USA and Russia. Tadic believes he will win the votes of the Serbian decent citizens who are the silent majority - the normal people in Serbia who want the society to change for the better and fight for the restoration of the values. Tadic has rich experience in communication with the EU, USA and NATO. However, the analysts believe Tadic is trying to capitalise on the assassination of Prime Minister Djindjic and is using this discourse to the point where the authority of Djindjic surpasses him.

Dragan Marsicanin

Vice-President of DSS - Democratic Party of Serbia (President is the present Prime Minister Vojislav Kostunica). He is the candidate of the leading coalition which is composed of the DSS, G17 Plus and SPO-NS (Serbian Movement for Renewal - New Serbia). The coalition is not in agreement regarding the support

to Marsicanin's candidacy, especially the G17 Plus and SPO are opposing. The leading coalition thus failed to select a candidate who can defeat the opponents Nikolic and Tadic. Marsicanin, former president of the Serbian Parliament and Minister of the Economy, is not highly esteemed among the voting body. He is not familiar with the European institutions nor with Euro-Atlantic integration and their functioning. He never took part in formal talks on Europe. He is in favour of the accession to the EU and for a »cautious« accession to NATO. During his pre-election campaign Marsicanin visited the Republic of Srpska and its capital Banja Luka which can not bring him any new political points, only renewed suspicion of the interference of Serbia and Prime Minister Vojislav Kostunica in the situation in Bosnia and Herzegovina through Dragan Kalinic, President the National Assembly of the Republic of Srpska and President of Serbian Democratic Party. Marsicanin wants to be the extension of the present Government. The results of the work of the Government during the first 100 days are destructive. Does Marsicanin want to be a destructive president?

Among the other presidential candidates, the candidacy of the business tycoon Bogoljub Karic is one of the more interesting.

Bogoljub Karic

Candidate of a group of citizens and of the recently formed party called the Power of Serbia. Karic is the owner of BK Group, Astra Group known notably for the telecommunication company »Mobtel Srbije« and television company »BK Televizija«. Through his own television company, Bogoljub Karic presents himself to the public at most striking hours. This poses the question to what extent can an owned medium be (mis)used in election campaign and why the state did not regulate this area? Unless this is regulated it can lead to a situation where it is mostly the media owners who lead the state. Bogoljub Karic admits he has financed all political parties and political regimes till now. His fast accumulation of wealth is related to the family of Milosevic, especially Milosevic's wife Mirjana Markovic, President of the JUL (the Yugoslav left), who enabled Bogoljub Karic to become the majority owner of »Mobtel Srbije«. He is prohibited from entering numerous states. He travels abroad mainly using passport of another state. He has limited political experience. Karic is president of the Association of Industrialists and Entrepreneurs of Serbia and he uses this function mainly for self-promotion. In the election campaign he advocates the prohibition on importation of apples, lettuce and wheat into Serbia since he believes the Serbian farmer can produce sufficient quantities. This explicitly shows he is against the liberalisation of the market which could endanger the admission of Serbia in the World Trade Organisation (WTO).

Karic's vocabulary is the reflection of long years of political, economic, cultural and other isolation of Serbia in the last decade of the previous century and the resulting inability of comparison with others. He wants to regulate Kosovo according to the principles of a shareholder's company, in which most shares would be owned by multinational companies and the rest by Serbia and the citizens of Kosovo, whereby other republics of former Yugoslavia which invested in Kosovo should also take part in this division. This would additionally complicate the issue of Kosovo. Karic has shown political immaturity. The goal of his campaign is the legalisation in the Serbian society and the prevention of investigations which are being carried out against him and his business groupings. For quite some time Karic has been in conflict with the past and present government due to his alleged avoiding to pay for the extra profit. Karic's legalisation was actually enabled by President of the State Union of Serbia and Montenegro, Svetozar Marovic, who appointed Karic to his Economic Council which is a part of the escort during Karic's visits abroad. Karic would call the Hague suspects to give themselves up since he would persuade them to do so. In the developed democracies the candidature of this kind would have little relevance. The results of the survey have shown that it would be very hard for Karic to convince the citizens of Serbia to place their trust in him at the forthcoming presidential elections.

Discrimination against women is still evident in the Serbian society. The only female candidates at the elections are Princess Jelisaveta Karadjordjevic and Ljiljana Arandjelovic. There are also no presidential candidates from national minorities nor are there any government members who come from national minorities. In the Council of Ministers of the State Union of Serbia and Montenegro there is Minister for human rights from national minorities who comes from the Sandzak Democratic Party (SDP) which was defeated in Sandzak at the last parliamentary elections and became a non-parliamentary party. This raises the question whether Rasim Ljajic has the legitimacy to be in the Council of Ministers. The answer should be sought from Prime Minister Vojislav Kostunica, as Rasim Ljajic is one of his staff in the Council of Ministers.

The IFIMES International Institute is aware that Prime Minister Vojislav Kostunica and the SRS presidential candidate Tomislav Nikolic made a secret agreement which is to come into effect if Nikolic becomes president of Serbia. In the agreement they made a commitment that there would be no additional destabilisation of Serbia and the region nor early parliamentary elections. The IFIMES International Institute believes the crisis in Serbia will be further aggravated which can additionally threaten the stability in the region and calls for additional commitment of the international community in order to avoid undesirable effects of the aggravation of crisis in Serbia.

PUBLIC OPINION POLL

Data on the sample:

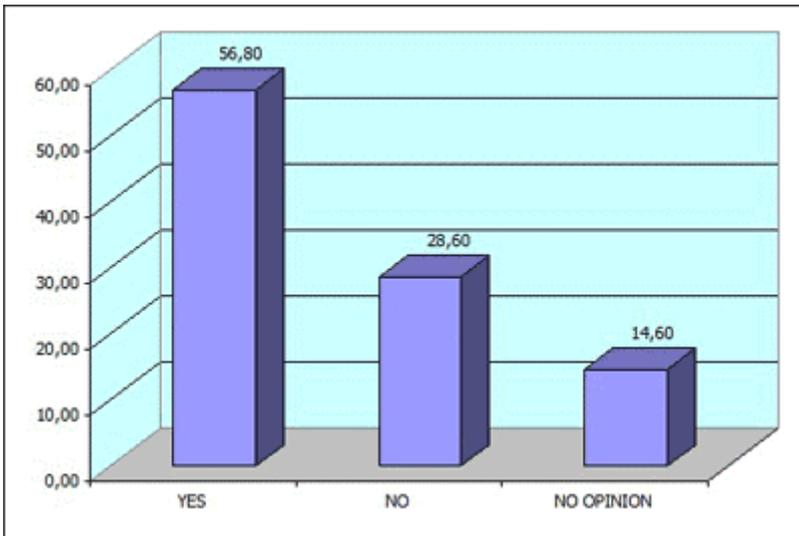
- The sample: random, three-stage
- Size of the sample: 1843 respondents (male and female citizens of lawful age)
- Methodology: telephone survey
- Period: June 2 to June 4, 2004
- Degree of reliability: 95%
- Control: per 10% specimens
- Standard deviation +/- 3
- Territory: the Republic of Serbia without Kosovo

Are you going to take part in the forthcoming presidential elections in Serbia on June 13, 2004?

YES ~ 56.80%

NO ~ 28.60%

NO OPINION ~ 14.60%



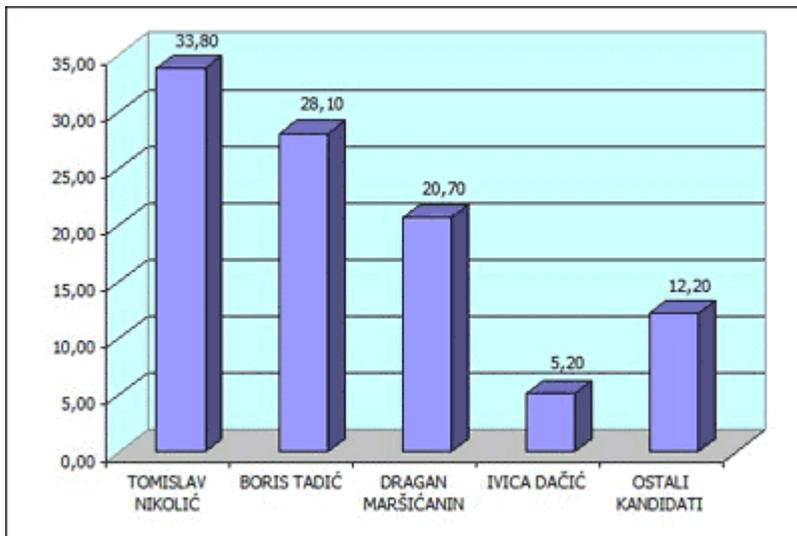
At the forthcoming presidential elections on June 13, 2004 I am going to vote for:

TOMISLAV NIKOLIC ~ 33.80%

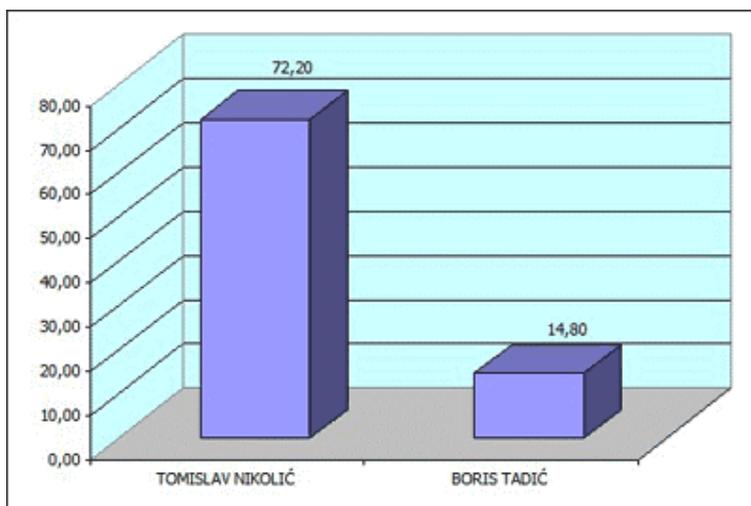
BORIS TADIC ~ 28.10%

DRAGAN MARSICANIN ~ 20.70%

IVICA DACIC ~ 5.20%
OTHER CANDIDATES ~ 12.20%



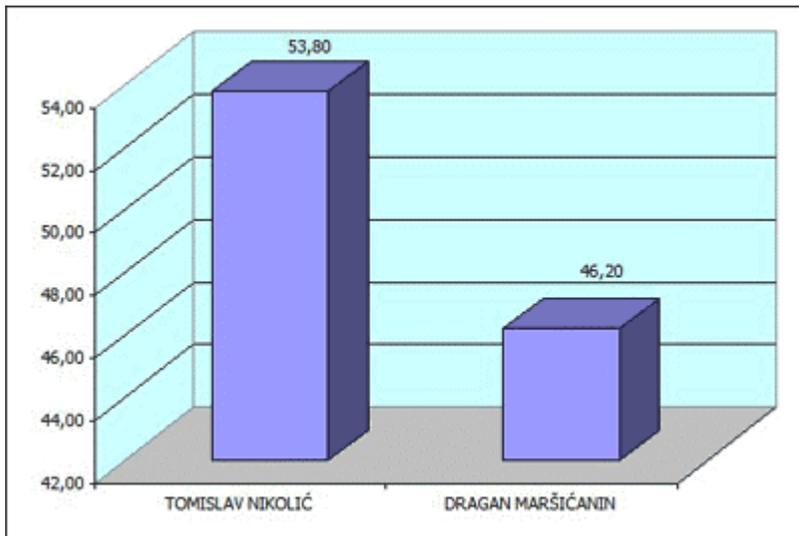
If Tomislav Nikolic and Boris Tadic enter the second voting of presidential elections which is to be held on June 27, 2004, who would you vote for?
TOMISLAV NIKOLIC ~ 58.70%
BORIS TADIC ~ 41.30%



If Tomislav Nikolic and Dragan Marsicanin enter the second voting of presidential elections which is to be held on June 27, 2004, who would you vote for?

TOMISLAV NIKOLIC ~ 53.80%

DRAGAN MARSICANIN ~ 46.20%



WHO IS TO BLAME FOR NON-ADMISSION OF BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA TO THE »PARTNERSHIP FOR PEACE« PROGRAMME?

The International Institute for Middle-East and Balkan Studies (IFIMES) in Ljubljana, Slovenia, constantly analyses events in the Middle East and the Balkans. IFIMES has prepared an analysis of the current situation in Bosnia and Herzegovina following the announced non-admission to the »Partnership for Peace« programme at the NATO summit at the end of June 2004 in Istanbul. The most important and interesting sections from the comprehensive analysis are given below.

Following the announcement of non-admission of Bosnia and Herzegovina to the »Partnership for Peace« programme at the NATO summit in Istanbul at the end of June 2004, various reactions were to be observed, especially in the Republic of Srpska, to the estimations presented by international NATO and EU officials regarding the lack of co-operation of Bosnia and Herzegovina and especially the Republic of Srpska with the Hague Tribunal. The question is who is to be held responsible for this situation in Bosnia and Herzegovina: the authorities at the level of Bosnia and Herzegovina or the Republic of Srpska. The IFIMES International Institute is of the opinion that the degree of responsibility is undeniably higher at the level of institutions of the Republic of Srpska than at the level of Bosnia and Herzegovina, although the responsibility of institutions of Bosnia and Herzegovina can not be ignored. After three and a half years of leadership, the national parties in the Republic of Srpska (Serbian Democratic Party and Party of Democratic Progress) and since 2002 also the Party of Democratic Action, whose empowerment was substantially backed by the high representative for Bosnia and Herzegovina who presented the national parties as reform parties and attributed them the characteristic which influenced the firm establishment of their power in the Republic of Srpska, today represent the main hindrance to the admission of Bosnia and Herzegovina to the Partnership for Peace programme. The SDS authorities tried to meet the expectations of the international community in Bosnia and Herzegovina only by words and not by doing what they were expected to do, especially as regards the assumed international obligations such as capturing war crime suspects which is the key international requirement. At secret meetings with international officials in Bosnia and Herzegovina, SDS offered full co-operation and promised the realisation or execution of the obligations but pointed out that it would require appropriate time. However, within its party circles and the part of public it controls SDS has denied such commitment

often expressing support to those citizens who believe that the handing over should not be executed and that protection should especially be ensured to the most wanted suspect, Radovan Karadzic.

Just to illustrate, there are numerous cases when high officials of SDS such as Dragan Kalinic, President of SDS and of the National Assembly of the Republic of Srpska, fall into a trance singing songs to Radovan calling him to descent some mountains and come to the people, while on the other hand they sign documents in which they commit themselves towards the international community that they are ready to hand over Karadzic as soon as he be found. This conduct of SDS and its high officials was recognised by the public as the policy of deception, sometimes minor and sometimes serious, especially since SDS entered into open coalition with SDA. This kind of behaviour created disappointment among the citizens, especially among the voting body in the Republic of Srpska, and consequently the popularity of SDS fell to the lowest point ever since the party was established - at the moment it has the support of merely 6.80% citizens. In a large number of towns in the Republic of Srpska where the IFIMES International Institute has carried out the survey of the attitude of the voting body towards individual parties, the citizens recognised the policy of deception and delusion led by SDS which has enjoyed the absolute power in the Republic of Srpska for the past 14 years. The voting body is deeply disappointed with the SDS policy and consequently the citizens increasingly favour the democratic parties in the Republic of Srpska such as SNSD (Union of Independent Social Democrats) and SP (Socialist Party).

Data on the sample:

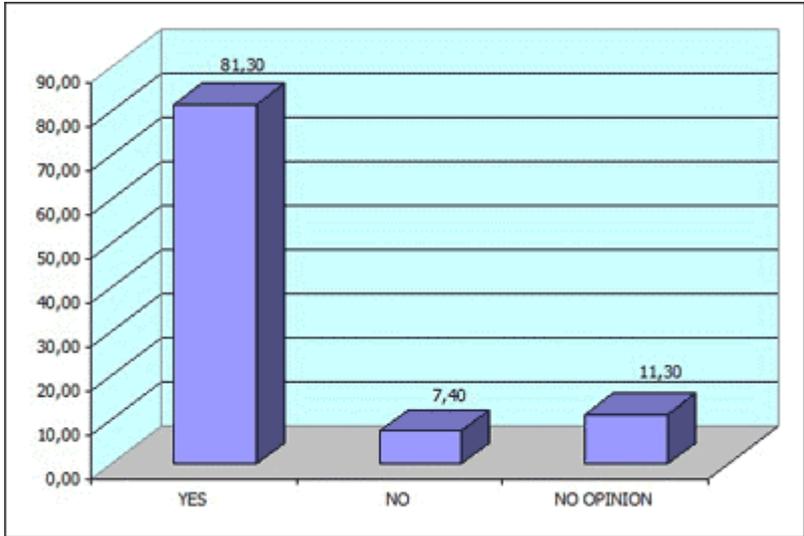
- The sample: random, three-stage
- Size of the sample: 1011 respondents (male and female citizens of lawful age)
- Methodology: telephone survey
- Period: June 7 to June 9, 2004
- Degree of reliability: 95%
- Control: per 10% specimens
- Standard deviation +/- 3
- Territory: the Republic of Srpska

The citizens were asked if they believe that SDS is resorting to severe deceptions and delusion of their voters and they answered as follows:

YES ~ 81.30%

NO ~ 7.40%

NO OPINION ~ 11.30%



The citizens of Bosnia and Herzegovina are looking for an alternative to national parties, especially in the Republic of Srpska where it is obvious that SDS could lose power in almost 70% of municipalities. The citizens are ready to support the alternative, i.e. the present opposition parties in the Republic of Srpska (SNSD, SP and DNS-Democratic National Union). The people expect the opposition to act in unity in order to achieve the primary goal - to defeat SDS and discontinue its 14-year power. Furthermore, the opposition is expected to adhere to a unified policy and to present common candidates for elections, especially for elections of heads of municipalities. The latter represent a novelty in the election procedure since heads of municipalities are for the first time directly elected. Local elections will be the major test of political maturity of the opposition in the Republic of Srpska and of its preparedness to take over the local government. A split opposition with different conceptions of election campaigns could become easy prey for the national parties and thus prolong their power to the greatest detriment of the citizens of the Republic of Srpska. The international community would then have to prolong its protectorate in Bosnia which is at the moment not in the interest of the international community taking into account the process of accession of Bosnia and Herzegovina to European Union.

According to the survey carried out by the IFIMES International Institute, the citizens in the Republic of Srpska hope that the opposition (Milorad Dodik, Petar Djokic and Marko Pavic) manage to achieve common approach at the lo-

cal elections. If not, the opposition would definitely lose all of its credibility and the immense opportunity for success which has arisen due to the deceitful and delusive policy led by SDS, PDP and SDA.

Data on the sample:

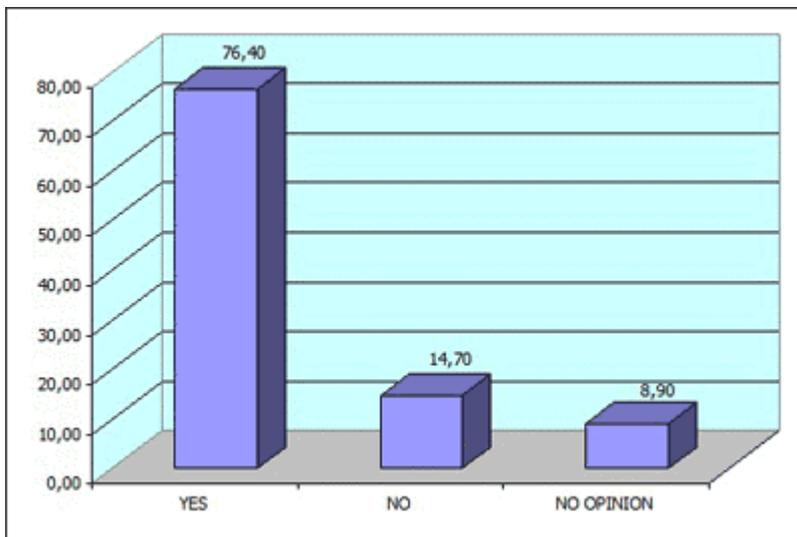
- The sample: random, three-stage
- Size of the sample: 1011 respondents (male and female citizens of lawful age)
- Methodology: telephone survey
- Period: June 7 to June 9, 2004
- Degree of reliability: 95%
- Control: per 10% specimens
- Standard deviation +/- 3
- Territory: the Republic of Srpska

Would you vote for the present opposition at the forthcoming elections if the opposition presented a uniform list of candidates?

YES ~ 76.40%

NO ~ 14.70%

NO OPINION ~ 8.90%



Data on the sample:

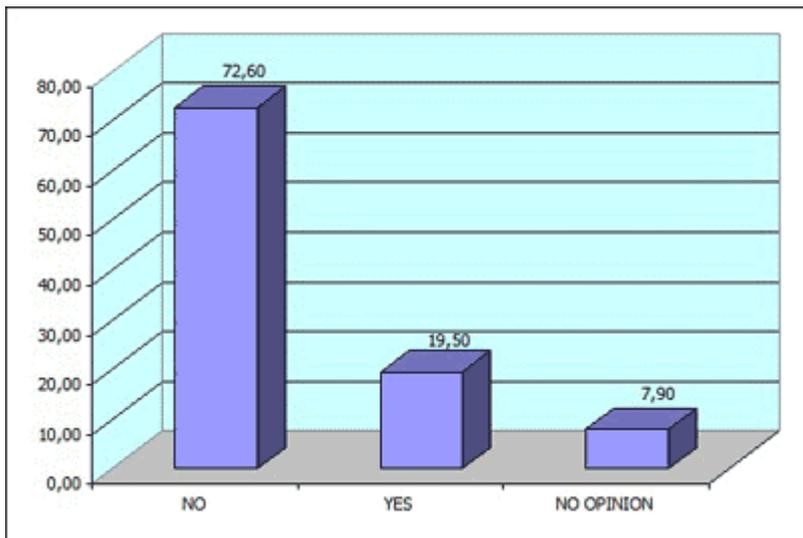
- The sample: random, three-stage
- Size of the sample: 1011 respondents (male and female citizens of lawful age)
- Methodology: telephone survey
- Period: June 7 to June 9, 2004
- Degree of reliability: 95%
- Control: per 10% specimens
- Standard deviation +/- 3
- Territory: the Republic of Srpska

Would you vote for the present opposition if the opposition parties had a disunited approach?

NO ~ 72.60%

YES ~ 19.50%

NO OPINION ~ 7.90%



The citizens of the Republic of Srpska expect the opposition parties to offer concrete programmes for effective organisation of local administration which should carry out its functions to the benefit of the citizens and whose primary goal should be to reduce poverty and increase economic growth.

The current political situation in Bosnia and Herzegovina is confusing and marked by severe confrontations of politicians in the public.

Data on the sample:

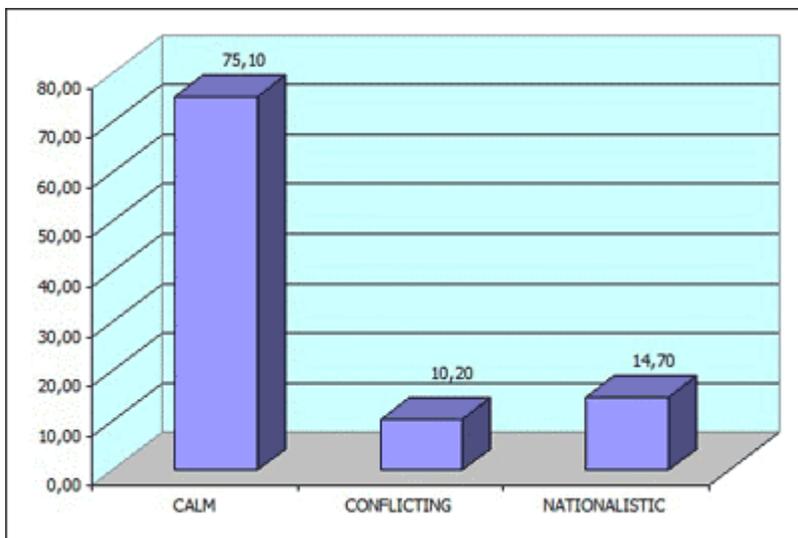
- The sample: random, three-stage
- Size of the sample: 2108 respondents (male and female citizens of lawful age)
- Methodology: telephone survey
- Period: June 7 to June 9, 2004
- Degree of reliability: 95%
- Control: per 10% specimens
- Standard deviation +/- 3
- Territory: Bosnia and Herzegovina (Federation of BiH, Republic of Srpska, Brcko District)

What type of politicians do the citizens of Bosnia and Herzegovina want to be present at the political scene?

CALM ~ 75.10%

CONFLICTING ~ 10.20%

NATIONALISTIC ~ 14.70%



Data on the sample:

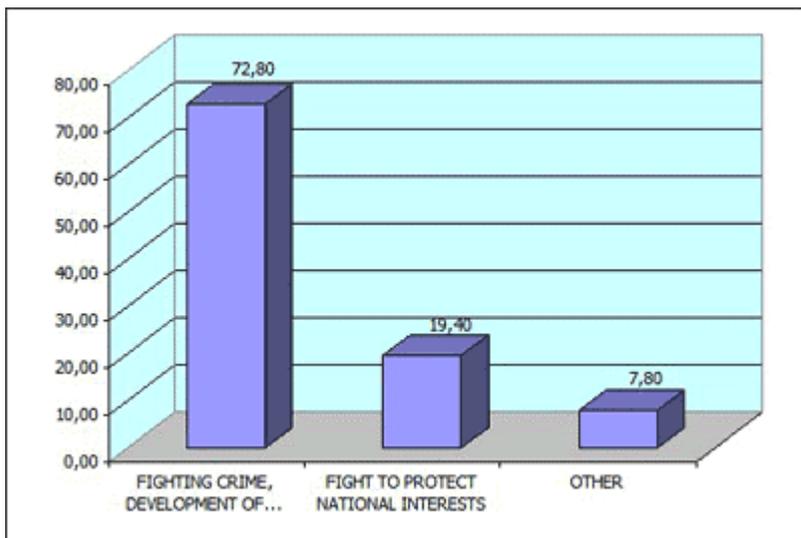
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- Period: June 7 to June 9, 2004
- Degree of reliability: 95%
- Control: per 10% specimens
- Standard deviation +/- 3
- Territory: Bosnia and Herzegovina (Federation of BiH, Republic of Srpska, Brcko District)

If the opposition took over the power at the forthcoming elections, what would you put on the list of priorities of the new government?

FIGHTING CRIME, DEVELOPMENT OF ECONOMY, SECURITY ~ 72.80%

FIGHT TO PROTECT NATIONAL INTERESTS ~ 19.40%

OTHER ~ 7.80%



The IFIMES International Institute has learnt from international diplomatic sources that if Bosnia and Herzegovina is not admitted to »Partnership for Peace« programme at the NATO summit in Istanbul at the end of June 2004, the international community will seriously consider dissolving the partnership with the present leadership in Bosnia and Herzegovina and influencing the ordering of early parliamentary elections.

ARE THE NATIONAL PARTIES IN BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA COMING TO AN END?

The International Institute for Middle-East and Balkan Studies (IFIMES) in Ljubljana, Slovenia, constantly analyses events in the Middle East and the Balkans. IFIMES has prepared an analysis of the current political situation in Bosnia and Herzegovina on the occasion of the decision taken by the High Representative for Bosnia and Herzegovina, Lord Paddy Ashdown, to replace 59 influential politicians and individuals in the Republic of Srpska. The most important and interesting sections of the comprehensive analysis are given below:

The decision of the High Representative for Bosnia and Herzegovina, Lord Paddy Ashdown, to replace 59 influential politicians and individuals in the Republic of Srpska (RS), mostly members of SDS (Serbian Democratic Party) and partly members of PDP (Party of Democratic Progress), has suddenly led to a complex political situation in RS and BiH. Thus, for the first time after the 2002 general elections, the existence of the current coalition power (SDS, PDP, SDA - Party of Democratic Action) in RS and of the joint bodies at the level of the state of BiH has been jeopardised seriously.

The reason for the recent decisions of the High Representative for BiH was the inability of the authorities in RS led by SDS to find the best solutions for the social problems which have been open for long years, such as the economic and social restoration through adequate reforms, non-cooperation with the international tribunal for war crimes in the Hague and the failure to ensure closer relations of RS and consequently of BiH with the world due to which BiH was and still is far from the key international associations such as: EU, NATO, WTO and others. A high percentage of unemployment as well as corruption, which has become a way of living in RS, are closely connected with the holders of the most important functions and institutions in RS. Due to long years of leadership and complete influence of SDS on the social flows in RS, this entity has changed into a political community, which is controlled from top to bottom by a group of a few tens of people. That group undoubtedly comprises those replaced by the High Representative who had exercised power over the whole structure of government and economy for long years through their functions in the entity or municipalities (the government functioned as a »limited liability company - Ltd«) according to the mafia principles and in a way typical of SDS and PDP. The Federation of BiH is controlled with identical methods by SDA, HDZ (Croatian Democratic Union) and partly by

Party for BiH (SzBiH). They managed to gain absolute control over the whole territory of BiH, changing BiH into a testing ground for the demonstration of classical mafia regime.

This situation led to the emergence of a category representing 2-3% of the whole population in BiH in which there are outstandingly wealthy people whose capital was generated with the empowerment of the national parties in 1990. That category of people strove and succeeded to control the other 97% of the population keeping them in the position of increasing poverty and isolation from the developed democratic world. Those criminal structures were actually the main financiers of national parties (SDS, HDZ and SDA) and their partners (satellites), PDP and SzBiH.

The IFIMES International Institute believes that by his decision to replace 59 influential politicians and individuals in RS, the High Representative has shown resoluteness. He is the first High Representative who understood the essence of the relations in BiH and by targeting the political mafia structure he showed that the only option for BiH and the way to its salvage from the long years of political and economic agony is the decisive handling of the mafia structure which has been in power in BiH since 1990 and which is equally present in the three national parties and in the three nations. The decision of the High Representative will not be fully effective if it remains oriented only towards SDS since the national parties function according to the chain principle. The action of the High Representative will only be reasonable if it equally affects the HDZ, SDA and SzBiH parties since in that way justice would be served and it would be made clear that the mafia nationalistic structures created by the politics of the national parties are identified as the most responsible for the slow progress and development of the new society in BiH. If the sanctions were only targeted at SDS they would turn the latter into a victim in the eyes of the Serbian nation. This would lead to the homogenising of the Serbs in the SDS politics and, consequently, to the accelerated homogenising of the Bosniaks in SDS and the Croats in HDZ. Bosnia and Herzegovina would remain in the vicious circle of mafia, crime and corruption, far from the modern and democratic world, towards which all the countries in the region (Serbia and Montenegro, Croatia) are turning except BiH. Thus, all the endeavour of the international community to reform the society of Bosnia and Herzegovina as well as the time and money spent to that end would be in vain and the credibility of the international politics in other crisis regions of the world would decrease.

Data on the sample:

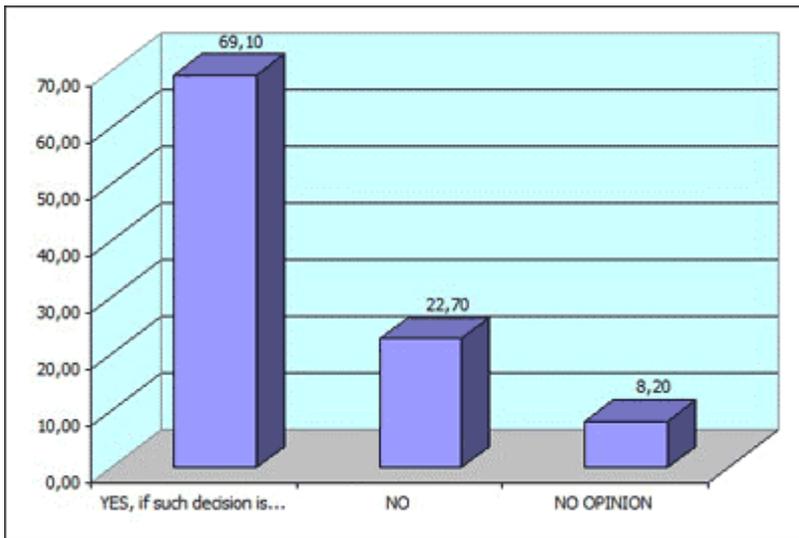
- The sample: random, three-stage
- Size of the sample: 984 respondents (male and female citizens of lawful age)
- Methodology: telephone survey
- Period: July 7 to 9, 2004
- Degree of reliability: 95%
- Control: per 10% specimens
- Standard deviation: +/- 3
- Territory: the Republic of Srpska

Do you support the decision of the High Representative for BiH, Lord Paddy Ashdown, to replace 59 influential politicians and individuals in the Republic of Srpska?

YES, if such decision is also made for individuals from SDA, HDZ and SzBiH ~ 69.10%

NO ~ 22.70%

NO OPINION ~ 8.20%



The fact that the reactions in RS were not so strong as might have been expected could be understood and the silent support of the citizens towards the decisions of the High Representative in BiH and at the same time as hope that he would not stop at that decision, since those who were replaced represented in many communities the reign of terror and absolute control over the political and economic

flows. Citizens' agreement with the sanctions announced against SDS and PDP clearly shows that the people are fed up with those parties and with the politics which has held them for years in the position of extreme poverty, isolation from the rest of the world and constant feeling of guilt for all the bad that had happened in BiH in the recent past.

That is why the citizens feel the need for new politics which would present the real problems in BiH to the world in an objective way and at the same time find the best methods for resolving the economic, social and political crisis. The only alternative to the present politics in RS and BiH can be the progressive and democratic forces, which are at the moment registered in the political left wing comprising SNSD and SP (Socialist Party) in the Republic of Srpska and SDP in the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina, or the emergence of the new («unexploited») political options and individuals.

The IFIMES International Institute believes that the leader of SNSD (Union of Independent Social Democrats) Milorad Dodik is an important political personality in the democratic changes. However, his tendency towards the rhetoric of the national parties in order to attract the voters of SDS would be a wrong approach which would cause the maintenance and emergence of national tensions in the society of BiH. Dodik's SNSD appears to be a liberal party which protects the interests of capital in the hands of the minor part of his party structure, while the citizens expect the left parties to realise the interests and needs of socially most endangered social categories, primarily workers with low income and the unemployed. The problem of endangered categories of the population in RS is best defined in the programme of SP, however, at the moment this party is not able to initiate profound social changes without stronger co-operation of the left-sided political groupations. That is why it is of vital importance to establish co-operation between SNSD and SP in which SNSD would assume greater responsibility by developing and attracting voters without using national rhetoric. SNSD should not become a sophisticated version of SDS, since there are rumours that Milorad Dodik wishes to create a new pact (partnership) through a direct connection with Dragan Cavic, who took over the leadership of SDS, which would at this moment provide a special form of protection to the endangered and stirred mafia lobby. This would mean the preserving of the same politics against which the High Representative for BiH has taken the decisions. Milorad Dodik would thus let down the opposition and disappoint the citizens which support him at the moment and expect all the opposition parties to act jointly in order to bring about the changes which would lead BiH out of the circle of undeveloped countries without any prospects for the future.

Data on the sample:

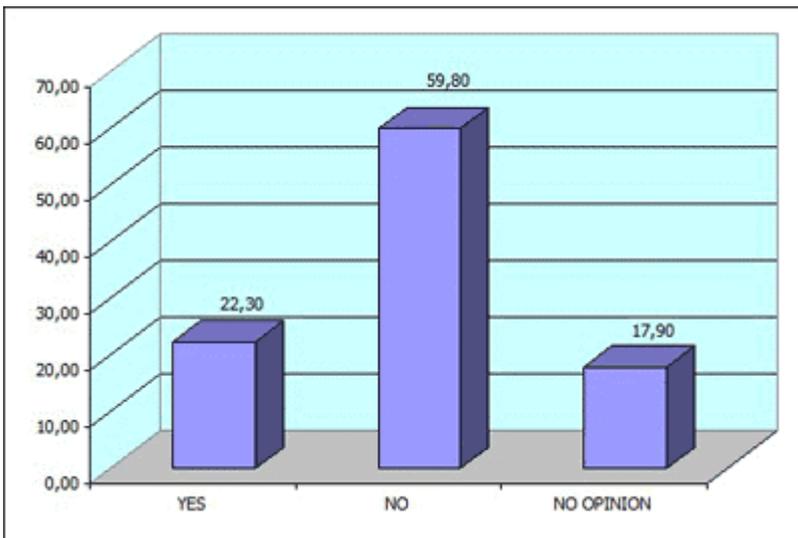
- The sample: random, three-stage
- Size of the sample: 984 respondents (male and female citizens of lawful age)
- Methodology: telephone survey
- Period: July 7 to 9, 2004
- Degree of reliability: 95%
- Control: per 10% specimens
- Standard deviation: +/- 3
- Territory: the Republic of Srpska

Do you support the new partnership at the political scene in RS between Milorad Dodik (SNSD) and Dragan Čavić (SDS)?

YES ~ 22.30%

NO ~ 59.80%

NO OPINION ~ 17.90%



Data on the sample:

- The sample: random, three-stage
- Size of the sample: 984 respondents (male and female citizens of lawful age)
- Methodology: telephone survey
- Period: July 7 to 9, 2004
- Degree of reliability: 95%

- Control: per 10% specimens
- Standard deviation: +/- 3
- Territory: the Republic of Srpska

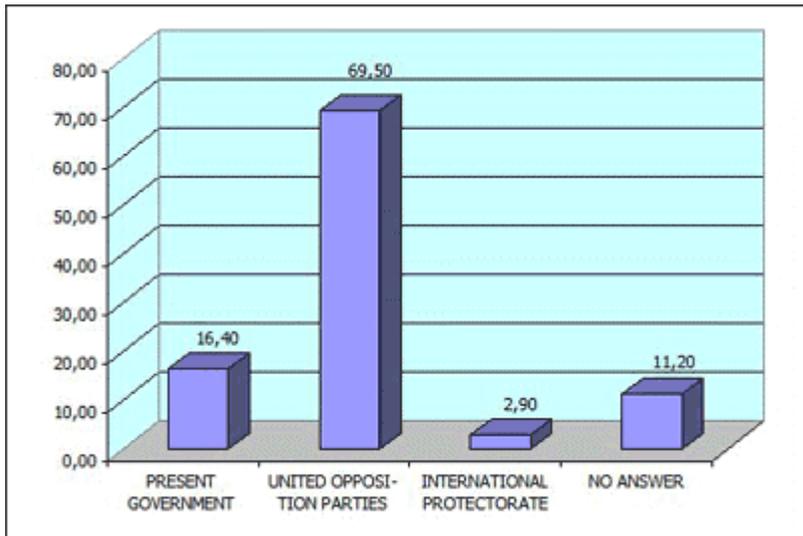
Which of the present political structures can ensure economic development, political stability and recognition of the Republic of Srpska?

PRESENT GOVERNMENT ~ 16.40%

UNITED OPPOSITION PARTIES ~ 69.50%

INTERNATIONAL PROTECTORATE ~ 2.90%

NO ANSWER ~ 11.20%



The IFIMES International Institute believes that the current replacement of 59 influential politicians and individuals in RS shows that the international circles increasingly support the idea that political organising and actions on the national (nationalistic) and religious basis should finally be prohibited in BiH and that the present replacements represent one of the phases on the way towards eventual prohibition of political functioning of the present national parties SDS, SDA and HDZ and their allies. This fact is supported by the information which IFIMES has regarding the replacement of influential individuals from SDA, HDZ and SzBiH.

The IFIMES International Institute is of opinion that the High Representative

should not repeat the mistake made by his predecessor Wolfgang Petrisch, who prior to the 2000 local elections replaced high officials in HDZ but took no similar action against the SDS and SDA officials. This contributed to the regained influence of HDZ in the Croatian voting body and their triumph at the elections.

Data on the sample:

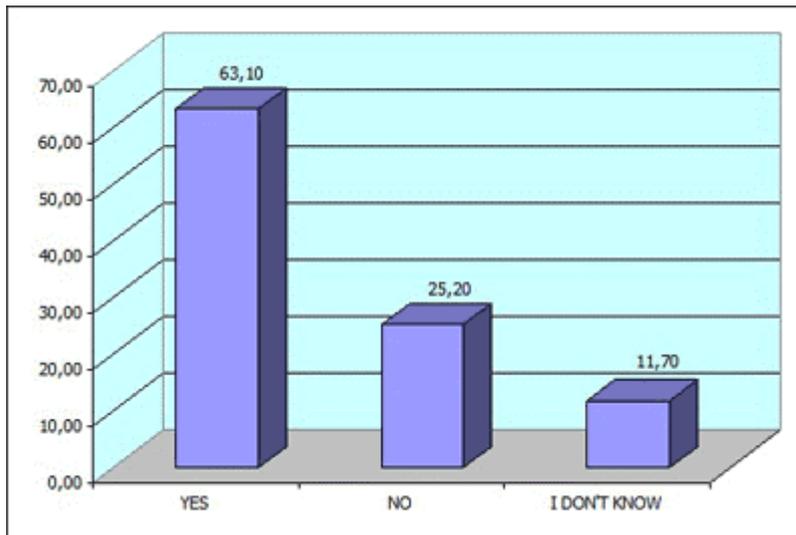
- The sample: random, three-stage
- Size of the sample: 1823 respondents (male and female citizens of lawful age)
- Methodology: telephone survey
- Period: July 7 to 9, 2004
- Degree of reliability: 95%
- Control: per 10% specimens
- Standard deviation: +/- 3
- Territory: Bosnia and Herzegovina (Federation of BiH, Republic of Srpska, Brčko District)

Would the prohibition of national parties in BiH contribute to political changes in BiH and overall normalisation of the situation in the state?

YES ~ 63.10%

NO ~ 25.20%

I DON'T KNOW ~ 11.70%



The IFIMES International Institute believes that in view of the present formation of political relations serious consideration should be given to the prolongation of the announced local elections in BiH in order to prevent additional destabilisation of the state. It would not be appropriate to organise early parliamentary elections since in the present circumstances it would be the nationalists who would undoubtedly triumph.

FOREIGN POLICY CHALLENGES OF THE NEW EU MEMBER STATES

Dr Jožef Kunič, Ambassador

President of the Slovenian Association for International Relations (SDMO)

and member of the IFIMES International Institute

The states which became full members of EU this year and those of them which are already the members of NATO have achieved their two most important foreign policy goals. Nevertheless, this does not mean that no new questions or needs for new goals are emerging. For them time has not stopped.

After joining the EU, the new member states will, in addition to the current day-to-day political issues, face the following strategic questions:

Which groupations to join in the future?

How to co-operate with the EU as such?

What role should each new member state have in the EU common foreign and security policy?

What are the changes in the activities of a new member state towards the EU member states in the field of foreign policy?

What are the changes in the activities of a new member state in the field of foreign policy towards the non-member states?

The question of strategic importance for the new member states is what groupations they should join after being admitted to full membership in EU and NATO. The basic element of national interest is the existence of the state at least within its borders. Today it seems somehow natural for that goal to be already achieved in Europe. However, there were and probably will be periods when this was (is) not the case. During the past century, the territory of the present Slovenia was invaded from all of its borders: the fascist Italy from the west, Hitler's Germany from the north, Hungarian collaborationists from the northwest and finally the Yugoslav Army from the southeast.

An important element of national interest of large states is to preserve and if possible extend their area of interest. Although small states do not place that goal among the elements of their national interest it is very important for them into

which interest area they are or will be placed. They do not have full influence over that placing but they can contribute a lot in order to be placed in the desired interest groupation.

Most of the EU member states have concluded the process of placing or joining the major integrations. However, after these most important integrations are concluded, there are also integrations in the less important groupations which are, nevertheless, important for foreign policy since they point to the direction or preferences of a state. Although Austria and Greece have been EU members for quite some time they have now decided to join the international organisation of Francophonie. Hungary has also filed its candidature for being placed in this integration. The positioning into integrations is an ongoing process through which external political partners are found. No state which has joined the EU and NATO has not consequently resolved its other foreign policy goals at least as regards the placing into integrations. It is either closer to the Central European regional partnership, or closer to the Balkan integrations (Stability Pact), or to the integrations related to the so called »Old Europe«, such as the Francophonie. There will be, of course, ad hoc coalitions set up for all important issues, nevertheless, some institutionalised integrations represent the framework for a more or less sound coalition and at the same time show where the placements of states are most probable. It should be stressed that the phrase »we will choose the coalitions as we go along« is partly realistic and partly merely an excuse since the external policy has adopted no position on the already institutionalised integrations. Joining the EU and NATO does not mean the end of history. After the main parts of the dress are sewn together work still has to be done on the fine filigree parts which is precise and long lasting but it gives the final look to the dress: fine or trashy, beautiful or repellent or simply imperceptibly »grey«.

It is good that the new continental member states in EU are also members of NATO. But within both NATO and EU they still have to profile their foreign policies into more detail. With filigree precision they have to choose other groupations where they are or will be very active members, merely members or where they are not or will not belong. Real life is surely not ad hoc.

The second strategic goal which the new EU member states will have to define is the manner of co-operating with the EU as such. This does not concern the organisational element of co-operation which is, though not an unimportant issue, not a strategic orientation of a state. An important question is what kind of EU a state would like to have and how to act so that its wishes would be met as far as possible. There are actually two alternatives and of course a whole range of possibilities between them. France, the most eminent representative of the so called »Old Europe«, obviously wants a multipolar world in which EU would become one of the world poles. »A multipolar world is the code for a political conflict over

influence« said Zbigniew Brzezinski for *Le Monde* (13 July 2004). The aim or the idea is to gradually achieve maximal defence independence from the USA and become an important political actor on the world chessboard.

Yet another view of the future is that of co-operation with the USA in which the EU would not aim at forming another world pole but form together with the USA a strong political, economic and military pole which would be, if not the only, definitely the most dominant one. It seems that Great Britain adheres to that direction.

Upon entering the EU, the new member states clearly showed that they had not resolved this strategic question. The Iraqi crisis was only one of the manifestations of their undefined orientations. It is not only the declarations but also acts that have to be defined: whether to co-operate in military conflicts in Iraq or to participate only in peace missions in the field of education, whether it is more important to co-operate within NATO or within the EU forces, whether to support the French-German or British position in case of certain issues, especially regarding the structure of a more tightly connected or a more loose EU. They can not hide their heads in sand for ever. All the new member states are aware of the immense importance the USA have, but they have joined the EU in which until recently it was France and the Federal Republic of Germany that represented the »engine«. These issues do not only concern the structure of EU but also a series of completely practical questions such as genetically modified food, the attitude towards energy use, the Kyoto Agreement on environment, the International Criminal Court in Rome, the joint or separate satellite positioning system (GPS - Galileo), the positions on resolving world crises, etc.

The strategic question to which each new member state will have to find its own answer is what role it will have in the common EU foreign and security policy. In comparison with some old member states all the new member states (except Poland) are small and economically weak and accordingly have only minor international influence. It would surely not be prudent if only a few big states had complete influence over the common foreign and security policy on behalf of all the small and economically weaker states. Often we can read between the lines that some large European states would like that kind of situation but none of the small states would probably want that kind of Europe. The large states are obviously aware of that and therefore do not prevent any state from contributing to the common EU foreign policy. It is up to the states to determine (choose) which are the fields to which they can actually contribute and afterwards they have to deal with those fields actively and in depth.

It is known that Great Britain has a dominant role in the region of its former colonies, France in the region of the Francophone states and Spain in the region of the Hispanophone states. But what are the fields of foreign policy or regions where

Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia, Poland, Hungary, Czech Republic, Slovakia, Slovenia, Cyprus and Malta would play their role? Each of the new member states will strive to actively participate in the common foreign and security policy and thus contribute to its recognition in the world. Being relatively small states they will not be able to actively and credibly take part in all the fields, so they will have to look for their niches. Perhaps the states in the east of EU will intensively work on the relations with the eastern EU neighbouring states, the Baltic states will decide to co-operate with Russia and Slovenia will orient towards the West Balkans?

In the period before the fall of the Berlin wall the strategic foreign political orientations were as a rule led outside those states. Thus, the strategic foreign policy decisions of the members of the Warsaw Agreement were watched over by Moscow. In case of the newly emerged states of Slovakia and Slovenia the centres of decision making also used to be outside the two states. At that time the politicians of those states talked a lot about foreign political issues and were quite active at the oral level but in reality they merely followed the foreign political orientations they were given.

The fact that the minor day-to-day as well as more important foreign policy decisions have to remain in the framework of a certain strategy which is firmly rooted in the whole machine is something new for these states where such strategic framework does not exist yet and where decisions are taken without a long-term and firm framework. Thus, for example, a state sends its soldiers to Iraq, buys non-European strike aircraft and when the situation gets too serious calls back its soldiers from Iraq. When we examine in detail a series of decisions taken by a new member state we can see that there is simply no clear strategic framework. On the other hand, when we examine a series of decisions in one of the older member states with a longer history of democracy, whether it is Italy, Great Britain, France or Germany, we may find a lot of internal political clashes, replacements of governments and important politicians, but the foreign political decisions are always within a certain strategically designed framework which is visible to a careful observer.

Another reason for the lack of long-term foreign political strategy is young democracy. The goal of every party is to win the elections and maintain the power mainly through relatively short-term measures. Most of the newly emerged leaders have not realised the fact that in the course of time the long-term strategic orientations will become much more important. However, the voters have started to notice that the parties only strive for the measures which ensure immediate effects and are becoming dissatisfied with more or less most parties. They have realised that the parties »only care about the power and not about the state«, i.e. that they do not adhere to the long-term strategic goals.

The new member states will not be able only to talk about focusing on certain

foreign policy niche but will actually have to put their words into long-term actions. Only this will bring them long-term trust of the big member states into their proposals on only then they will actually have influence on the area in which they will decide to operate within the common foreign and security policy.

The fourth strategic question is how to carry out foreign policy towards the EU member states. Some expressed the opinion that there will simply be no foreign policy within the community of the EU member states since most of the problems will be resolved at the level of Brussels. In my opinion that will not at all be the case. If we meet someone only from time to time and have no problems with them, there is no need for a mechanism for solving problems. But if we are constantly sharing the same flat, the problems will emerge and they will have to be prevented in advance or resolved. This also applies to the states which have become members of the EU family. The new member states should intensify bilateral co-operation with the member states and not reduce it.

It is of course important who are those who have the decisive influence on the basic orientations of the policy in European states with young democracy. Since the foreign policy is an extension of internal policy this question is important also for the foreign policy of the new EU member states. Practically in all the states which moved from the communist regime into democracy, the civil society was the driving force of transition into the new system - not only the intellectuals, although their contribution was important, but also other groups of population. Especially the workers played a decisive role in some cases, as was the case in Gdansk. After the democratic systems were established, many players entered various newly emerged parties and moved from the civil sphere into the politics (Vaclav Havel in the Czech Republic). Some eminent representatives of civil societies, nevertheless, did not follow that process and remained in seclusion. However, the new parties mainly strove for the short-term election results and the leaders often wanted to remain in power even to the detriment of their parties. Consequently, many parties lost their reputation and the trust of the public while very few new parties have emerged which people could trust. In this atmosphere conditions were created for the emergence of new civil movements which remind of the civil movements before the fall of communism. The official parties have the legitimate power, they adopt and implement the laws and other provisions supported by the repressive mechanism and judicial power, but they have no trust, ideas nor reputation. The new groupations of the civil society on the other hand have the ideas, reputation and relatively large support of the public but they have no formal power supported by appropriate repressive and judicial system. However, they do have a large influence on the formal politics, which is of essential importance. This has led to an interesting situation in which the politics use the civil society and form a more or less open relationship with it, while the civil society is not the critic or conscience

of politics but its constituent element - an element of that orientation with which it integrates. The direction into which foreign policies in the new EU or NATO member states will develop perhaps depends more on the new civil associations than on the parties which have the formal power and were elected by the voters. In the countries with old democracy this phenomenon is practically not present. If we want to find out into what direction the foreign policy will develop in the new EU states where the democracy emerged only less than fifteen years ago it is not enough to talk to the official authorities. It is more important to examine (also) other levels of society.

The fifth strategic question with which the new member states will have to deal is what the changes in the foreign policy towards the non-member states are. Will the manner of exercising foreign policy towards the non-member states change upon entering the EU? Perhaps it will change, but not essentially. The enlargement of EU is based both on economic and political interests. However, it is not in the interest of the old EU member states to resolve the problems the new member states have with the non-member states. It is certainly possible that a problem a new member state has with a non-member state turns into a European problem, but there will not be many such cases. It was often stated in the new member states before they became members of EU that after they enter the EU a problem with their neighbouring country will become a problem of the whole EU and will therefore be resolved much more easily. However, in most cases the reality does not confirm that thesis. The EU will certainly help all member states to resolve the problems with the non-member states, but the states will have to resolve the majority of problems on their own (Slovenia - Croatia). They should adhere to the principle: »Help yourself and EU will help you!«.

The states which became members of EU and NATO this year have achieved their two major foreign policy goals. However, as stated above, this does not mean the history has ended. They have to find answers to the above strategic questions and define appropriate strategic goals for their nations' benefit and for the stability of their states. If there is no goal any route can be the right one, but only if the states have goals, the voters will be able to know whether the goals are achieved.

OIL CRISIS: STILL AHEAD OR BEHIND US ALREADY?

The International Institute for Middle-East and Balkan Studies (IFIMES) in Ljubljana, Slovenia, regularly analyses events in the Middle East and the Balkans. IFIMES has analysed the fourth oil crisis and its implications. The most important and interesting sections of the comprehensive analysis are given below:

The growth of oil prices on world markets in August 2004 arouse concerns about the future price movements of this strategic raw material. All the analysts agree on the estimation that oil is a strategic and rare raw material which is going to run out one day and that its price increases with the increase in consumption. The latter is also the first rule in trading with oil as its consumption has been constantly increasing since the Second World War.

After the Second World War, the world has experienced nine recessions and four oil crises (including the present August crisis). The first oil crisis hit the world economy in 1973 during the Arab-Israeli War. For the first time in history the Arab states used oil as a weapon against Israel and exerted serious pressure on the USA and the West with the embargo on the supply of oil. Even one year later the world economy did not manage to recover from the consequences of the one-month embargo in October 1973. The Arabs succeeded in their pressure and the British conservatives lost the elections in 1974. In the USA President Gerald Ford similarly lost the 1976 presidential race against the democratic candidate Jimmy Carter. Oil was fatal also for Carter who lost the 1980 elections against Ronald Reagan after the second oil crisis in 1973-1974 (following the victory of the Islamic Revolution in Iran). The third oil crisis from 1990-1991 after Iraqi occupation of Kuwait was fatal for President Bush Sr. who lost the elections in spite of his military triumph and liberation of Kuwait.

From the above it can be concluded that the oil crises caused political and military conflicts in the Middle East which has more than half of the world oil stock. Uncertain situation in this region was the main reason for the price increase of this raw material. The second factor was the increase of consumption during the past three decades. China has for example recorded constant economic growth and consequently increased consumption of oil. According to official Chinese data the country today uses one million barrels a day more than in 2000 and has become the second main importer of oil following, of course, the USA.

The reasons for oil crisis can be classified into seven points:

UNCERTAIN SITUATION IN THE MIDDLE EAST

Saudi Arabia has been hit by a wave of terrorist attacks against foreign companies in the kingdom. Iran has raised concerns in the west due to the intransparent nuclear programme and its constant threats to attack the Bushehr nuclear power plant expressed towards the USA and Israel. Fortunately, the situation in these two countries has not significantly influenced the price growth in the present crisis.

Iraq, on the other hand, has important psychological influence on the prices. Since 1990, sanctions were imposed upon Iraq which was actually excluded from the OPEC quota system. The Oil-For-Food Programme in 1996 enabled Iraq to export limited amounts of oil for humanitarian causes under the UNO control. Before the American occupation of Iraq on 9 April 2003, the Iraqi opposition leaders in their five-year plan planned the export of 3 million barrels a day. According to that plan, Iraq would export 6 - 8 million barrels a day till 2010. However, those economic estimations were not realistic as the aggravation of the military and security situations due to strong resistance throughout the state was not envisaged. The Kirkuk-Cehan north pipeline (800,000 barrels/day) practically does not operate and is the constant target of attacks. Two south pipelines (2 million barrels/day) were also targets of sabotage. Thus the country exports at best one million barrels a day.

The analysts of the IFIMES International Institute are of the opinion that in the next two years we can not rely on the Iraqi oil due to the following reasons:

Uncertain military situation: the replacement of American occupational forces with the UNO or NATO forces has not become an alternative yet. As long as the American forces are present in the central Sunnite and south Shiite part of Iraq, resistance will continue and the oil infrastructure will be sabotaged.

Uncertain political situation in the state: The transitional government still has limited control of the whole territory of the state. With the coming elections in 2005 the political fight will increase and will probably not remain at the political level but be aggravated also with armed clashes among various fractions and party militias. We should not forget the unresolved status of the city of Kirkuk with 5% of world oil stock, which represents the object of desire for the Arabs, Kurds and Turkmen.

Due to a decade of sanctions and two devastating wars in 1991 and 2003, the dated Iraqi oil industry is not capable of continuing production of the desired volumes of oil. The experts of the IFIMES International Institute estimate that during the next 24 months it is not expected for Iraqi production to influence significantly the price but it can influence psychologically the traders as the object of speculation at the stock exchange in oil.

CHINESE CONSUMPTION

China has become the second largest oil importing state following the USA. Chinese economy has the fastest growth in the world which was 20% in 2003. From January till July 2004 China exported 2.49 million barrels a day which is 39.5% more than in 2003. Some oil exporting countries are already calculating the future Chinese consumption and according to some estimations it will exceed 12 million barrels a day till 2020. Kuwait is the major investor into Chinese oil companies and will construct two refineries in China. Today, the Chinese-Kuwait petrochemical co-investment exceeds 8 billion dollars. The major part of Chinese oil imports comes from Russia. It is the Russia's second largest giant »Yukos« that supplies the oil corporations »China National Petroleum Corp.« and »Sinopec Group«.

THE CRISIS OF AMERICAN OIL INDUSTRY

With almost 10 million barrels a day the USA definitely is the most import-dependent country in the world. American economy and politics are tightly related to this raw material and very quickly react to every crisis on the oil markets. Oil has been an important material for American elections for the past three decades. At the coming November elections, oil will surely be the main trump card of both presidential candidates. President Bush would like the price to fall to \$ 25.30 per barrel before the elections. He relies on the assurance of the Saudi royal dynasty that the Saudis will influence the reduction of prices with excessive production. Saudi Arabia has already reacted to this crisis and announced an increase in production by 1.3 million barrels a day so that now it produces over 10.5 million barrels a day while its quota within OPEC is 8.6 million barrels a day. On the other hand, the democratic candidate John Kerry connected the war against terrorism and oil. In his opinion the state is at war with terrorism and terrorism is in the Middle East where there is the oil which is of essential importance for the national security. Senator Kerry will therefore regard oil as the main element of his election campaign. The second reason for the American oil crisis is the shortage of American refinery capacities. The Americans have not built any new refineries for the past 25 years since their traders import derivatives rather than crude oil.

SPECULATIONS

The world stock exchanges, especially in America, react quickly to every change or crisis - whether political or military - in the world. Stock exchanges are ideal for the speculators who speculate not only in present contracts but also in contracts postponed for 2 months ahead. The USA have no real or effective instrument to

soothe the situation at stock exchanges and markets. For the first time in history, President Bill Clinton interfered in a minor crisis in 2000 when the prices rocketed from merely 9 dollars to more than 30 dollars in 1999. In September 2000 he placed 30 million barrels on the market from the national strategic reserves. However, the President's action was utterly inefficient and even meant a violation of the law stipulating the use of reserves only when the national security is jeopardised. American oil companies misused the oil from strategic reserves for speculation purposes and later on agreed under the pressure of the Congress and the court in an out-of-court settlement to return the oil to the national reserves. We should not forget the negative role of the International Energy Agency (IEA) in the formation of dark scenarios and psychosis on oil markets. In the period of 3 months it drastically changed its forecast three times. In its last analysis IEA forecasted the movement of production and consumption until 2030. Bearing in mind that the Agency has changed its forecasts three times in only 3 months it is questionable how realistic those analyses are for such a long period. The IFIMES International Institute is of the opinion that some IEA analysts support the stock exchange speculators and additionally hinder the calming of the situation on the world market.

THE ROLE OF OPEC

In the past the Organisation of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC), which unites 11 oil exporting countries, had a much stronger influence on the world prices of crude oil. During the period of cold war the contrasts between the east and the west sometimes reflected also among the members. Today the main producers in this organisation, Saudi Arabia and Iran, closely co-operate with the other producers in the cartel. OPEC drew the bottom and top price limits between 18 and 25 dollars per barrel a few years ago. On the basis of a quota system OPEC should export 26.5 million barrels a day but in the present crisis it produces over 30 million barrels of oil a day. Although this organisation used to be accused by the west and the third world of increasing the price of oil, today they all share the opinion that it works in a constructive way and it has been recognised even by the major critic, the USA. American Vice President Dick Cheney said on 10 August 2004 that today they co-operate with OPEC and that they can not accuse it of causing the present crisis. He said that the present crisis stems from the situation in the American refineries which have insufficient capacities. Today OPEC closely co-operates with the producer countries outside the cartel, such as Oman, Mexico and Norway which have increased their production by 3 million barrels a day.

THE CRISIS OF RUSSIAN OIL INDUSTRY

The Russian Federation is the second largest exporter of oil following Saudi Arabia. The Russian export has been constantly oscillating. From 1987 to 1999 export halved from 519 million tons to 306 million tons a day. From 1999 to 2002 Russia increased its oil production to 421 million tons a day and its present export exceeds 9.3 million barrels a day. The analysts of the IFIMES International Institute believe that the increase of Russian import depends mainly on the Russian politics. The question is whether Kremlin will interfere in this industrial sector and whether the Russian oil industry will become the object of settlement among the Russian elite. Regrettably, the difficulties experienced by the Russian giant »Yukos« which exports 1.7 million barrels a day confirm those concerns.

The state of Russia interferes in all Russian oil companies through the Russian para-state oil company »Transneft«. In December 2003, Russian President Vladimir Putin said in his political speech that we should stop trading with the natural resources as if we were in a bazaar. The analysts have announced that Kremlin is going to nationalise some Russian companies due to political reasons. Those analyses were quite correct which is also clear from the difficulties experienced by »Yukos« which has to sell the majority of its assets to the Russian state or to the interested American companies in order to pay its tax arrears. The second problem of Russian export arises from the insufficient capacities of Russian pipelines. The development of pipelines is uncertain since the only pipeline concessionaire (para-state company »Transneft«) has no financial capabilities. Although »Transneft« has increased the capacities of the north (Baltic) pipeline linked to north Europe to 50 million tons per day, the Black Sea pipeline which is still the primary pipeline is not included in the development plan due to problems with the Bosphorus Strait. The realisation of the pipeline projects Murmansk - the Pacific in which the USA is interested and East Siberia - Asia in which Japan and China are interested has not been foreseen yet.

POLITICAL CRISIS IN VENEZUELA

The IFIMES International Institute believes that the situation in Venezuela will remain uncertain until President Hugo Chafez's term of office expires in December 2006. Venezuela is the fifth largest exporting country within OPEC. It exports more than 1.7 million barrels a day and can have a significant influence on the prices in the USA which exports 15% of oil from Venezuela.

The IFIMES International Institute points out that the price of oil has been increasing since the economic crisis in 1997-1998. The growth in the world economy, especially in America and Asia, has brought about an increase in the consumption

of energy products including oil. All factors indicate that the demand for oil will continue to increase in this decade and that the classic methods of controlling the price of oil will not be efficient. The price of oil must be formed on the basis of the market model of supply and demand. The growth of oil price is also the reaction to the growth in the world trade. Thus the American economy has been reporting constant growth for five years. In the past, such growth led to an increase in production and a decrease in the need for labour force while the present (economic) growth has caused an increase in the need for labour force parallel to the growth in production. The question is whether the world economy is ready to survive the globalisation crises such as the oil crisis?

THE REPUBLIC OF SRPSKA DIVIDED BY DODIK AND CAVIC?

The International Institute for Middle-East and Balkan Studies (IFIMES) in Ljubljana, Slovenia, constantly analyses events in the Middle East and the Balkans. IFIMES has prepared an analysis of the current political situation in Bosnia and Herzegovina in view of the local elections to be held on 2 October 2004. The most important and interesting sections of the comprehensive analysis are given below.

The IFIMES International Institute has recently been expressing concerns regarding the increasingly complicated political situation in BiH (Bosnia and Herzegovina) in view of the coming local elections on 2 October 2004, which has been continually aggravated through the actions of the national (nationalistic) parties in BiH: SDA (Party of Democratic Action), SDS (Serbian Democratic Party), HDZ (Croatian Democratic Union) and their satellite parties: PDP (Party of Democratic Progress) and SzBiH (Party for BiH), and lately also the important opposition party - SNSD (Union of Independent Social Democrats) with its leader Milorad Dodik. The national parties, which have been reigning over BiH for almost 14 years, have not managed to find the answers to the open transitional questions which have been present in the society of BiH since the beginning of 1990s. For all these years, BiH has not managed to establish a quality state structure which could ensure its longevity, economic development and political stability. Instead, the results of the policy of those parties are: a brutal war, hundreds of thousands of killed, disabled and distressed, destroyed material goods worth several billion dollars, grievous position of pensioners, a high degree of unemployment and deep-rooted national division of the citizens. Moreover, the state is isolated from the world and lags behind in every respect due to which BiH has become one of the least developed regions in Europe. While preserving the power at the level of entities and the state, the same political forces are struggling for power also in the local communities.

According to the IFIMES International Institute this is a worrying fact for BiH. It was expected that the citizens of BiH would have realised earlier the perniciousness of the natiocratic regime and refuse to support them at the elections, opting rather for the leadership of the democratic and progressive political forces.

This could have been quite a realistic option, especially in the Republic of Srpska, when the »Charter on the Future« was signed for the three major opposition parties (SNSD, SP - Socialist Party and DNS - Democratic National Union). However, SNSD leader Milorad Dodik has reduced that possibility after he came to terms with the present President-in-Office of SDS and President of the Republic of Srpska Dragan Cavic in order to prepare his party for the post-election coali-

tion with SDS in a large number of municipalities in the Republic of Srpska. However, the only correct action for SNSD would be close co-operation between the present opposition parties: SNSD, SP and DNS. With high hopes, the citizens expected this coalition to be formed as that would mean that RS finally realised that the past is behind and that SDS policy was defeated. At the same time it would help the Republic of Srpska to withdraw from the coalition and to win the understanding and support of the international community. The responsibility for failing to meet those expectations of the citizens is to be attributed to the utmost irresponsible acts of SNSD leader Milorad Dodik who has opened the door widely to co-operation with SDS.

Data on the sample:

- The sample: random, three-stage
- Size of the sample: 884 respondents (male and female citizens of lawful age)
- Methodology: telephone survey
- Period: 2 September 2004
- Degree of reliability: 95%
- Control: per 10% specimens
- Standard deviation +/-3
- Territory: the Republic of Srpska

Who is responsible for the lack of unity on the part of the opposition in the Republic of Srpska just before the local elections are to take place (2nd october 2004)?

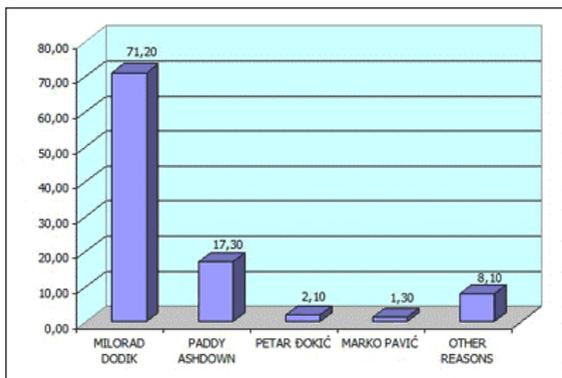
MILORAD DODIK ~ 71,20%

PADDY ASHDOWN ~ 17,30%

PETAR ĐOKIĆ ~ 2,10%

MARKO PAVIĆ ~ 1,30%

OTHER REASONS ~ 8,10%



The secret agreement between Milorad Dodik and Dragan Cavic concluded in view of the forthcoming local elections indicates a desire to divide the Republic of Srpska into the east and the west part whereby the west part would be dominated by SNSD and the east part by SDS. This would be a fatal combination representing the beginning of a deep political crisis in the Republic of Srpska and its weakening until its complete disappearance.

After replacing a number of criminal cadres in SDS and PDP, President of the Republic of Srpska Dragan Cavic became President-in-Office of SDS but in fact he enjoys no authority nor confidence among the SDS members because of his former membership in the Socialist Party (1994-1997) and his role in the recent replacement of 59 politicians and influential individuals from SDS and PDP. During those replacements Dragan Cavic eliminated his main political competitor Dragan Kalinic and took over the leadership of SDS. At the last elections Dragan Cavic suffered a crushing defeat in the municipality where he lives (Banja Luka, Laus).

According to the forecasts of the IFIMES International Institute, the national parties will, together with their satellite parties PDP and SzBiH, carry out some actions in order to arouse fear among the voting body and thus divide them so that they vote for their respective national parties. This is furthered by the initiative of Sulejman Tihic, President of the Presidency of BiH, to review the constitutionality of the name of the Republic of Srpska. Typically, Sulejman Tihic has been receiving threatening letters just when he needs to homogenise the voting body of Bosniaks before the elections. By homogenising the Bosniak voting body Tihic is actually homogenising the Serbian and Croatian voting body through the system of linked vessels. The story of a group of terrorists from Brcko who were sent to Vatican in order to assassinate Pope John Pavel II, whom all the nations in BiH respect, was probably produced in the HDZBiH »kitchen« in order to homogenise the Croatian voting body and inflict irreparable damage on the reputation of the state of BiH. Having estimated the whole situation in BiH and surveyed the present opinion of the voting body, the IFIMES International Institute believes that the majority of citizens of BiH are interested in changing the present situation and the government and expect the political parties to offer solutions to the most pressing problems in BiH, i.e. unemployment, crime and corruption, and to build an equal society.

Data on the sample:

- The sample: random, three-stage
- Size of the sample: 884 respondents (male and female citizens of lawful age)
- Methodology: telephone survey
- Period: 2 September 2004

- Degree of reliability: 95%
- Control: per 10% specimens
- Standard deviation +/-3
- Territory: the Republic of Srpska

Who would you vote for if the elections were held today, on 2nd September (on the day of the survey)?

SNSD ~ 17,60%

SDS ~ 15,30%

SP ~ 11,20%

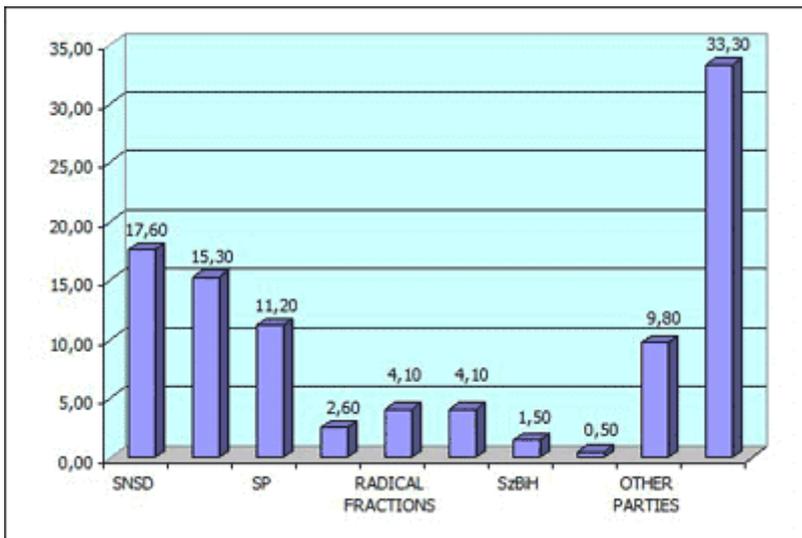
PDP ~ 2,60 %

RADICAL FRACTIONS ~ 4,10%

SDA ~ 4,10% SzBiH ~ 1,50%

NHI ~ 0,50%

OTHER PARTIES ~ 9,80% UNDECIDED ~ 33,30%



Data on the sample:

- The sample: random, three-stage
- Size of the sample: 911 respondents (male and female citizens of lawful age)
- Methodology: telephone survey
- Period: 2 September 2004
- Degree of reliability: 95%

- Control: per 10% specimens
- Standard deviation +/-3
- Territory: Federation of BiH

Who would you vote for if the elections were held today, on 2nd September (on the day of the survey)?

SDA ~ 18,20%

SDP ~ 11,10%

SzBiH ~ 8,20%

HDZ ~ 6,60 %

WITH WORK TO PROSPERITY ~ 2,10%

BOSS ~ 3,00%

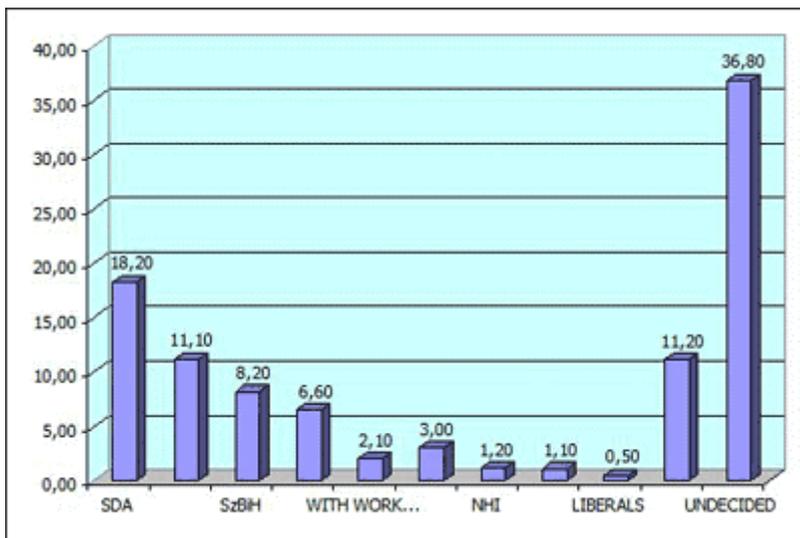
NHI ~ 1,20%

SDU ~ 1,10%

LIBERALS ~ 0,50%

OTHER PARTIES ~ 11,20%

UNDECIDED ~ 36,80%



The results show that in the Republic of Srpska the voters increasingly support SNSD while their support for SDS and PDP has decreased so that PDP, which has most disappointed the voting body with its actions, will have to fight to remain at the threshold level (of 3%). SP has recorded consistency because it

has been paying attention to social justice in an explicit way. The socialists offer solutions for the young, pensioners and unemployed more distinctly than other parties in order to achieve general normalisation of life which places them in the category of moderate parties with good chances of long-term survival on the political scene.

In the Federation of BiH, support to SDA has decreased in comparison with the previous elections among other due to the coalition with SDS and poor results in implementing their policy. SDP's support has increased moderately thanks to its principled policy based on pointing to the weaknesses of the leading national parties. SzBiH has been carrying out a self-interested policy paying attention mainly to the economic interests of its party elite. With the actions taken so far, HDZ has nothing to offer to its voters but the »exclusivity« in the protection of national interests – its main supporter is the leading HDZ in Croatia. PDP and SzBiH represent the third political block by power in BiH. They are led by their interests and function in accordance with similar principles as G17+ in the neighbouring Serbia.

The IFIMES International Institute believes that the High Representative for BiH Lord Paddy Ashdown will finally deal with the national parties in order to preserve the state of BiH and fulfil the announcement of OHR and High Representative on accession of BiH to the Euro-Atlantic integrations. A high percentage of undecided voters will stir a fierce pre-election campaign during the final part of the election race for their votes.

IT IS MILORAD DODIK'S MOVE!

The International Institute for Middle-East and Balkan Studies (IFIMES) in Ljubljana, Slovenia, constantly analyses events in the Middle East and the Balkans. Recently IFIMES has prepared an analysis of the current political situation in Bosnia and Herzegovina in view of the forthcoming local elections (Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina, the Republic of Srpska and the Brcko District of Bosnia and Herzegovina) to be held on Saturday, 2 October 2004. The most important and interesting sections of the comprehensive analysis are given below:

The pre-election campaign of political parties is reaching its final phase. The IFIMES International Institute analysts have noted that the campaign was of very specific nature marked by a fierce conflict between the current leading national structures: SDS (Serbian Democratic Party), SDA (Party of Democratic Action), HDZ (Croatian Democratic Union) and their satellite parties PDP (Party of Democratic Progress) and SzBiH (Party for Bosnia and Herzegovina) as well as by the secession of SRS (Serbian Radical Party) and of the opposition parties SNSD (Union of Independent Social Democrats), SP (Socialist Party), DNS (Democratic National Union), SDP (Social Democratic Party), NHI (New Croatian Initiative), characterised by a very sharp rhetoric aimed at complete disqualification of its opponents not sparing any words or means in order to show their differences. Though these features resemble rather a campaign for general elections, these are still only local elections. During this campaign the majority of political parties and especially the leading national parties have once again failed to offer solutions for the promotion of labour and the development of local communities. Thus, they can be merely described as the political groupation which uses the rhetoric of the nationalistic emotional statements to point to the alleged dangers threatening each of the nations. This kind of approach has characterised the period since 1990 till now and has led Bosnia and Herzegovina to retardation and isolation from the developed neighbouring European regions and states. However, it can be noticed that the citizens are sated with this political approach and for the first time after all the previous elections the national parties have been faced with a very small interest on the part of the citizens who participated at their pre-election meetings. On the contrary, the citizens have shown much more interest in the meetings of democratic and progressive opposition parties which offer solutions to the local problems of people throughout Bosnia and Herzegovina.

The IFIMES International Institute believes that the era of national politics in Bosnia and Herzegovina led by the nationalistic parties SDS, SDA and HDZ is on the wane and that the national parties will win much less votes in comparison with the last local elections held in April 2000, mostly due to the constant aggravation of the situation in the municipalities where they reigned, especially in the eastern

towns of the Republic of Srpska, in the Bosnia-Podrinje Canton and in the Cantons of West Bosnia (Unsko Sanski and Livanjski Cantons). The 2000 local elections were marked by the euphoria of the national parties who won the majority of votes. On the other hand, the present elections are, especially in the Republic of Srpska, marked with the increased support for the opposition parties SNSD and SP and in the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina for SDP. A vast number of voters who have been disappointed since the last elections will show their disappointment over the national parties and over the politics conducted by the national parties and their satellites through increased abstention and disinterest exceeding 50% of total appearance at the elections. At the last local elections, the reaffirmation of national parties took place, especially of SDS in the Republic of Srpska due to the undermining of the »Sloga« coalition then led by Milorad Dodik.

At the present elections the opposition parties have appeared jointly in some municipalities of the Republic of Srpska. This act was welcomed by the citizens and will most probably bring good results for the future in those municipalities. The Socialist Party with its realistic and moderate politics guided by the refined feeling for the needs of the citizens contributed to the formation and strengthening of the opposition block. Unfortunately, the Union of Independent Social Democrats leaders were encouraged by large support they received at the last general elections and failed to estimate correctly the importance of a homogenous approach of the opposition at the present elections.

Since there are a few more days before the elections, the IFIMES International Institute is of the opinion that certain possibility still exists that in some municipalities of the Republic of Srpska the opposition forces unite with the candidates for heads of the following municipalities: Mrkonjic Grad, Prijedor, Bijeljina, Lopare, Foca/Srbinje, Nevesinje, Doboje, Bosanski/Srpski Brod, etc. The historical responsibility for this is borne by SNSD leader Milorad Dodik who can make this move in agreement with the other opposition leaders.

The IFIMES International Institute believes that SNSD leader Milorad Dodik is ready to make a more decisive move in view of the local elections and enter into closer co-operation with the »Charter on the Future« parties, especially the Socialist Party whose popularity has recently been constantly increasing. By making this move Milorad Dodik would become an important historical personality who pays attention to the political reality which is necessary for closer co-operation of the progressive democratic political forces in the »Charter on the Future« partnership (SNSD, SP, DNS). However, failure to make this move would mean that he will definitely and permanently destroy the democratic block and start to serve the policy of SDS and other national parties. There is, of course, no political future awaiting the national parties nor those who co-operate with them in any way. Co-operation with SDS, which has lost the most important political battle with the

recent changing of the names of towns with the prefix »Serbian«, represents the beginning of complete abolition of the Republic of Srpska, and Milorad Dodik's collaboration would even speed up such abolition. Co-operation with SDS would lead Milorad Dodik and SNSD to a fiasco at the next parliamentary elections in the Republic of Srpska and Bosnia and Herzegovina.

The IFIMES International Institute has noted that the religious communities in Bosnia and Herzegovina have again entered into active contact with their believers in order to recommend them to support the national parties. This raises contempt among the citizens who have been moving towards the opposition parties for some time and undermines the credibility of religious communities which could contribute significantly to the general normalisation of life in this region. It is paradoxical that religious communities offered almost unreserved support to the national parties which neither returned it nor resolved any questions important for them, such as the return of property to religious communities. The only exception is the Brcko District of BiH where most of the property has been returned to the religious communities. However, for the past four years the Brcko District has been led by SP and SDP.

The speech delivered by the BiH Presidency member Sulejman Tihić at the 59th regular meeting of UN General Assembly in New York, in which he appealed to the international (world) community to apply (enforce) administrative means in order to change the constitution of Bosnia and Herzegovina, was obviously not left unsupported by the other two members of the BiH Presidency. This kind of appearance in public and in the UN shows that no action can be taken without the consent of the BiH Presidency. This leads to the possibility that Borislav Paravac as the SDS representative in the BiH Presidency gave his consent to Tihić which confirms the SDS - SDA coalition to the detriment of the citizens of the Republic of Srpska and Bosnia and Herzegovina. SDS and SDA have established coalition for the election of heads of municipalities at the coming local elections at many local levels such as in Bosanska/Kozarska Dubica, Teslic, Doboje, Lopare.

In the framework of the Croatian block of parties, HDZBiH is aiming at completely separating the political influence of Sarajevo from Herzegovina and thus achieving Croatian selfgovernance in Bosnia and Herzegovina in a concealed way. In this project HDZBiH enjoys perfidious support and patronage of the Croatian Prime Minister Ivo Sanader. Dr Sanader would like to carry out this project in a sophisticated way benefiting from the more and more frequent incidents in the sea border with Slovenia. The Croatian fishing-boats have obviously been sent on the basis of a secret agreement between the Croatian Prime Minister Dr Sanader and the leader of the Slovenian Democratic Party (SDS) Janez Jansa. In accordance with this agreement, Croatian fishing-boats are sent to Piran Bay on regular basis in order to provoke incidents in the sea border area in an attempt to discredit the present Slovenian leading coalition (led by LDS - Liberal Democrats of Slovenia)

in view of the forthcoming elections in Slovenia. Dr Sanader would thus achieve two goals: diverting attention from what is happening in Herzegovina (gradual realisation of Croatian selfgovernance) and facilitating eventual empowerment of Janez Jansa in Slovenia which would open the possibility for Croatia to get to certain parts of the Slovenian territory.

PUBLIC OPINION POLL

Data on the sample:

- The sample: random, three-stage
- Size of the sample: 888 respondents (male and female citizens of lawful age)
- Methodology: telephone survey
- Period: 27 September 2004
- Degree of reliability: 95%
- Control: per 10% specimens
- Standard deviation: +/-3
- Territory: the Republic of Srpska

Who will you vote for at the forthcoming local elections in Bosnia and Herzegovina on 2 Oct. 2004?

SNSD ~ 17,10%

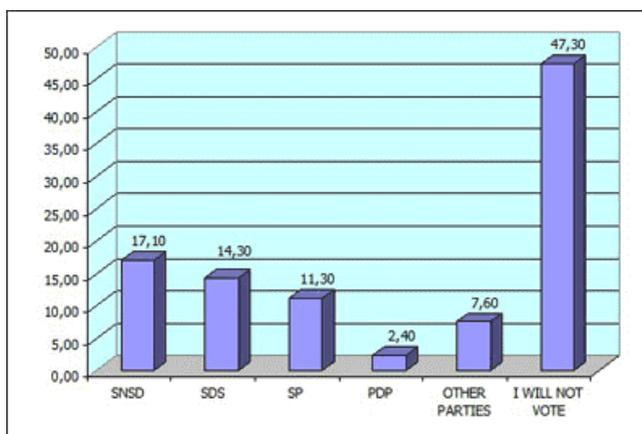
SDS ~ 14,30%

SP ~ 11,30%

PDP ~ 2,40%

OTHER PARTIES ~ 7,60%

I WILL NOT VOTE ~ 47,30%



Data on the sample:

- The sample: random, three-stage
- Size of the sample: 911 respondents (male and female citizens of lawful age)
- Methodology: telephone survey
- Period: 27 September 2004
- Degree of reliability: 95%
- Control: per 10% specimens
- Standard deviation: +/- 3
- Territory: the Federation of BiH

Who will you vote for at the forthcoming local elections in Bosnia and Herzegovina on 2 Oct. 2004?

SDA ~ 18,30%

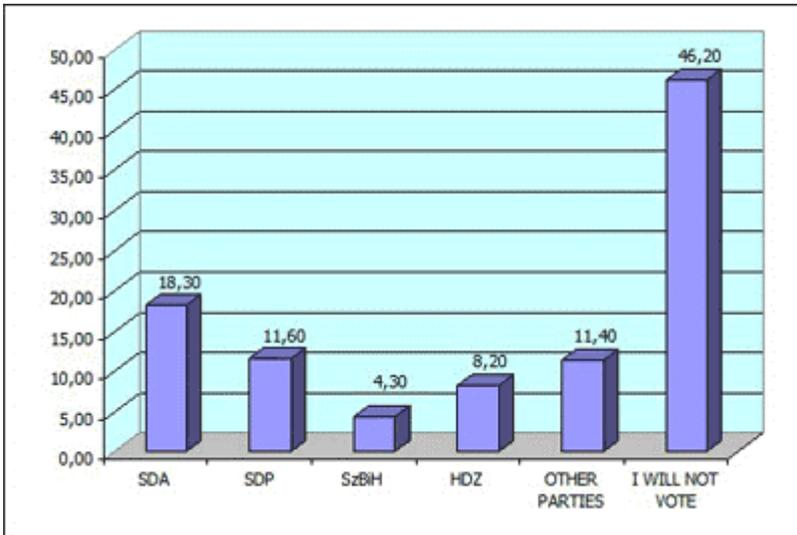
SDP ~ 11,60%

SzBiH ~ 4,30%

HDZ ~ 8,20%

OTHER PARTIES ~ 11,40%

I WILL NOT VOTE ~ 46,20%



Data on the sample:

- The sample: random, three-stage
- Size of the sample: 242 respondents (male and female citizens of lawful age)
- Methodology: telephone survey

- Period: 27 September 2004
- Degree of reliability: 95%
- Control: per 10% specimens
- Standard deviation: +/-3
- Territory: the Brcko District of BiH

Who will you vote for at the forthcoming local elections in Bosnia and Herzegovina on 2 Oct. 2004?

SDP ~ 16,20%

SP ~ 13,80%

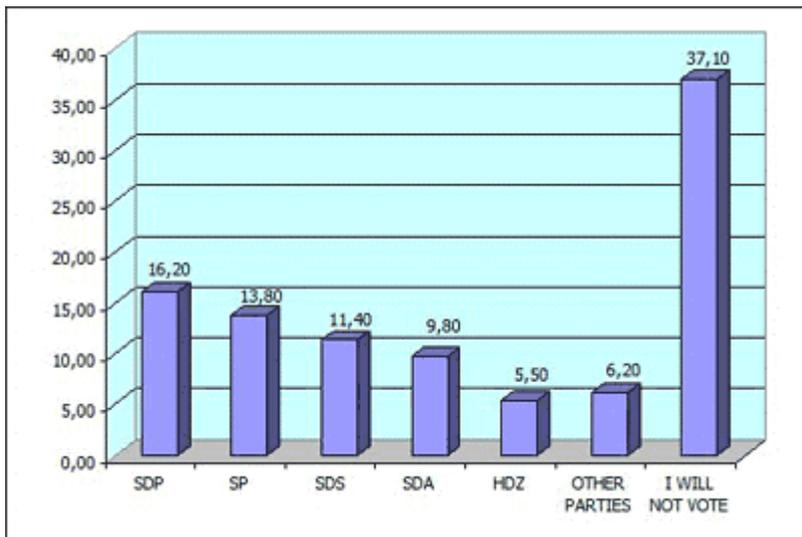
SDS ~ 11,40%

SDA ~ 9,80%

HDZ ~ 5,50%

OTHER PARTIES ~ 6,20%

I WILL NOT VOTE ~ 37,10%



BETWEEN POLITICAL REALITY AND IRRATIONALITY

The International Institute for Middle-East and Balkan Studies (IFIMES) regularly analyses events in the Middle East and the Balkans. The IFIMES International Institute has analysed the current political situation in Kosovo prior to the parliamentary elections to be held on 23 October 2004. The most interesting and important sections of the comprehensive analysis are given below:

The political institutions in Kosovo established after the first multiparty elections in 2001 have had a decorative rather than a functional role. The Kosovo Albanians were overwhelmed by the feeling of victory only because they gained their »own« institutions (in comparison with the Milosevic regime when the Kosovo institutions were »wrenched away« from the Albanian population) and consequently they believed more the pre-election promises than what they could see with their eyes. The presence of international military forces and civil administration, whose powers do not include the process of independence of Kosovo, was perceived by the Kosovo Albanians as the realisation of the independence process which they understood as the announcement and continuation of the Albanian political movement in Kosovo. Although the international representatives have often stressed explicitly in their political statements that the independence of Kosovo was not on their political agenda(!) the Albanian side remains convinced that this is part of a strategy to calm the Serbian political passions.

Actually that was a part of political discourse which the Albanians have acquired and used skilfully to their advantage in order to realise their political goals. Such discourse has remained from the period of Milosevic regime in Kosovo and the Albanians continue to recycle it even today. During the occupation of Kosovo, the Albanians were »trained« to confuse the concepts which are on the border between irrationality and reality. Due to the political manipulation they suffered, the Albanians and the non-Serbian nationals in Kosovo lived in ardent hope, developed out of the bare need to survive, that they lived in the Republic of Kosovo even when it was completely controlled by the Serbian administration. In the 1990s, the whole Albanian political establishment developed its political terminology to the level of perfection in terms of political manipulation. Even today the same pattern of thinking is present: the citizens perceive the temporary institutions as the Kosovo national institutions (the President, the Parliament and the Government) although they only have a decorative and ceremonious role within the complete legislative, executive and judicial powers of UNMIK. Even the Kosovo Protection Corps (TKK, the former UCK) is perceived by the vast majority of Kosovars as a real Kosovo army although it is merely an ordinary civil organisation with the mandate to intervene in emergencies. This kind of political discourse could

have functioned for some time still as a long-term injection and result of political manipulation had the people not experienced the dramatic consequences of poverty. During the first two years after the war, there was a large number of non-governmental organisations in Kosovo which helped the population to rebuild the destroyed houses. However, after the Kosovo institutions were constituted, the non-governmental organisations, humanitarian aid and later also aid from developed countries were reduced. This reduction of humanitarian aid, which resulted in lack of investments as well as the blockage of the privatisation process, further contributed to the present political discourse and to venting frustrations on the UNMIK.

The riots in March 2004 in a way marked the »spending« of freedom which the Albanians have »enjoyed« for the past five years. For the first time they were faced with the dynamics of the use of political freedom which seemed sufficient at first sight, although it did not meet even the basic political rights nor fundamental human rights of the Kosovo citizens. The unnatural status quo established between the Albanians, Serbs and UNMIK administration (international community) was broken. The three sides have lived on false illusions and on the »story of success«. A process has been opened to establish new relations defined as the restructuring of UNMIK and the realisation of the standards for Kosovo. The violence of Albanian protestors against the UNMIK personnel and property clearly shows to what extent this feelings have been aroused as well as the need to change the form and content of the civil and international presence in Kosovo. Even five years after the war, the relations between the Serbs and Albanians remained hostile and intolerable. Although the roots to the Albanian-Serbian conflict go far back into the history, the non-symbolic irreconcilability between them could be linked to the inappropriate policy of UNMIK and the international community especially due to tolerance towards the Serbian parallel political structures in Kosovo and the actual division of Kosovo. With the political manipulation that arouses fear among the Albanians and hope among the Serbs that Kosovo would be returned to Serbia, the efforts to build normal relations between the two communities either within Kosovo or between Kosovo and Serbia can bring no results. As long as the status of Kosovo remains undefined, each side (Serbs and Albanians) will perceive the other as a threat. Maintaining status quo of utterly opposing projects, without giving a clear sign which of the two political processes will result in a legal and political status of Kosovo, has initiated and strengthened the ideologies and the following extreme political projects:

the project to retain Kosovo in Serbia and the reserve project to divide Kosovo, offered by the Serbian para-state structures which function undisturbedly, and the political project to unite Albanian territories, which has remained within the discourse of political statements. These projects are encouraged by permanent

instability in Kosovo and by the fading of the moderated project for the independence of Kosovo.

The majority of political analysts and politicians who deal with the development of political process in Kosovo and the region were surprised at the violent protests in March this year. Their expectations were based on the above mentioned political freedom which Albanians gained with the help of the international community, but they overlooked the changes which have been going on in Kosovo for the past five years and they did not take into account the political processes during that period. Though unrealised, the process of gaining independence of Kosovo constantly produced political and psychological frustration, but under the protection of the international community and NATO forces the general situation was perceived positively by the Kosovars. High unemployment and increasing poverty seemed less dramatic at first sight in comparison with the Serbian occupation. Retaining the Kosovo citizens in deep isolation or quarantine without passports and without the freedom of movement to the states of the region and elsewhere (even now, after five years, the UNMIK passports are not recognised by the vast majority of UN member states even though they are produced within the UN administration) brought about frustrations that were soothed after the Serbian passports were issued when the Serbian administration assisted by UNMIK opened offices in Gracanica, Kosovo polje and even in Pristina.

The conflict induced by the blockade of the road at Caglavica in March 2004 spread very fast to other locations and culminated in the burning of about 30 religious facilities of the Serbian Orthodox church and tens of Serbian business premises and houses. This proved that even after five years of peace the relations between the Serbs and Albanians are still hostile. Although the conflict is deeply rooted, the continuation of such inter-ethnic relations also reflects in the incapability of UNMIK administration to symbolically regulate them. Its toleration of the Serbian parallel structure of power and actual division of Kosovo (northern part of Kosovska Mitrovica) have pointed to the fact that UNMIK is incapable to exert its powers in Kosovo in line with the United Nations Security Council Resolution 1244. The formation of Serbian para-state structures in the north of Kosovska Mitrovica and in Serbian enclaves within Kosovo are the indisputable fact which even UNMIK does not deny, aware that all these structures are financed by the government of Serbia. During all these years, the Kosovo Serbs were able to take part in local, parliamentary and presidential elections of Serbia held in Kosovo. The Kosovo Serbs typically (which is understandable) vote for the aggressive Serbian parties, i.e. the Serbian radical party led by Vojislav Seselj, which proves that the nationalistic discourse manipulated by the nationalistic ideology of the Great Serbia is still very much present among the Kosovo Serbs. Five years since peace was restored, the Kosovo Serbs have not managed to form a political party

which would be able to integrate in the Kosovo society. In this view they represent a specific victim of political games which are played not for their political articulation but to satisfy daily political needs of Serbian politicians in Belgrade.

On the other hand UNMIK and Kosovo institutions have not managed to create a safe environment for the Kosovo Serbs. The lack of freedom of movement for the Kosovo Serbs is the first sign of the failure of UNMIK in this field. A large number of undiscovered crimes and killing of Serbs and Albanians has aroused mistrust and fear towards the Kosovo institutions on the part of Kosovo Serbs. This kind of fear aroused hope for the return of Kosovo to Serbia which would produce the feeling of retaliation for all the years of absence of the Serbian state in Kosovo. The project to retain Kosovo in Serbia and the reserve project of the Serbian division of Kosovo supported by the parallel Serbian para-state institutions create a vicious circle for the Serbs in Kosovo.

The recycling of conflict situation and permanent instability in this environment have indicated the end of illusions of all the three sides to realise their projects independently and unilaterally. UNMIK has failed to preserve the political inertia of status quo and also the standards for Kosovo have not been realised since the obligations arising from the Resolution 1244 were not met regarding the economic development and establishment of temporary institutions for effective administration. The Kosovo Albanians have failed in their tendencies to eliminate the blocked potential of Serbs and Serbia's presence in Kosovo either by constantly minimising or ignoring their presence or by forcing them violently out of this region.

In spite of the propaganda they produced with the March riots in Kosovo, the Serbs and Serbia itself have not managed to impose their policy for the future of Kosovo due to a very simple reason: their project failed already back in 1999 and can not be revitalised again. The Serbian success is based on weakening the Albanian political image rather than on improving their own political image. The project of the Parliament and Government of Serbia to decentralise or cantonise Kosovo also failed to achieve the planned goal - not because of the international community but due to the Albanian explosive potential which they have stored for this kind of projects.

The March riots have revealed the moral crisis and the crisis in trust in the political elite and modern institutions. The political elite did not manage to recant the sins with demagogical speeches which would replace concrete activities, calm down the feelings and accuse UNMIK for the situation, which was already clear on 17 March 2004. The reason for the attempted degradation of UNMIK was actually the inferior Albanian political elite, which has had a decorative role for the past three years instead of performing the political function and representing the interests of Kosovo citizens. The adoption of the constitutional framework which

left the elected institutions without competence served as an alibi for UNMIK administration in order to be able to act irresponsibly and arrogantly towards Kosovo and its institutions whose functioning reveals political immaturity.

The elimination of moral, political and national consequences will not be an easy task for the Kosovo society with the absence of the will on the part of the decision makers to recognise the right to independent determination of the people of Kosovo. The delay in recognising that right, which could be expressed in a referendum carried out under the supervision of the international community, may lead to new frustrations towards UNMIK and new conflicts between the Albanians and Serbs in Kosovo which may be triggered at any moment.

The Kosovo political elite also bears the responsibility for the above situation. The LDK party (Democratic League of Kosovo) led and controlled by Ibrahim Rugova has a fixed idea of the independence of Kosovo. The political elite from LDK perceives the recognition of independence as the historical mission of this movement. The path to achieve independence (building of efficient administration, fight against corruption, efforts to return refugees, formation of structures to fight organised crime) is not quite clearly presented in their political discourse nor used as a means to reach this goal. This political concept sees the independence of Kosovo as the only alternative of the status of Kosovo regardless of the dynamics or quality of meeting the political standards set by the international community and Special Representative and confirmed by all relevant international political levels. Ibrahim Rugova remains the central figure in this party. His leadership so far has shown all the elements of autarky. Although the party held a congress in 2002, Rugova did not approve of the election of its presidency but decided to keep the structure from 1998 which he then appointed temporarily for the period of six months. There is no internal democracy in the party. In the period from 2000 to 2004, many Kosovo politicians, who influenced the life in Kosovo prior to and after the war, have distanced themselves from the party. In June, a group of deputies seceded from LDK and formed the party called Alternativa demokratike Kosovare (Kosovo Democratic Alternative) led by Edita Tahiri, the only woman in the Albanian delegation at the Rambouillet negotiations, who used to be closest to Rugova and the assassinated Dr Fehmi Agani. The consequences of withdrawal of LDK members who were for a long time identified with this party will be felt at the parliamentary elections which will take place on 23 October this year. It is interesting that Rugova has not shown even the slightest sign of anxiety due to such acts of his closest colleagues. He actually still represents the central figure in manipulating the feelings of the citizens as regards the independence of Kosovo. His most repeated statement is: »... we are waiting for the formal recognition of the independence of Kosovo...«!

The parties stemming from the war: PDK (Democratic Party of Kosovo) led by

Hashim Thaçi and AAK (Alliance for the Future of Kosovo) led by Ramush Haradinaj reflect the demilitarisation process of UCK (Kosovo Liberation Army). Political self-determination of both parties is based on the project which comprises a historical dimension. The two parties benefit from the sense of political victory; namely, they won, together with NATO, the battle against Serbia. They arouse a feeling that in a crisis situation they could reach for more radical options if the political status of Kosovo were to be different from what the Albanians expect. As far as the political projects, administration and leadership are concerned, the two parties have a more dynamic approach in comparison with LDK, although their possibilities are limited due to coalition with LDK.

The best rating in this war-stemming political structure has been achieved by Bajram Rexhepi (PDK), Kosovo Prime Minister, who promotes the return of refugees to Kosovo, the rebuilding of religious facilities which were burned and destroyed in the March riots, the rebuilding of Serbian business premises and houses, the fight against organised crime and the restoration of trust between the Serbs and Albanians. Hashim Thaçi remains the central figure in PDK who occasionally launches brave political options for the solution of the Serbian issue in Kosovo. His latest idea for the solution of this issue was to use the model of the Ohrid Agreement to integrate the Serbs in Kosovo and in the Kosovo society in general. The Ohrid Agreement was concluded on 13 August 2001 between the Macedonians and the Albanians as the cease-fire agreement. The goal of the Agreement was the decentralisation of power whereby the Albanians gained more rights in the decision-making process. The decentralisation process under the Ohrid Agreement envisages that the Albanians in regions where they represent 20% of the population gain rights to: the use of Albanian language equally as Macedonian language, division of authority, proportional participation in the central power and formation of local self-governance based on the principles of European Charter on Local Self-Governance. The final aim of the Ohrid Agreement is to preserve the integrity of the state of Macedonia as the subject of international law. PDK and AKK fundamentally do not recognise these ideas, without any prior analysis, which points to complete discord among the political elite as regards the Kosovo issue and to the fact that the Kosovo political parties deal with their own problems rather than with the vital issues. In other words, the parties function autarkically in relation to the internal political project, but when it comes to general national interest they behave anarchically without adjusting their positions.

The IFIMES International Institute believes that during the period pending the parliamentary elections on 23 October 2004 there will be no room for imputing blame to any political group of liberal or social-democratic profile that could actually influence the Kosovo scene.

The liberal political room may let the Kosovo politician Veton Surroi join the game

again, this time with the political party ORA supported by the urban masses and media personages and discretely backed by the international community and the large majority of non-governmental organisations and the civil society. At present the participation of the urban population in the political life of the Kosovo elite is very small if any. The formation of this kind of elite may therefore be expected, especially in large Kosovo cities such as: Pristina, Kosovska Mitrovica, Prizren, Djakovica, Gnjilane. However, in a society with the unemployment rate exceeding 70%, with mostly rural population, with a quarter of the population living in diaspora and with the political parties having »historical« roots, the process of equal social, regional, trade union, gender and age representation is very difficult and time consuming.

The IFIMES International Institute believes that the Serbian autochthon coalition »Povratak« (Return) will probably play a major role in the future process of the development of Kosovo. Fragmentation may be observed in the DOS political structure and the Serbian parties may be expected to have politically profiled movements, i.e. a national front instead of parties as such. From this point of view we may expect that they will have a more powerful role in blocking the processes than in the actual activities. They will probably block the processes of integration of Serbs in Kosovo and in the Kosovo political life in general.

The IFIMES International Institute is of the opinion that it will take a long time before Kosovo will see an authentic Serbian political party which would promote the process of integrating Serbs in Kosovo and which would not be influenced by Belgrade. In other words, it is not expected for a new political elite to be established within the Serbian community in Kosovo which would represent the authentic Serbian interests in Kosovo and be regarded as credible by the international community.

As far as the other ethnic communities are concerned it should be stressed that they are less engaged and keep their efforts on the level of preserving the national identity and advocating practical interests. In the new Kosovo reality, they would not have to integrate in the scheme of Albanian and Serbian political parties. The parties of the Turkish, Askhali, Romany and Bosniak communities will have to be supported in order to develop their own political alternatives in internal democracy in which human rights and the rights of ethnic communities would be respected.

Although fragmented, politically inexperienced and rivalled by other parties, the Albanian political elite in Kosovo has the historical mission of political self-determination and adheres to the position of advocating independence. One of the reasons why it can not withdraw from that position is that the Kosovo Albanians who experienced ethnic cleansing and genocide in 1999 see no other alternative to independence. Moreover, that position does not reflect Albanian nationalism

but rather pragmatism of life. Anyway, during the three years of joint leadership with UNMIK, the Albanian political elite has entered the process of political emancipation and professionalisation of leadership, even though it is still at the beginning of that process. The transfer of competence may strengthen the sense of responsibility and professionalism and engage the political elite in eliminating nepotism, meritocracy and corruption which have appeared in the new Kosovo international administration.

The international community has opted for the policy of determining »standards before the status« although Kosovo has already entered the legitimate phase of defining the final status after the 2001 elections and forming the political institutions. Such policy comprises conflicting aspects due to the undefined status of Kosovo which is at the same time hostage to the general development of Kosovo and the norms for the fulfilment of the prescribed standards. The conflicting aspects of this policy are:

firstly, the undefined status of Kosovo disables an economically stable development. Without the final legal status, Kosovo can not be the subject of international institutions such as the World Bank and IMF (International Monetary Fund), nor can it ensure protection of capital to foreign investors;

secondly, undeveloped economy resulting in unemployment rate as high as 70% of the Kosovo population can not represent an attractive place for the refugees to return, which is a very important political standard for the definition of the final status;

thirdly, the inter-ethnic relations between the majority Albanian population and the Serbian ethnic community can not become stable if the final political status of Kosovo is not defined.

Another aspect, which opposes good neighbour relations, comprises the standards and the dialogue which the Kosovo elite should enable and implement - but how if it has no competence regarding foreign politics which is in the exclusive domain of UNMIK. This policy has led Kosovo into a vicious circle.

The IFIMES International Institute sees the solution to this situation in the policy of »independence and standards«. That means the recognition of independence while Kosovo remains a protectorate for a few more years. During this period they would fulfil the standards which are the condition for Kosovo to become a state. A similar model was used in East Timor which successfully passed the transitional phase of protectorate. Unless this policy is applied in Kosovo, there is imminent danger that the investments and achievements made so far in Kosovo become uncertain and questionable.

THE MEMBERSHIP OF TURKEY IN EUROPEAN UNION

Dr Jožef Kunič, Ambassador

President of Slovenian Association for International Relations (SDMO)

and Member of the IFIMES International Institute

The International Institute for Middle-East and Balkan Studies (IFIMES) in Ljubljana, Slovenia, regularly analyses events in the Middle East and the Balkans. Ambassador Dr Jožef Kunič, President of Slovenian Association for International Relations (SDMO) and Member of the IFIMES International Institute has analysed the current position of Turkey in the light of its accession to the EU.

There has been a very animated discussion in some EU member countries whether to accept Turkey as an EU member state or not. In mid-December it is expected that the EU Council will take the decision to start the negotiations with Turkey, and, since all the negotiations up to now have led to the fact that the country which started the negotiations eventually became a member country, the same can be expected from the negotiations with Turkey. It is true, however, that certain conditions are being set by the EU which leads to the conclusion that the negotiation process will not be a short one, but if it starts, it will be concluded as well.

Turkey's geostrategic position is of great importance. It creates proximity to Europe, the Middle East, The Black Sea Region and Central Asia and enables Turkey to engage actively in various regional economic integration and cooperation. Turkey is the founding member of the Economic Cooperation Organization that covers Afghanistan, Pakistan, Iran, Azerbaijan, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan, Uzbekistan and Turkey and the founding member of the Black Sea Economic Cooperation Organization that covers Albania, Azerbaijan, Bulgaria, Armenia, Georgia, Greece, Moldavia, Romania, the Russian Federation, Ukraine and Turkey. It has participated in activities of the Southeast European Cooperative Initiative (SECI).

Turkey applied to the EU in 1959 to start negotiations for the gradual accession of Turkey to the EU. Turkey's demand for accession to the EU was a political and economic decision. Turkey's long run process of accession was started by signing the Ankara Agreement between Turkey and the EU in 1963. As a result of this Agreement, Turkey became an associate member of the EU with the final aim to become the full member. According to the Ankara Agreement the full membership would be realised within three steps. The preparatory period was successfully completed between January 1964 and December 1972. The transitory period was completed between January 1973 and December 1995. The Customs Union period came into effect in January 1996. In the Helsinki European Council meeting

in December 1999 Turkey was officially recognized as a candidate state. The discussion is especially lively in some old EU member states. The advocates of the entrance of Turkey have gathered on the left wing of the political spectrum in some countries while the opponents are on the right side. But in some parts, a gap has been established between the left and the right wing parties. However, regardless of the fact where the political advocates or opponents of Turkey's admission to the EU are, it is evident that the number of the opponents is so high that it can not be neglected. This fact is especially important because of the so-called democratic deficit in the EU that some countries would like to render somehow smaller, that is, to listen more carefully to its citizens. In addition to the referendum on constitutional treaty in some countries, a referendum on entrance of Turkey to EU is being anticipated which has a double purpose: to show the EU citizens that the democratic deficit is decreasing (i.e. on all important matters the citizens are more often consulted) and the second purpose is to transfer the responsibility of admitting Turkey to the EU on citizens and at the same time to defer or even prevent its admission.

A heated discussion for or against admission of Turkey to the EU is present in several fields. Let me enumerate some of them:

Geographic: Turkey is in Europe, but at the same time, geographically, most of its territory is in Asia;

Historical: Turkey was in certain periods certainly in Europe, but at the same time it was at war with many European countries;

Demographic: Turkey can, with its high birth rate, contribute to the influx of the missing young workforce, but it can, at the same time, threaten demographically some regions of the present EU;

Religious: by admission of Turkey to the EU the present Muslim EU inhabitants can be shown that the EU Muslims are accepted as equal citizens, but at the same time it could cause tensions among Jewish-Christian and Muslim values;

Economic: With the admission of Turkey the EU would gain new markets and new regions for economic investments, but at the same time, Turkey would represent, with its very modest GNP per capita, a heavy economic burden for present member states;

Human rights: Turkey is reforming itself and accepting European values rapidly, but at the same time it is still far from the desired European values.

For small EU member states, the above arguments seem less important. In my opinion, other effects of admission of Turkey to the family of EU countries are of greater importance. Let me enumerate them:

Firstly, the shift of the centre of decision-making from the present big EU countries to the newcomers. It is true that Turkey does not represent, in comparison to the leading EU countries, an economically strong country, but it has a large popu-

lation. i.e., a great voting weight in the Council and a great number of seats in the parliament, if it is to become a fully-fledged and equal member state. This would be a fresh wind for the whole EU and a contribution to a stronger democratisation, as there would be one more newcomer among the big countries.

Another important effect is contribution to the EU outside image. Should the EU become another world pole, economically, militarily, scientifically, technologically, developmentally independent to a great extent, in which the leading role belongs to the two major countries representing »the EU engine«, France and Germany, or should it develop in partnership with the USA and share the care for security with it in the framework of NATO? The EU member states do not share the same view and Turkey would, as an important NATO member, certainly influence the direction into which EU would develop. If we ask ourselves what would be in the interest of small member states, the answer would certainly be in favour of the second possibility.

The third important element is security. With admission of Turkey into the EU, the borders would be expanded to the regions such as Armenia, Azerbaijan, Iran, Iraq and Syria, but in my opinion, this would only contribute to the European security. Regarding the eventual involvement in conflicts, the involvement of most EU countries is preconditioned by NATO membership, and the EU would, as a new, economically and politically respectable association certainly contribute to democratisation and economic success of the above mentioned regions as they would become its neighbours. The EU would have better access to the Black Sea coast and its political power and influence would deepen. This would certainly contribute to security.

And fourthly: The EU is, as a matter of fact, more and more unified but at the same time, with the enlargement process, more diversified. Some prefer a more unified and others a more diversified EU. Small countries would certainly want more diversification on as many fields as possible (such as cultural, religious, ethnic, etc.). The admission of Turkey into the EU would certainly contribute to a more diversified EU and this is what small countries prefer.

In Warsaw, Prague, Budapest, Bratislava, Vilnius and Ljubljana, the governments which have realised their historical aim, i.e. the EU membership, had to withdraw to the opposition. The trend is not surprising. It is a consequence of the unsatisfied public, traumatised with the EU image. People now realise that the world of well-being is less colourful than their governments had promised. No such EU solidarity was perceived as it had been shown towards new member countries in the past, and unpopular domestic reforms are painful.

I agree with those who say that none of the small EU member states should fear the entrance of Turkey into the EU if Turkey fulfils all the demands and conditions. None of the governments should fear this, except the Turkish one.

IRAQ HAS A FUTURE!

Mithal Al-Alusi

- President of the Democratic Party of the Iraqi Nation,

- former director general of the Supreme National Commission for De-Baathification

- member of the IFIMES International Institute.

The International Institute for Middle-East and Balkan Studies (IFIMES) in Ljubljana, Slovenia, has organised the first historical visit of Mithal Al-Alusi, President of the Democratic Party of the Iraqi Nation and former director general of the Supreme National Commission for De-Baathification of Iraq as well as member of the IFIMES International Institute, to Israel. During his visit to Israel, President Al-Alusi took part at the ICT - 4th International Conference on the Impact of Global Terrorism (11-14 September 2004) as guest speaker and his remarkable speech met with loud applause. The Conference was attended by leading anti-terrorist experts from 33 countries, while the representatives of the Israeli politicians were Foreign Minister Silvan Shalom, General of the Israeli Defence Forces (IDF), Lieutenant-General Moshe Ya'alon, Otto Schilly, Germany's Minister of the Interior and other. Below is Mr. Mithal Al-Alusi's complete speech in which he presented the current situation in Iraq.

There might be a trust crisis between the politicians and the public in many countries of the world yet in Iraq it is a chronic crisis limitative and sceptical to the extreme. It is wrong if we throw this ill status only on Saddam's dictatorship regime and on the Baath and it's rejection of the sacred values, legality and humanity. Yes, the Iraqi people were buried alive, women were raped in front of their husbands and when an Iraqi was exposed of working for his freedom his family was executed even to his fourth kin.

Not only chemical weapons were used to exterminate the town of Helbecha but also the banned dirty weapons were used in more than 80 (eighty) Iraqi villages to spread fear and terror in the Iraqi soul in order give up and submit to the crimes of Saddam and the Baath. It's true that the Baathis have killed many Iraqis only because their religion was Judaism or because they were rejected by other races but the Baath and it is ill call. It is true that they ignited wars and true that Saddam's Baath killed hundreds of thousand not only in the wars but in the concentration camps and mass graves. All this is part of painful and bitter truth which can be compared to Nazism and Fascism, as if the world was still evaluating the human being not as an individual but on the basis of religion and colour of skin. Saddam's crimes were draconian and it is difficult to believe that something like that still exists today.

But are these crimes alone the source of mistrust between the Iraqis and the poli-

tics in Iraq? After 9th of April 2003 the Iraqis saw hope and dreams as they were witnessing the end of the Baathi Saddamist gangs. They welcomed the American soldiers and thanked them for weeks for bringing them freedom and rescuing their dreams. The Iraqis started to feel the freedom, pride and prosperity, the hope and the lucidity. The American administration and Bush succeeded in their war and the Iraqis understood it as a war against Saddam and the Baath. The surprise came when the Iraqis heard the American voice saying that it was invasion and a war against Iraq. The shock became greater and impeaching when the Bush administration agreed to name the American troops in Iraq not the liberators and advocates of freedom but the occupying troops enforcing foreign will which was, although salutary, still foreign enforcement.

The episodes of the catastrophe were completed by onerous mistakes of the civil administration of Garner or Bremer. The Iraqi law was revoked and they treated the Iraqi politicians as low rank employees and Iraq as disturbing inheritance. All those mistakes would have been normal in comparison with the terrifying disasters and the destructive inheritance left by the former Baathi Saddam regime because the Iraqi would have agreed to anything to be rescued from Saddam and the Baath. But what is happening is strange and no sensible Iraqi can accept it. The Baath criminals are walking around freely and impudently. And after a Baath leader was arrested the American authority released him and even allowed him to leave Iraq to enjoy all his stolen property freely despite the atrociousness of his crimes. The victims are awaiting someone who would give them justice, but the criminals are vaunting over their crimes. The Iraqis wonder what is happening. Some of the Iraqi parties blessed by the American administration are re-uniting with the Baathi well known killers while others profaned every public property and in weeks practice what Saddam's followers and Baathis used to do from stealing public property and take hostages for big handsome non the less the assassinations. We can say that the big vacuum that resulted from the removal of the a tyranny like Saddam's and a brutal regime as the Baathis generates mistakes and mistakes are in human nature.

If it was normal that Iraqis make mistakes, the question is to what extent it is allowed for professional strategists and politicians to make mistakes? And what is the extent of the negative effects of the professionals' mistakes? Despite the complexity of the issue, in order to comprehend the answer we have to deal with the most important question which is: What pushed the United States of America to exert all of it's diplomatic, military and strategic capacity and unbelievable funds, to lay out all the American capabilities at highest alertness, to sacrifice military and human casualties and accept the news informing us every day of the killing of many American young men in the Iraqi holocaust made by Arabic, Islamic and Fascistic terrorists?

It is naive to imagine that the Americans' aim is limited to protecting America from the terrorist Baathi Saddamist danger through abolishing the dictator regime in Baghdad, because abolishing Saddam and the Baath regime was possible through several other less costly means instead of defying the American administration public answer even before the operations. Do they want to make Iraq a democratic model in an aim to democratise the Middle East?

Once again we stand before the general answer which has a lot of shallowness which doesn't represent the professionals. Does democracy mean opening the door to implement the political game by choosing the leader, and what leader will it bring?

The fact is that the Iraqi political parties which are acting under the American umbrella now are of majority that possesses extreme ideologies and comprehends democracy as a means to reach authority. All these credos prevent freedom and refuse the logic of dialogue between the nations, because they see in Israel the main enemy with whom the final battle has to be fought. Here the Shiite and Sunnite Islamic parties and the national Arab parties share one goal, the bargaining and the weapon to win among other their instant political battles. The question which arises is whether the Baath and Saddam regime was removed so that another regime comes with the same extremist mentality calling for wars, though with the legitimacy of a democratic regime. Is this the goal? Is the goal to create legitimacy that calls for the removal of Israel or in other words to ignite the region and create the elements of terrorism and activate it under the veil of democracy, with American efforts, support and casualties?

The anti-Semite pivot in Iraq has on its side the classic Shiite and Sunnite parties and also the parties with Baathi origin which points to the striving of the prime minister of the interim government for the accord movement, in an ambition to satisfy the Baathists and gain them as an electoral and organisational base. Even the liberals like the accord movement and the national conference seeks to again the religious parties like shiaat and as it is with Chalibi and Allawi both are prisoners satisfying and gaining a larger share of the Iraqi street. In other words, they satisfy the fury caprice existing in the current Iraqi dual personality on the account of building an objective realistic policy, declaring its objectives for building a democratic Iraq far from the nervous fury. That calls for peace and sees the Hebrew state as a strategic and geographic neighbour and a partner in the formation of life in the region.

During my visit as the first Iraqi official on an unofficial visit to Israel I have noticed sharp features revealing the actual danger, an absolute and evident threat for the future. All Iraqi Arab and Kurd parties took the position of constant fight against any attempt not only that to fury attack because Israel visit meant to them the betrayal of principle. What peace will come through these parties and this

democracy? As I member the Chalabi and the Shiaat parties ordered to discharge me from being the general director of the Supreme National Commission for De-Baathification and the government bidding come in when the intelligence apparatus in the new democratic state gave to the ministry of the interior a criminal manifest and the ministry requested from the central criminal court to incriminate me for visiting the enemy country. All my personal security was dismissed. Before the visit I had more than seven guards because the state recognised the dangerous nature of my duties and because I was a target for terrorists, while after the visit I was deprived of all the weapons and security and offered to the terrorist on a golden plate to kill me. In other words, every body is co-operating to disable the call for dialogue and peace. But we can oppose this conspiracy by the support of the intellectuals and a large number of Iraqis. But they can see and feel the danger because the war against Alusi is meant as an example for the people. This war is meant to arouse great fear of the traditional national and religious parties and also to present the reality of the possibility of building on the free Iraq desire, realising that the stability and progress of Iraq and to be in position with the developed nations means taking America a strategically and to adopt the logic of communalism and peace within and with Iraq and Israel as the foundation stone in the winning equation in Iraq future and the American interest in the region. This is also a means of speeding up the process of creating agreements for mid-term contracts for the American military existence in Iraq through rented bases through clear Iraqi sovereignty and interest translated to the Iraqi citizen in away that he can accept and feel the benefits. On the other hand, continuation of the current vague situation would mean provoking the state and creating a tense enemy to all attempts to vise with Iraq.

Dualism is a Middle East characteristic and political illnesses particular of Iraq. It can be explained through the lack of rational knowledge and more than three decades of undergoing oppression and terrorising exerted by the Baathi fundamentalists. Abolishing the Baath regime and Saddam does not mean that the Iraqi were freed from the dual personality and here is the actual battlefield for America to obtain the fruits of the victory and to transform Iraq into a state able to capacitate the strategic duties and the importance of regional alliance. Namely, Turkey, Iraq and Israel are ready, on the grounds of their geography, human and scientific resources, to create a Middle East axis to promote and work for peace and also to promote the security and economic natural growth. Such useful ambition and thought cannot be achieved unless by supporting the birth of the Iraqi pivot, that believes in objective reasonable politics considering Israel a major key that has to be counted when reconsidering the region currently and in the future. The actual battle is between the forces of evil and god, between the supporters of objectiveness and peace on one hand and the supporters of war and stiffness on the other

hand. The battle has be shifted to the Iraqi personality and the contradicting feature in the Iraqi duality has to be shaped. By speeding the process of accomplishing the daily needs of Iraqi citizens and envisaging the future, the Iraqi political guidelines should in a way guarantee the dignity and the Iraqi interest and build the Iraqi entity independent of the Arab nationality or regional Islamic caprice. The Iraqi personality possesses great capability to accept all that is new and useful and to build trust bridges between the Iraqis and the free world, especially America. This is one of the most urgent objectives.

The policy that America is following as an attempt to absorb the thoughts and extreme caprice has to be balanced with seriously supporting peace advocates and practical policies, because between the evil and the good there is a big gelatinous cut awaiting the victory of either pole.

The attempt to deny and ignore the possibility of direct peace between Iraq and the world and of making Iraq a normal state which would belong to the democratic nations including Israel is a terrible mistake that the Semites will pay the Jews or Iraqis.

POLITICAL ISLAM AND TERRORISM

During their visit to Israel, the delegation of the International Institute for Middle-East and Balkan Studies (IFIMES) from Ljubljana, Slovenia, took part at the 4th International Conference on the Impact of Global Terrorism (ICT) which was held from 11 to 14 September 2004 in Herzliya. The conference was attended by the leading anti-terrorist experts from 33 countries and the representatives of the Israeli political circles: Foreign Minister Silvan Shalom, General of the Israeli Defence Forces (IDF) Chief of Staff general Moshe Ya'alon and German Minister of the Interior Otto Schilly. The complete speeches of the IFIMES International Institute representatives are given below.

Terrorism is a modern epidemic of the 21st century which is destroying lives and property in certain regions of the world. Today, the ideas of terrorism spread like metastases among the young population in the Islamic world. It is not my attempt to associate terrorism with the Islamic religion, but I do want to relate terrorism with political Islam which threatens not only the West and its interests but, above all, Islamic states and nations.

The correct definition of political Islam was perhaps given by Chief Rabbi of Israel Yona Metzger at the international conference in Milan a few days ago when he expressed the demand for the establishment of a UN organisation for religions with the headquarters in Jerusalem which would increase co-operation and dialogue between the religions. Rabbi Metzger said that it must be shown to the world that the majority of Muslims do not think like Osama Bin Laden and Al-Kaida. Political Islam shuts women in houses in the name of God (for example in Afghanistan and Saudi Arabia), kills innocent populations in the name of God, carries out attacks at pipelines, tourist facilities and other infrastructure of vital importance for their own nations, all in the name of God.

The situation is becoming more dramatic than ever. On the other hand, the fight against terrorism is more and more quiet. The international community is uniform as far as the definition of terrorism is concerned, but divided as regards the manner of fighting it. Some states, such as Iran, Syria etc., publicly support terrorism, while some states passively allow terrorists to organise meetings on their territory, as is the case in France.

Some states publicly condemn terrorism while their media freely provoke intolerance and spread the idea of terrorism. Some religious leaders, such as the liberal Sheikh Qaradawi, publicly call to killing not only of soldiers but also of foreign civilians in Iraq. The fight against terrorism is not effective because it is not co-ordinated, so we may expect many more bloody attacks and even worse devastation. The fight against terrorism should be pursued in three directions:

Intelligence: close international intelligence co-operation should be established. We have to admit that terrorists have already managed to infiltrate into the security apparatus of some states, such as Saudi Arabia, Russia, some Balkan states etc.

Media: the UN and international organisations such as the International Federation of Journalists have to punish the media houses and individual states for spreading intolerance and violence.

Finance - perhaps the most important segment: terrorists undisturbedly get funds in cash or through various companies so that the formerly used manner of money transfer (called Hawala in the Arab language) no longer exists.

In my opinion Al-Kaida suffered the worst stroke after September 11 and international sanctions against individual financiers of this organisation. Today, Al-Kaida has its own companies and shares in large corporations in the Balkans. It is tightly connected with all criminal and mafia structures in the Balkan states. The Balkans represents the crossroads where the routes of illegal weapons and drugs meet and it is estimated that Al-Kaida gains at least 200 million dollars a year from those activities.

We should not overlook the fact that the inhabitants of the Gulf states have 1500 billion dollars of savings, of which 250 billion are invested in the Islamic investment funds which are mostly not controlled nor are the real holders of certain shares known. Therefore I suggest to start a dialogue with the businessmen who are the alleged financiers of Al-Kaida and other radical organisations. Such efforts will surely bear fruit.

Personally, I have met several times the president of the national council of Iraqi tribes, Sheikh Hamza Alshumary, and the president of the council of Iraqi Sunnite tribes, Sheikh Saadun Alqasimi. They eventually asked our International Institute for Middle-East and Balkan Studies (IFIMES) with the head office in Ljubljana, the capital of Slovenia, to represent them in the European Union. This is how the dialogue started and it should be furthered and spread to other relevant organisations and distinguished individuals. The IFIMES International Institute is ready to offer its services and staff in establishing contacts as well as in developing and promoting such dialogues. Let me conclude by stressing again: dialogue, dialogue and again dialogue.

THE BALKANS: POLITICAL AND RELIGIOUS ASPECT

For some time the Balkans has occupied the central position in the news of the world media which would perhaps be good if the problems of the Balkans were resolved. Unfortunately, the problems are only half-way resolved which, again, stirs new crises. To start with, I would like to draw your attention to two aspects of

the Balkans: the political and the religious aspect.

In the political sense the Balkans represents the region in which a number of new states have emerged since 1990. However, the processes of forming new states were painful and mostly accompanied by blood-shedding wars between the nations which actually have a lot in common. Two political blocks were formed in the new states: the former communists and the new nationalists. Regrettably, neither were a lucky choice for those states. The Balkan states need a new or third political block that will change it into a modern and prosperous region. In the present situation the third block comprises the satellite parties of former communists and new nationalists who are preoccupied with their own interests rather than with the visions and the future of their states. Under these conditions the reputable and experienced individuals are pushed far away from the political life since such political environment enables and promotes negative selection. In the political sense the Balkans is therefore extremely unstable and will remain so unless we are ready to respond in an appropriate way to the new challenges in this region.

The IFIMES International Institute tries to perceive and point to the new centres of crisis in the Balkans which are not present much in the media yet but may unfortunately soon become the main topic of the world news. At IFIMES we will continue to work in this direction in order to contribute to the long-term stabilisation of the Balkans and the Middle East.

Thus, for example, the north Serbian region of Vojvodina is faced with the unresolved problem of the Hungarian national minority (about 300,000 Hungarians) and this issue will probably have to be internationalised. The fact is that almost none of the Balkan issues can be resolved without internationalisation. The Sandzak region in the south of Serbia and north of Montenegro represents a new crisis. The region has about 250,000 inhabitants and is populated mostly by Muslim citizens. The question of dividing Serbia and Montenegro is no longer the question of the relations between the two states but of whom the region of Sandzak will belong. The region of Sandzak is tightly connected with Turkey. A number of generals in the Turkish army actually come from Sandzak. Surely, Turkey will not allow the division of Sandzak? Will the international community be able to respond to this challenge and prevent the conflicts while proving at the same time that it is not fighting against the Muslims but against all those who disrespect international rules, international law and values of civilisation? There will be no stability in the Balkan states without a new and proper regionalisation. However, there is significant resistance to the new regionalisation present in Bosnia and Herzegovina, Serbia, Montenegro, Kosovo and Macedonia. This resistance was brought about by the fact that the political elites in those states are closely connected with organised crime which hinders stability since it can not function in a

stable environment. Organised crime represents a prior phase to terrorism – and this is the Balkan powder keg. Organised crime played an important role in the process of gaining independence in the new Balkan states. Unfortunately, many generations of inhabitants in the Balkan region will have to pay for this »historical merit«.

The core issue is perhaps Kosovo, since it is not the question of whether Kosovo will be a part of Serbia or not but a question of principles of international relations and international law. If we allow disrespect of the principles of international law in case of Kosovo, we have to be prepared for new »Kosovos« around the world and even in some European regions which have shown a tendency to achieve independence. In Kosovo we witness examples of violation of the rights of minority Serbian, Romany, Bosniak and Turkish communities by the Albanian community. Therefore, the role and presence of the international community in Kosovo should be reviewed.

Following the fall of communism, religious communities have gained new room and impetus for their functioning and affirmation in the Balkans. This is characteristic of all post-communist states. The fact is that religious communities are deeply rooted in the political life of many Balkan states although their constitutions guarantee the secularity of religion and state.

Clericalisation of the Balkans is an on-going process which can be regarded as the »adolescence« of religious communities in the Balkans after 50 years of communist regime. Now this process is in the final phase and the fact is that religious communities can play an important role in the dialogue between the nations which were at war not long ago. Unless those processes are realised there is a real danger of spreading the Middle East situation to the Balkans which can destabilise other parts of the world. At the beginning of previous century, the Balkan and Middle East regions were covered by one section within the State Department – it depends on all of us and on the events that will follow whether they will again be dealt with as one region as regards their core problems and behavioural forms. I would like the Middle East and the Balkans to be the regions of stability and prosperity and not the regions of »darkness« and retardation.

If we do not pay attention to the above facts we will encourage processes which can one day turn into open terrorism and produce new terrorists. Socialisation of all citizens in individual states and respect of national, religious, political and other rights is the right way to stabilisation and prosperity.

The members of the IFIMES International Institute are ready to take an active part in the resolving of the above issues.

BILL OF IRAQI RIGHTS

Professor Munther Al Fadhal, PhD of law

Member of Council of International Institute for Middle East and Balkan Studies (IFIMES), Slovenia

INTRODUCTION

Since the First World War seized fire, the International family was interesting largely with the basic human rights. The case of respect for human rights was increasing rapidly with the appearance of wars & struggle among human beings. Then man appears as one of the international law protective to avoid the violence of his basic rights without taking in consideration his nationality or beliefs or color or gender or religion.

When the second world war started in 1939–1945, this war caused sever & distractive catastrophe against human raise & violate the human right dangerously when the war victims become millions of women, children, elderly, men military & civilians. Also used various kinds of distinctive weapons (like nutric, chemical, biological bombs & also poisoning gases to destroy human being). It become common to use torture, using execution punishment, immigration & banishment for the civilians & other dangerous crimes which pushed the international society to establish international court to present the international criminals to judgment in Normbrug in Germany. So that all criminals have their rightful punishment & also to prevent the spread of personal revenge principle.

After that the UN charter issued followed by the Universal declaration for human rights in 1948 then checks & Bills & lists followed one another. All these Bills dictate to respect human rights & to quit using strength in struggle in order to build up peace & to enforce security & the respect of law in solving problems.

The issue of national sovereignty because one of the non absolute issues & these issues respect the activity of International Law then this Law ruling the national law & the international law governing the national law to protect human rights from violation especially from the dectetoring regimes. Still the issue of human rights is the most important issue in the present time & which causing many struggles because of the inclusive regimes policies in some countries & the absence of democracy & the rule of law, all these matters obliged the International society to interfere to protect these rights to avoid more struggle & to protect the international security & peace.

The general security of the UN. Mr. Koffy Anan indicated in 16th of March 1998 about the violation of human rights & warned about the factors which threat the security & peace in the world. From this point, the security council issued his deci-

sion No. 688 concerning the protection of the Iraqi people in April, 1991 after the uprising of the Iraqi people & the escaping of 2 million Kurds to the mountains because they were afraid of Saddam's regime using chemical & biological weapons against them & also the fleeing of hundred thousand of Arabs in Southern of Iraq to Iran running away from the severe regime.

Concerning Iraq, the violation of human rights raised from 1968 & increased in a savage & ugly way after the ruling of Saddam in 1997 up to the date of the falling of the tyrant in 9th of April 2003. There are violations for human rights after falling of Saddam regime. It is common that wars provides the absence of human rights.

Saddam regime created three wars on Iraq & the regime & the whole world, these wars are (the war against sheets, Kurds, the war against Iran, the aggression against Kuwait), these wars wasted fortune & destroys life & violated human rights incredibly in the present time even the previous assessor of human rights Mr. Maxs Van Chetyal described (Saddam regime as the worst regime known by humanity after the second world war in his violation of human rights). Then the world entered a new twist after the terrorist attacks on the civil targets in USA in 11th of September 2001 because of the fanaticism policy & the terrorism which is not accepted in the civilized world due to the cancellation & not admitting of others policy & also the absence of democracy & multiplicity, breaking of constitution, the absence of law, the absence of national indulgence between various religions, all these points makes tension running high which causes wars & instability which needs to comfort & establish a civil society depending on ruling of constitutive institutions & the values of indulgence to achieve prosperity & progress for human being & society & these societies put national Bills coordinate with the international Bills in respecting human rights & establishing democracy.

So what is the bill of Iraqi rights in democratic, multiplicity & federal Iraq? To answer this question, we can divide the basic rights into two kinds:

THE FIRST PART

The Bill of Political & Civil Rights for Iraqi Citizen

The right of living & death for human being. It is forbidden to kill any human being absolutely & prohibiting the execution punishment according to a text or without text with a trial or without trial. It is not allowed to maintain the execution punishment in the national legislations especially for the countries which accept the Universal deceleration of human rights which apposes the execution punishment for this punishment violate human right in living & human being have a fixed right in death when the clinic death exists or for the useless case patient

according to a medical report from a specialized committee & the acceptance of relatives from the first or second stage in the case of clinical death.

Prohibiting the trading of slaves & all the similar things against woman, children & men.

Prohibiting of all kinds of forced or unpaid labour or compulsive work for it is contradict with Iraqi human rights in choosing job & his freedom in choice & the volunteering work.

The right of protection from torture & all kinds of severe treatment or non human or insulting treatment which deteriorating human value because any human being have the right of physical safety. It is prohibited to violate his physical safety & dignity absolutely. The protection right from sexual molest & honor crimes concerning woman.

The Iraqi citizen right in protection against arresting or illegal capture.

The Iraqi citizen right in traveling & departing from any country including his own country & coming back whenever he desires & also the right of choosing the place of living & residence.

The right of possession for any citizen. The confiscation of properties without decision from a court is not allowed.

The freedom of thinking & believing or not believing in any religion or an exact attitude. The freedom of changing attitude or belief for any person. The right for any religion group to do their own sermons according to law.

The freedom of expressing opinions & thoughts according to constitution & law. The unions freedom & the right of associating oneself with any union freely & voluntarily.

The right for any citizen to participate in government & to express his political opinion peacefully.

The right of freedom & secrecy of correspondences, post, & e-mails.

The right to refuse the military service.

It is not allowed to put any one in gail because of unpaid loan.

SECOND PART

The Bill of Economic, social & cultural right for the Iraqi citizen

The right of work for the Iraqi citizen without any distinction because of gender or nationality or root etc... The citizen have the freedom to choose work according to fair & satisfactory conditions. The citizen have the right of protection from unemployment, sickness, accidents & weakness & have the right in fair salary without any distinction between man & woman.

The right of education for Iraqi citizen. It is not allowed to distinguish in edu-

cation. Education should be free for all stages with the necessity to get rid of illiteracy. It is not allowed to prevent any citizen from education even if he is a foreigner or resident in Iraq.

The right of free health care & provide at least the minimum. Average of living for any human being including clothes, food & drink, place to live physical psychological mental health care. The full right for handicapped mentally, psychologically & physically in free care from the government.

The right for satisfactory food for any person with his family & providing them with places to live in & protect them from homelessness.

The right of providing the citizen with enough services especially the weak categories from society.

The right of culture for Iraqi citizen & get knowledge from knowledge sources & protect cultured & creative people & improve their abilities & emphasize on the right for Iraqi citizen in having books & get knowledge from internet sources & all other means of communication with entire world.

The right of living in a clean environment. We should create a pure & clean environment & get rid of wars rubbish like Uranium & also the rubbish of industry & pollution.

The right in development because this right can not be separated or moved. Right for any human being should be flourished & progressed freely.

The right of improving social life & raise the standard of living in an atmosphere of freedom & welfare & this can not be achieved without civil society & the value of law.

The right for Iraqis & non Iraqis to gain the compensation out of physical, financial & considerable damage.

The right of deciding the destiny of Kurd people & recognize the legal rights for all nationalities like (Turkmen, Ashore).

The right of strike & expressing all opinions peacefully.

THIRD PART

General Common Rights

The complete equality in rights & duties for man & woman in Civil, political, cultural & social rights. It is not allowed to distinguish because of gender.

The right for woman to choose her husband & it is not allowed to force woman to get married.

The full right for childhood according to child rights bases & according to the international law.

The impossibility of multi wives or husbands.

The impossibility of using physical or psychological violence against any human being.

The right of judging is guaranteed for any one. Any person has a firm right in a fair judgment in front of a civil court. It is not allowed to establish military or exceptional or special courts.

Any human being is innocent until he proves the opposite according to a public judgment & in front of independent judge. It is not allowed to accuse for a crime happened in the past & punish a man for a past permitted acting. All people are equal in front of court. It is not allowed to force any one to testify against himself.

Any one have the right to sign a lawyer in all stages of investigation & judgment & having a fair judgment.

Punishment is personal & not for revenge but for the purpose of reform human being & if punishment executed, the prisoner should have the full rights as a human being.

Any Iraqi should have the right in having nationality & it is not allowed to leave any one without nationality or drop nationality. It is permitted to have two nationalities.

All Iraqis have the right to establish a family which is the first cell in society & it is depending upon freedom in choosing. The government supports the family.

The freedom to join any union or party & the freedom of peaceful gathering.

The right for anyone to get rest from work & have holidays.

The duties of all Iraqis are fixed in constitution & law.

It is not allowed absolutely the propaganda for war or violence or hatred or fanatic attitudes or attitudes depending upon distinction between people.

The right for childhood in kinness & patronage in all its kinds, expense & nationality.

It is necessary to mention that all the national laws should coordinate with the international obligations & with the Universal declaration for human right so it is not allowed that any constitution or law or text should not contradict with any international agreement concerning the protection of child rights or human rights.

The laws should not contradict with constitution but there should be an internal & external coordination between these legislations & laws to built a civil society, man lives peacefully & securely under the rule of law with the judgment of lawful institutions & permanent constitution for Iraqi, federal state.

THE DAY AFTER ARAFAT...

The International Institute for Middle-East and Balkan Studies (IFIMES) from Ljubljana has prepared an analysis of the Israeli - Palestinian conflict after the death of Yasser Arafat especially for the December issue of »Defence Monthly«, the Slovenian specialist magazine dealing with military and defence issues.

In the eyes of the Israelis, Arafat was the main terrorist during the 1970s. In the 1990s he turned into the main peacemaker and finally in 2000 he became the main initiator of the second Palestinian Intifade and before that the founder of the military movement Fatah, the so-called Al-Aqsa Martyr's Brigade.

The Israelis perceived Arafat's death quite optimistically, hoping that this would bring a start to a new era in the history marked by peace and constitution of the Palestinian state. However, this optimism is a simplification of a complex conflict which has been present in the Middle East for more than half a century. Arafat represented namely only a part of the problems and is not to be blamed for all the open issues, although he was (one of the fundamental) stones in the mosaic of the conflict which comprises Israel, the Palestinian organisations, the Arab states, the USA and the UN. Arafat leaving the political scene of the Middle East may to a certain extent certainly represent a stimulus and a positive movement, although it can not automatically resolve all the accumulated problems from the past.

Now is the turn of the Palestinian leaders. First they have to deal with the most difficult task: fill in the complete political vacuum after Arafat's death and divide his duties (most probably) between the future president and prime minister and the PLO.

The IFIMES International Institute is of the opinion that the Palestinian unity will be one of the key (most delicate) issues of the post-Arafat period. Various fractions within and outside of the PLO are extremely disunited in their efforts to achieve just peace. Their moderate leaders such as Mahmud Abas (Abu Mazen), Ahmad Qurei (Abu Ala) and Mohamed Dahlan are for example more realistic in comparison with the radicals gathered in the Al-Aqsa Martyr's Brigade within Fatah as well as in Hamas and Islamic Jihad. It may hardly be expected that Arafat's successor would invent the magic formula to achieve consensus between the above and other less prominent political fractions if even the most charismatic Palestinian leader failed at it.

Many times in history President Arafat decided to sacrifice an opportunity for the sake of consensus among the fractions. The last such missed opportunity was perhaps the 2000 peace plan of President Clinton. Today almost all Palestinian political groups agree with the thesis that they missed the golden chance by refusing that offer and opened the door to violence, car bombs and other suicidal

attacks which led to the occupation of almost the whole of the West Bank, caused thousands of victims and destroyed the Palestinian economy.

Arafat's successors are facing ordeals which will be cruel and bloody for both the Palestinians and the Israelis. The first episode of this known story can already be foreseen: Hamas and Islamic Jihad as well as the Al-Aqsa Brigades will boycott the elections. This would be the first rebellion against the new leadership and it may even be followed by assassinations of moderate Palestinian leaders, attacks in Tel Aviv and Jerusalem etc. The consequences of this scenario will be: Israel will blame the moderate leadership in Ramala, the world will condemn the leadership for their passiveness and the militant fractions will accuse the leadership of betraying the national interests. The results can also be foreseen: endless spiral of violence which will strengthen the position of radical organisations, especially in the historical time of unilateral withdrawal of Israel from Gaza. For Israel Gaza is of strategic importance in the military and political terms while for the radical organisations it represents the major victory of their politics and the defeat of Israel, similar to Israel's withdrawal from South Lebanon in 2000.

It is perhaps the moderate politician and president of PLO, Abu Mazen, who has most accurately anticipated the bloody future: In his interview for the Israeli newspaper "Maariv" he called Israel not to give occasion to the militants to take the initiative and to stop any kind of interference of Israel into the process of selecting the Palestinian president, for this would represent the motive for the militants to accuse the future president of high treason. The first positive sign from Israel has been the report of the national security council proposing the plan of unilateral withdrawal from Gaza in co-ordination with the Palestinian moderate leadership. A few days after this interview, the popular radical leader of the Al-Aqsa Brigade, Marwan Al-Barguthi, who is imprisoned with five life sentences, announced his candidature for the Palestinian president. This was followed by a rather disputable statement by the Israel's Minister of the Interior, Avraham Boraz, that Israel may under certain conditions grant amnesty to Al-Barguthi. As a possible precedent Boraz mentioned the exchange of prisoners with Hezbolah and the movement of Ahmad Jibreel.

The experts in the Middle East processes and some analysts nevertheless believe that Marwan Al-Barguthi is not a political prisoner and that he was sentenced on the basis of evidence charging him with numerous suicidal attacks in Israel. Boraz's statement therefore represents direct interference in the Palestinian interior affairs and open support to the militants to take over the power in the democratic way which can only lead to increased violence.

The IFIMES International Institute believes that the solution to the present situation would be to establish a (Palestinian) core negotiating team which would immediately start the negotiations with Israel. The team would gain support at the

referendum which could be carried out together with the presidential elections. The negotiating team must state realistic demands such as the return of the 1948 refugees, the borders of the future Palestinian state and the solution of the final status of Jerusalem.

Arafat's successors should start to examine as soon as possible the financial position of the autonomous authorities. It is known that financial minister Salam Fayadh had only limited access to financial transactions, while Arafat's main financial adviser Mohamed Rasheed had unlimited authorisations without any control of the government and the legislative council (parliament). According to the analysts' estimations Arafat had two to five billion dollars in special accounts! The late Palestinian leader opposed any institutional actions especially in the financial field where enormous confusion has resulted in vast corruption. The period after the Oslo Peace Agreement, especially after the second Intifade in 2000, was marked by lack of transparency and consistency between various institutions, for example between PLO and the government, and by the undefined role of various security organisations.

Co-operation between some Palestinian fractions in the political process: The Islamic movements have been marginalised and not included in PLO nor in the autonomous government. However, PLO should not underestimate the real importance of those fractions and their influence on the future situation. The participation of 200,000 Palestinians from east Jerusalem at the presidential elections should be obligatory. The voting could be carried out by post as was the case at the 1996 elections. The status of Palestinian voters from east Jerusalem is similar to the status of tens of thousands of American citizens in Israel who vote at American elections.

The Palestinian people should decide about their future on their own without the Arab states trying to exert their influence. The path to the establishment of the Palestinian state is not paved by paroles and posters of the Arab regimes which misuse the Palestinian tragedy to regulate their domestic problems and stifle any call for democracy. The Palestinians are aware that the small Israeli state has defeated all the Arab states thanks to the level of democracy it has achieved, the economic development, equality of citizens before the law, transparency and fight against corruption in which it did not spare even Prime Minister.

TURKEY-EU RELATIONS IN THE RUN-UP TO THE EUROPEAN COUNCIL OF DECEMBER 17TH, 2004

The International Institute for Middle-East and Balkan Studies (IFIMES) in Ljubljana, Slovenia, regularly analyses events in the Middle East and the Balkans. It has been observing the process of accession to the European Union and the readiness of the candidate countries, especially Croatia and Turkey, to enter the negotiations for accession to the EU. IFIMES is of the opinion that the process of Turkey's accession to the European Union is of strategic importance for the Europe of the 21st century. Turkish Deputy Prime Minister and Foreign Minister Abdullah Gül spoke about the relations between Turkey and EU at the lecture held on 1 December 2004 in Ljubljana. He presented Turkey's views in light of the EU summit meeting to be held on 17 December 2004 in Brussels.

Abdullah Gül

Deputy Prime minister and Minister of foreign affairs

Honorable Rector of the University of Ljubljana, distinguished participants, ladies and gentlemen, I wish to thank the University of Ljubljana for their warm welcome. It is a great pleasure for me to join you today. I am grateful to Prof. Yezernik for giving me the opportunity to address such a distinguished audience.

I would like to begin by congratulating the Slovenian people on their successful entry to the EU and NATO. Turkey welcomed and supported the friendly nation of Slovenia in this process. As an ally and partner, we have happily observed that the transition periods towards the EU and the NATO membership have been successfully fulfilled by Slovenia. The Slovenian peoples' achievement in establishing a full democracy and a dynamic economy in a short period of time is most admirable.

Ladies and Gentlemen, the dynamic nature of the EU makes it a continuous center of focus for all Europeans who share the ideals the Union stands for - Europe - a zone of sustained peace and stability, a continent where everyone can enjoy the benefits of democracy, the rule of law, human rights and market economy, and a union where welfare is shared by all. Only five decades ago, this might have seemed like a dream. But today, the project of a Europe whole and free is closer to reality than ever before.

Ladies and Gentlemen, Turkey's political, cultural and economic engagement with Europe has a background of more than two centuries. And, from its inception about eighty years ago, the Turkish Republic has pursued a policy of integration with Western institutions. Turkey has been part of the Council of Europe and NATO from the beginning. Therefore, it was not surprising that Turkey asked to join the-then European Economic Community only eighteen months after it came into being.

The Association Agreement of 1963 resulted from this accession request. Article 28

of this Agreement envisioned that Turkey would one day join the Community. The ties that link Turkey and the EU have continued to grow. From an economic point of view, traditionally, the EU is our major trade partner and foreign investor. In the words of the EU Commission, Turkey has a high absorption capacity when compared to the other candidates. I would like to underline this point to express my confidence in the dynamism of the Turkish economy.

With the successful economic reforms of the recent years, we achieved stability, growth and confidence. We are determined and confident that by the time of EU membership, Turkey's economy will grow strong enough to be a source of dynamism to the EU. Another aspect of Turkish economic presence is the Turkish businessmen in Europe: With more than 80 thousand businesses they own, Turkish businessmen in the EU are already creating jobs for tens of thousands of people. Turkish businessmen have proven themselves in several other markets. They will have a much broader job-creation potential with Turkey's full-membership.

On the other hand, geography has placed Turkey at the crossroads of current and future energy, transportation and communication networks that link the EU to the East and vice versa. On the geo-political front, during this period Turkey expanded its cultural, political and trade relations with the Balkan, Black Sea, and Caucasian countries. Today, Russia is among our largest trade partners. Thanks to our existing linguistic and cultural ties with the Central Asian Republics, we have easy access to the region. In the Middle East, Turkey is a country in which both the Israelis and the Palestinians place their trust. My Government had initiated a neighbours forum to support the settlement of the problems in Iraq. This forum proved to be an asset in the efforts to establish a peaceful Iraq. UN Secretary General appreciated and contributed to this initiative. Finally, last week this forum came together with the G-8 countries, EU, OIC and Arab League to help secure the political process in Iraq.

We continue to encourage reform and transformation for political and economic development in the Middle East. Turkey is a capable actor in conflict prevention, crisis management and post-conflict rehabilitation. We have gained experience in peace-keeping operations including in Bosnia, Kosovo, Albania, the Middle East and Georgia. We took over the command of ISAF II in Afghanistan and successfully carried out this difficult task. We will assume this mission once again in February next year. All of these issues and regions are of priority for the EU as well.

Ladies and Gentlemen, today, ethnic, cultural and religious prejudices are unfortunately more widespread than ever before. These are both fed by and generate political and socio-economic problems like migration, poverty, organized crime and terrorism. The important task of overcoming these obstacles is a common challenge we face together.

To this end, one of our objectives should be to bridge the differences of all kind through solidarity, understanding, dialogue and harmony. In this context, the EU, as a commu-

nity of values and a variety of cultural, ethnic and religious communities, has proven its value. Turkey-EU relations and the course they will take in the coming months will have important implications for regional and global harmony. The EU should be a progressive force, able to deliver policy objectives on a global scale. We have always believed that enlargement will serve this purpose. In that sense, I am happy to see that, the European statesmen, politician, intellectuals and businessmen with a global vision, look at Turkey's goal of integration with Europe through the perspective of identical strategic interests.

Ladies and Gentlemen, the internal dynamics of my country have always been ready and quick in adapting to new conditions. This is particularly relevant to the EU which is itself a grand project of transformation. In the recent years, we have recorded tremendous progress in meeting EU standards in many areas. The Turkish Parliament, upon the proposal of My Government, adopted eight political reform packages. These were designed to further upgrade our already modern standards of democracy to the EU norms and acquis. Thus, the fundamental rights, among them the freedom of expression, the right to association and peaceful assembly, cultural and religious rights were further consolidated.

The civilian nature of our democracy and civil society was reinforced. We have enhanced anti-corruption laws and have become party to the basic conventions in the field. Laws and by-laws on accountability of civil servants and transparency in administration have been adopted. A reform project has been devised for a more decentralized and streamlined public administration. The Right to Information Act was put into force, providing a comprehensive framework for public transparency. All these far-reaching changes have been reflected in the Commission's report and recommendation published on October 6th.

In the words of the EU officials, we have realized a »silent revolution«. Accordingly, the Commission has recommended the opening of accession negotiations. This is a development of historic significance. Our efforts to further improve our standards and implementation will continue in the future. We see this as a continuous task.

Ladies and Gentlemen, as the December European Council draws nearer, the issue of Turkey's accession has generated a public debate in some EU countries. I find such a debate natural and useful. However, I find it unfortunate and unfair that this debate is mostly focused on Turkey's »full« membership although we are yet at a very early stage. In that sense, we must not lose sight of the true meaning of the anticipated decision on December 17th.

If the negotiations are started, we shall open a new phase in our relations that will extend over years. Turkey's performance will determine how long that phase will last. When we imagine Turkey as a member of the EU, we need to reflect on a different frame of reference than that of today. We should think of the point where Turkey will have met all requirements for membership.

Ladies and Gentlemen, in about two weeks from now, the EU will be making an important decision on Turkey. In this connection, I believe it is important not to lose sight of the fact that Turkey's process of accession has never been a zero-sum game. Turkey, the EU and all its individual member states stand to gain from our full membership, as the impact study prepared by the Commission indicates. And this is a major factor that has so far bound and will continue to bind Turkey and the EU together.

I would also like to respond those who propose that Turkey be given not a membership perspective, but a »special partner« status. Let us not forget that Turkey already has extensive and special relations with the EU. Our Customs Union is functioning for eight years now. Efforts are already underway to deepen it. Means of cooperation in ESDP structures have been established. The pre-accession strategy is fully operational with extensive political and macro-economic dialogue and financial cooperation. Talks are going on for the liberalization of services and public procurement. In short, there can be no substitute for a future full membership. The suggestions of a special status carries the risk of changing the perspectives of future for all the parties and therefore are unacceptable.

Ladies and Gentlemen, it is our expectation that the EU Summit will take a clear and unconditional decision next month to start the accession negotiations with Turkey in 2005 without delay. It is of utmost importance that this decision be fair, equitable and objective. It would be most unfortunate, if short-term concerns or domestic policy issues of individual member-states are permitted to shadow or undermine such a great project related to the future of all of us. It is also essential that The Summit decision should not contradict the principles the EU is based upon. To make the accession negotiation process sustainable and predictable is a priority for us.

Ladies and Gentlemen, Slovenia and Turkey are two countries pursuing a common European vocation. We share the same goals on many foreign policy issues. We consider Slovenia an important partner in the region, with its long cultural and industrial tradition, its geographic position as a gateway to Central and Eastern Europe, and established communication and transport infrastructures. I believe that we should enhance our bilateral cooperation to extend effectively beyond our own countries, particularly in the economic revitalization of Southeastern Europe. Turkey's close ties with the Caucasus and Central Asian countries can also provide new avenues of cooperation. Slovenian companies can benefit from the opportunities that facilitated access to these regions offer.

We believe that, Slovenia, like us, recognizes that further new avenues for cooperation to serve our mutual interests will unfold before us, as Turkey is given a strong perspective for accession.

TURKEY: INTO EUROPE AND... IN EUROPE

In view of the coming Summit on 17 December 2004 in Brussels which is to decide on the initiation of negotiations for Turkey's accession to the EU, Mr. Jelko Kacin, Member of the European Parliament (ALDE) and member of the Foreign Affairs Committee of the European Parliament presents his reflections on Turkey's role in the modern Europe and on the importance of initiation of negotiations for accession of Croatia and Turkey to the EU.

Jelko Kacin, MEP,

Member of the European Parliament (ALDE) and member of the Foreign Affairs Committee

At the European Film Awards Ceremony on December 11, 2004 in Barcelona, the European Film Academy announced the German film *Head-On* as the best European film of the year. Its director Fatih Akin conceived a brilliant story about two Turkish immigrants who married for interest and then fell in love. I chose this topic as the cue for my and our reflection on the future of Europe, EU and Turkey. The film's title, content and actors reflect the agonies and dilemmas we face when we think about our future. These are dilemmas of individuals, interest groups, states and supranational institutions such as the EU.

I still remember clearly the meeting of presidents of foreign policy committees of national parliaments in Brussels during the Belgium presidency of EU, when Slovenia was not EU member state yet. President of the Turkish Committee Kamran Inan always attracted special attention at those meetings with his public questions as to why they always talk about only ten or perhaps twelve candidates, but always forget about the thirteenth one. Although no official date for the beginning of negotiations had been set for Turkey, it was always invited to those meetings. Inan's presence and discussions were the proof that he was alive, that he was there and that Turkey was also invited though always ignored, denied and, as he would say, humiliated in a way. »Why do you invite me if you keep ignoring and forgetting me?« was his question. A clear proof of his lucidity was his question: »Is there anybody here who can tell me in which century of the third millennium might Turkey become EU member?« At that time this was a rhetorical question but today it is realistic and I know the answer: yes, Turkey can definitely become EU member in this, first century of the new millennium.

WHERE IS TURKEY LOCATED?

Turkey is definitely located in Europe and most definitely it definitely is located

also in Europe. I first visited Turkey twenty years ago. I hitch-hiked then and the long journey from my home in Slovenia, then the northwesternmost part of Yugoslavia and now a part of Europe, did not take much time. Despite the iron curtain the journey through Yugoslavia and Bulgaria to Edirna never lasted more than a day and a half, even though I always travelled with truck drivers. Turkey is near, Istanbul even nearer. The city of Istanbul is known to the Slavs also as Constantinople and Byzantium. In our history it is perceived as a Christian (Orthodox) rather than an Islamic centre of the western civilisation. Its biggest mosque was once actually a Christian church and there are plenty of roots of the Christian culture and western civilisation. The two cultures interweave, measure with each other and, lately, respect each other.

As Europeans we are very conservative and often inflexible. All our patterns of behaviour are standardised and we view the world in an explicitly »Eurocentric« way. We are full of ourselves, believing that this is where the world starts and ends. This is the attitude of majority of Europeans and this is our biggest problem and barrier to understanding other views of the world and of the people.

I like to provoke the people I talk to and it is interesting how quickly a European can be confounded. Usually I spread out the map of Europe without the borders marked and turn it upside down so that Europe is seen from the North Pole and not from the equator as we are used to from our childhood. Most people can hardly recognise the shape of the Mediterranean and even their own country, let alone the neighbouring states. Nothing has changed, only Europe as the subject of interest is viewed from another perspective, and we no longer know where nor how or what. It is obvious that Europe, the EU and Turkey can be viewed from several different perspectives. The perspective we have applied to Turkey till now is not, may not be and can not be the only one. There are other truths and we still have to learn about many of them in order to see further, more and better.

If we turn the map so that we look at it from the west and put Turkey on top, we will find out that Turkey spreads far and deep towards the »west«, i.e. towards the Indian Ocean and the Indian peninsula. The »imperialists« would say that it penetrates into Asia, but I rather describe it as a bridge ascending over Bosphorus towards the east, towards Caucasus, Mesopotamia and the Central Asia.

By turning the same map by 180 degrees and looking at it from Asia so that the Pyrenees are on the »top« or »north«, Europe will appear in yet another perspective. Turkey will no longer be in the east. Instead it will look like a southern peninsula of Europe with its lowest point somewhere in the Arafat Mountain where the remnants of the Noah's Arch are supposedly lying. Europe will be different again, even more astonishing and interesting.

If we look at Turkey from Asia, Ankara looks like the southernmost capital of the future EU member state and Istanbul becomes the most attractive economic me-

tropolis in the wider area. Indeed, the people from Turkey's neighbouring states see Turkey as the beginning of Europe, the successful market economy and the educational and civilizational centre and, what is most important, they see Turkey as a stable and safe democracy. I know that many of you can not agree with me due to differences in our criteria. But in comparison with many neighbouring countries Turkey is much more democratic. Due to demands and pressures of Europe and especially the EU it is much more democratic than it was only yesterday and over the process of negotiations it will be more and more democratic for its citizens and for all of us who are urging it to achieve democracy even faster and deeper.

The answer to the question Where is Turkey located? can not be static but dynamic: everything changes and Europe is different today. After the fall of the Berlin Wall Europe became different and larger. But even before that Turkey was on our side, that is to say on your side, on the west or democratic side and it made progress on this side, defending and espousing this world for decades. The Americans, especially the USA political elite, never looked at the world from the Europe's view, so today their perspective is different and better. In Europe we are often annoyed when the Americans keep warning us about the role and importance of Turkey for the peace, security and stability in the old continent. When it comes to geopolitics we should not be afraid of a little bit of help from America in observing the world, especially regarding Turkey.

»Money rules the world« says the Slovenian proverb. Economic implications of EU's enlargement to Turkey are a complex issue related to the very essence of the EU. An important and valuable realization for me as the freshman in the European Parliament was that sooner or later it all comes down again to the question of common agricultural policy and compensations. I have heard that Turkey has more farmers today than the whole enlarged EU together. But we have to face the globalisation and dilemmas concerning the World Trade Organisation. The events in Cancun are still vivid in our memory and if our recent Commissioner Pascale Lamy becomes the director of WTO we will have to deal with the issue of agriculture even more. Isn't the question of sugar in EU still among other the question of our privileges and monopolies which we have to exceed to the benefit of producers and suppliers from less developed countries? The number of farmers in Turkey will decrease in the future and we are also dealing more and more with rural development and less with the compensations. EU's enlargement to Turkey can not and may not be hostage to the interest of those member states which still demand the same share of subvention in agriculture as they had when they were underdeveloped.

The changed regime in the textile industry and fears related to Chinese potential are perceived by the European textile industry as an approaching tempest.

However, EU's enlargement to new member states brings along new possibilities and opportunities for survival and development of some traditional industries and branches which are awaiting a very insecure future. With its economy Turkey has already proven that it has a dynamic industry with a huge potential, which can quickly adapt and co-operate and which offers quality products and services at competitive prices. The growing companies can survive and I believe that EU and Turkey can perform better on the world market if they are together than each separately. In the latter case I am less concerned about the Turkish economy although I am convinced that they would both benefit from Turkey's accession to EU. I believe that together with Turkey EU has many possibilities and opportunities on the world market in the globalisation process and I trust Turkish entrepreneurs that together we can contribute a lot to the development of other economic entities in Central Asia and thus make EU's neighbouring regions more stable, predictable and friendly towards their nations as well as towards all of us.

WHAT WOULD/WILL TURKEY'S ACCESSION BRING TO THE EU INSTITUTIONS?

EU would definitely have another - Turkish language. This is something EU is ready for since it should have been joined by Cyprus together with the Turkish community in the north of the island but, due to the opposition in the Greek part of the island, this has not happened yet. In my opinion this was a major historical mistake. By recognising Turkish language as the official EU language we could contribute more to the speed, depth and content of the negotiations and modernisation of Turkey than with the negotiations which have not even started yet. Millions of Turks at home and throughout Europe could discover, examine and accept the rules and requirements of the EU on the Internet, which would strengthen and deepen the process of Turkey's democratisation. The old EU member states do not pay enough attention to the role and importance of the use of mother tongue in the accession process because they are not aware of the sensitive nature of the national identity and equality issues in countries in transition. The issue of politics is much more present and important in transitional regimes than in old democracies where a high level of apolitical attitude is often present. Language is the prime and main stimulus of development for societies in transition.

WHAT WILL BE THE IMPLICATIONS OF TURKEY'S ACCESSION FOR OTHER INSTITUTIONS?

Like Germany and like Slovenia, Greece or Cyprus, Turkey will have one commissioner. It will not have more members in the European Parliament than Germany

which has the largest number of deputies at the moment. Turkey already has its delegation in the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe where Turkey's Foreign Minister Abdullah Gull, a great friend of the EU and a sincere advocate and campaigner for accession to the EU and for related changes in Turkey, was steeling himself. According to the rules of the game which are already known Turkey's representation will probably be underestimated in relation to its size.

Turkey is a bridge and an opportunity, an ally and a partner. Turkey is our student, but it should also become our teacher. All that glistens is not gold neither is all in EU the best one could choose. The initiation of negotiations between the Commission and Turkish government will trigger a two-way as well as a multi-way process in which everyone will take part: member states and their inhabitants, all the neighbouring countries and their inhabitants as well as other cultures and religions. If we can do that our success will be much broader than we dare imagine today.

I am aware that this short article can not tackle all the issues and dilemmas, as there are simply too many of them. Everyone has a right to his or her evaluation and decision, all I want to stress is that there are always many truths. Those with a different opinion are also right. I would like to point out that my view is explicitly political and oriented into the future since the future should be dealt with an active rather than a conservative approach. Turkey represents a great challenge for the politics and public opinion throughout the world and a challenge beyond all comparison for EU member states. The dilemma I have to resolve is whether I influence and contribute to public opinion or simply adapt to and follow it. I would like to contribute to the forming of public opinion and to creating the positive atmosphere, only which can lead to the necessary understanding, respect, tolerance and, consequently, further enlargement of the EU. I support the setting of an early date for initiation of the negotiations with Turkey. Therefore, this week in Strasbourg, it will be my pleasure and honour to vote, in my good conscience and taking full responsibility, in favour of Turkey's progress report and of setting the date. In this I am guided by the following poem by Leonardo Zanier, written in the language of a minority living in the Italian region of Friuli-Julian-Venetia:

In a thick wood spruces strip off their branches
and grow long,
naked, beautiful,
together towards the light

and underneath
there is no place for bushes

though the loss of branches is painful we have to loose them;
if we look farther than our yard
we are taller

dead ideas tie us to the world of the dead
if we look farther than our yard
we are stronger

If we look farther than our yard we will be stronger, taller and we will see many things we can not see today. We will see Turkey and behind and next to it other states and nations belonging to our world which will then become bigger and better, oriented towards the future. When I was born, visionaries could see further and that is why they were able to conceive the idea of the European Coal and Steel Community. I was born in Yugoslavia, a state that no longer exists, and although I have never moved I live now in another, different, better and bigger world. Formerly, my home was in a narrow area with many enemies and a cold war going on. Now, in the EU, there are many more of us, I live with former enemies and yet I do not feel more endangered. To the contrary, I feel safe and I look with confidence to the future of my children.

It is my sincere wish that my former colleague and my friend Kamran Inan, the doyen of Turkish diplomacy and politics, who is retired now and in opposition, not only reads this writing but also lives to see the date of Turkey's accession to the EU. Since I respect the customs of the environment he comes from we will not drink a toast to that but I am sure we will both be proud and happy for having contributed our share to speeding up the process. Time is gold, too.

BILL OF IRAQI RIGHTS

The International Institute for Middle-East and Balkan Studies (IFIMES) in Ljubljana, Slovenia, regularly analyses events in the Middle East and the Balkans. Dr Munther Al Fadhal has analysed human rights laying emphasis on the Bill of Iraqi Rights which he prepared himself. We have published his complete proposal of the Bill of Iraqi rights.

Professor Munther Al Fadhal, PhD of law

Member of Council of International Institute for Middle East and Balkan Studies (IFIMES), Ljubljana

INTRODUCTION

Since the First World War seized fire, the International family was interesting largely with the basic human rights. The case of respect for human rights was increasing rapidly with the appearance of wars & struggle among human beings. Then man appears as one of the international law protective to avoid the violence of his basic rights without taking in consideration his nationality or beliefs or color or gender or religion.

When the second world war started in 1939–1945, this war caused sever & distractive catastrophe against human raise & violate the human right dangerously when the war victims become millions of women, children, elderly, men military & civilians. Also used various kinds of distinctive weapons (like nutric, chemical, biological bombs&also poisoning gases to destroy human being).

It become common to use torture, using execution punishment, immigration & banishment for the civilians & other dangerous crimes which pushed the international society to establish international court to present the international criminals to judgment in Normbrug in Germany. So that all criminals have their rightful punishment & also to prevent the spread of personal revenge principle.

After that the UN charter issued followed by the Universal declaration for human rights in 1948 then checks & Bills & lists followed one another. All these Bills dictate to respect human rights & to quit using strength in struggle in order to build up peace & to enforce security & the respect of law in solving problems.

The issue of national sovereignty because one of the non absolute issues & these issues respect the activity of International Law then this Law ruling the national law & the international law governing the national law to protect human rights from violation especially from the dectetoring regimes. Still the issue of human rights is the most important issue in the present time & which causing many struggles because of the inclusive regimes policies in some countries & the absence of democracy & the rule of law, all these matters obliged the International society

to interfere to protect these rights to avoid more struggle & to protect the international security & peace.

The general secretary of the UN Mr. Koffy Anan indicated in 16th of March 1998 about the violation of human rights & warned about the factors which threaten the security & peace in the world. From this point, the Security Council issued his decision No. 688 concerning the protection of the Iraqi people in April, 1991 after the uprising of the Iraqi people & the escaping of 2 million Kurds to the mountains because they were afraid of Saddam's regime using chemical & biological weapons against them & also the fleeing of hundred thousand of Arabs in Southern Iraq to Iran running away from the severe regime.

Concerning Iraq, the violation of human rights raised from 1968 & increased in a savage & ugly way after the ruling of Saddam in 1997 up to the date of the falling of the tyrant in 9th of April 2003. There are violations for human rights after falling of Saddam regime. It is common that wars provide the absence of human rights.

Saddam regime created three wars on Iraq & the regime & the whole world, these wars are the war against Shiites, Kurds, the war against Iran, the aggression against Kuwait. These wars wasted fortune & destroy life & violated human rights incredibly in the present time even the previous assessor of human rights Mr. Max Van Chetyal described (Saddam regime as the worst regime known by humanity after the second world war in his violation of human rights). Then the world entered a new twist after the terrorist attacks on the civil targets in USA in 11th of September 2001 because of the fanaticism policy & the terrorism which is not accepted in the civilized world due to the cancellation & not admitting of others policy & also the absence of democracy & multiplicity, breaking of constitution, the absence of law, the absence of national indulgence between various religions, all these points make tension running high which causes wars & instability which needs to be comforted & establish a civil society depending on the ruling of constitutive institutions & the values of indulgence to achieve prosperity & progress for human being & society & these societies put national Bills coordinate with the international Bills in respecting human rights & establishing democracy.

So what is the bill of Iraqi rights in democratic, multiplicity & federal Iraq? To answer this question, we can divide the basic rights into two kinds:

THE FIRST PART

The Bill of Political & Civil Rights for Iraqi Citizen

The right of living & death for human being. It is forbidden to kill any human being absolutely & prohibiting the execution punishment according to a text or

without text with a trial or without trial. It is not allowed to maintain the execution punishment in the national legislations especially for the countries which accept the Universal deceleration of human rights which apposes the execution punishment for this punishment violate human right in living & human being have a fixed right in death when the clinic death exists or for the useless case patient according to a medical report from a specialized committee & the acceptance of relatives from the first or second stage in the case of clinical death.

Prohibiting the trading of slaves & all the similar things against woman, children & men.

Prohibiting of all kinds of forced or unpaid labour or compulsive work for it is contradict with Iraqi human rights in choosing job & his freedom in choice & the volunteering work.

The right of protection from torture & all kinds of severe treatment or non human or insulting treatment which deteriorating human value because any human being have the right of physical safety. It is prohibited to violate his physical safety & dignity absolutely. The protection right from sexual molest & honor crimes concerning woman.

The Iraqi citizen right in protection against arresting or illegal capture.

The Iraqi citizen right in traveling & departing from any country including his own country & coming back whenever he desires & also the right of choosing the place of living & residence.

The right of possession for any citizen. The confiscation of properties without decision from a court is not allowed.

The freedom of thinking & believing or not believing in any religion or an exact attitude. The freedom of changing attitude or belief for any person. The right for any religion group to do their own sermons according to law.

The freedom of expressing opinions & thoughts according to constitution & law.

The unions freedom & the right of associating oneself with any union freely & voluntarily.

The right for any citizen to participate in government & to express his political opinion peacefully.

The right of freedom & secrecy of correspondences, post & e-mails.

The right to refuse the military service.

It is not allowed to put any one in gail because of unpaid loan.

SECOND PART

The Bill of Economic, social & cultural right for the Iraqi citizen

The right of work for the Iraqi citizen without any distinction because of gender or

nationality or root etc... The citizen have the freedom to choose work according to fair & satisfactory conditions. The citizen have the right of protection from unemployment, sickness, accidents & weakness & have the right in fair salary without any distinction between man & woman.

The right of education for Iraqi citizen. It is not allowed to distinguish in education. Education should be free for all stages with the necessity to get rid of illiteracy. It is not allowed to prevent any citizen from education even if he is a foreigner or resident in Iraq.

The right of free health care & provide at least the minimum. Average of living for any human being including clothes, food & drink, place to live physical psychological mental health care. The full right for handicapped mentally, psychologically & physically in free care from the government.

The right for satisfactory food for any person with his family & Providing them with places to live in & protect them from homelessness.

The right of providing the citizen with enough services especially the weak categories from society.

The right of culture for Iraqi citizen & get knowledge from knowledge sources & protect cultured & creative people & Improve their abilities & emphasize on the right for Iraqi citizen in having books & get knowledge from internet sources & all other means of communication with entire world.

The right of living in a clean environment. We should create a pure & clean environment & get rid of wars rubbish like Uranium & also the rubbish of industry & pollution.

The right in development because this right can not be separated or moved. Right for any human being should be flourished & progressed freely.

The right of improving social life & raise the standard of living in an atmosphere of freedom & welfare& this can not be achieved without civil society & the value of law.

The right for Iraqis & non Iraqis to gain the compensation out of physical, financial & considerable damage.

The right of deciding the destiny of Kurd people & recognize the legal rights for all nationalities like (Turkmen, Ashore).

The right of strike & expressing all opinions peacefully.

THIRD PART

General Common Rights

The complete equality in rights & duties for man & woman in Civil, political, cultural & social rights. It is not allowed to distinguish because of gender.

The right for woman to choose her husband & it is not allowed to force woman to get married.

The full right for childhood according to child rights bases & according to the international law.

The impossibility of multi wives or husbands.

The impossibility of using physical or psychological violence against any human being.

The right of judging is guaranteed for any one. Any person has a firm right in a fair judgment in front of a civil court. It is not allowed to establish military or exceptional or special courts.

Any human being is innocent until he proves the opposite according to a public judgment & in front of independent judge. It is not allowed to accuse for a crime happened in the past & punish a man for a past permitted acting. All people are equal in front of court. It is not allowed to force any one to testify against himself.

Any one have the right to sign a lawyer in all stages of investigation & judgment & having a fair judgment.

Punishment is personal & not for revenge but for the purpose of reform human being & if punishment executed, the prisoner should have the full rights as a human being.

Any Iraqi should have the right in having nationality & it is not allowed to leave any one without nationality or drop nationality. It is permitted to have two nationalities.

All Iraqis have the right to establish a family which is the first cell in society & it is depending upon freedom in choosing. The government supports the family.

The freedom to join any union or party & the freedom of peaceful gathering.

The right for anyone to get rest from work & have holidays.

The duties of all Iraqis are fixed in constitution & law.

It is not allowed absolutely the propaganda for war or violence or hatred or fanatic attitudes or attitudes depending upon distinction between people.

The right for childhood in kinness & patronage in all its kinds, expense & nationality.

It is necessary to mention that all the national laws should coordinate with the international obligations & with the Universal declaration for human right so it is not allowed that any constitution or law or text should not contradict with any international agreement concerning the protection of child rights or human rights. The laws should not contradict with constitution but there should be an internal & external coordination between these legislations & laws to built a civil society, man lives peacefully & securely under the rule of law with the judgment of lawful institutions & permanent constitution for Iraqi, federal state.

THE FALL OF THE BERLIN WALL AND THE CHANGE OF THE PARADIGM

Dr Milan Jazbec

- Member of the International Institute for Middle-East and Balkan Studies (IFIMES)

1. INTRODUCTION

The fifteenth anniversary of the fall of the Berlin Wall and the end of the Cold War is by all means an appropriate opportunity to take a general view of the changes that occurred during the past fifteen years.

Assuming that the period concerned and, of course, the fall of the Berlin Wall represent one of the turning points in the modern history, we should evaluate the transitional period and its basic characteristics and do the same for the current period in order to be able to forecast the future. This analysis focuses on the global and structural changes in the international community and on some of its most important aspects. It tries to find out whether these changes have any common features and what would be their global consequences. It examines the nature and course of structural changes at the strategic level and the possibility for their development on the basis of a pattern or model. In other words, in this analysis we will try to prove that the recent turn of the century (which coincided with the turn of the millennium) has brought about changes in the social paradigm. Basically, the social paradigm is regarded as the broad unity of all relations between individuals, social groups and their national and supranational associations and the aspects of communication between them.

2. SOME GENERAL CHARACTERISTICS OF DEVELOPMENT UNTIL 1989

The end of the Cold War and the wave of changes which followed the revolution without the revolutionaries (Knezevic, 2004) in 1989 - *annus mirabilis* - can be observed in a much more clear context fifteen years later. Due to the intensity, volume and dynamics of the changes this event can be compared with the major events in the written history of mankind.

A parallel may be drawn with the end of the Thirty Years War which was ended by the Peace Congress of Westphalia in 1648. In order to understand the changes in the paradigm, we should take a closer look at the period between the Thirty Years War and the fall of the Berlin Wall covering about three and a half centuries.

Those few centuries were marked by the European domination of the world with

a relatively changing composition of the main powers and the balance of their relations established on the basis of more or less controlled wars between them. It was during that period that the national state, the separation of ecclesiastical and secular authority and development of European (and world) history through the system of balance of changing imperial coalitions were formed. It was only by the end of the 19th century that noticeable movements causing long-term changes occurred in this rather closed group of main powers which controlled the world known at the time through maritime expansion of capital. The unification of Germany as well as Italy and the appearance of the USA in the international politics loosened the relations between the world superpowers, changed their configuration, deepened the opposing interests and led the international community into the First World War. Their conflicts crystallised and to a certain extent resolved after the end of the Second World War. The dominant and increasing constant in the following period was the ascent of the USA to the world superpower which was confirmed during the course and at the end of the Cold War.

During this period the modern understanding of the world was founded (Cooper, 1996) and the relations and the rating system were established between the main actors which was most evident in the previous century. National states are based on the principles of intangibility of borders and non-interference into internal matters, they train their armies for conflicts and make wars while human rights are only a relatively important notion for different political elites. Security is ensured through intimidation and an arms race while co-operation or opposition depends exclusively on momentary political interests.

However, this system experienced erosion and evolution already after the First World War with the League of Nations and after the Second World War with the establishment of the United Nations Organisation. Both organisations strengthened the phenomenon of multilateralism in the international political scene as one of the prevailing principles for resolving disputes and ensuring global peace and security. The ravages of war and social devastation in Europe in the period from the beginning of the First World War till Stalin's death during the 1950s, when the first conditions for softening the rigid polarisation of the blocks were created, can be compared with the Thirty Years War. The attempt to balance and loosen the world polarisation was facilitated during the 1950s by the non-aligned movement and two decades later by the signing of the Helsinki act on co-operation (on the basis of which the present OSCE was founded). The emergence and development of the West European integration processes (especially the EU and NATO) and a series of political, economic and social crises shaking the Eastern (socialist) Europe, have contributed to further evolution of the concept of modern politics and its control over everyday life. The decolonisation process which resulted in a large number of new states also contributed significantly to the loosening of the

monolithic polarisation of blocks. Nevertheless, it still seems that during the period of the Cold War the world was regulated, safe and foreseeable and the actors had a hierarchical and continual influence. It is the modern paradigm of the world in which other »modern« concepts and values (e.g. state, diplomacy, international community, art, literature etc.) have their place.

3. THE WAVE OF CHANGES AND THEIR CONSEQUENCES

However, *annus mirabilis* brought along a turnabout: the unification of Germany, the dissolution of three multinational hegemonistic and socialistic states: the Soviet Union, Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia, with 22 new states emerging in their territory as well as the culmination of European integration and disintegration processes. The whole region faced democracy and market economy literally overnight which caused a security vacuum and the revival of nationalistic movements. Old structures disintegrated and the illusions that sudden changes will bring prosperity soon disappeared. Two hundred years after the French Revolution, which was known not only for freedom, fraternity and equality but also for its violence, we are experiencing a velvet revolution without violence which leads to freedom (Jazbec, 2004; Knezevic, 2004). The individual, his/her rights as well as social and personal emancipation have become the centre of political interest. The era of heroes has ended, human rights have become the universal criteria of justice reminding us of the position of the handicapped and the marginalised. The revolution in communication technology and increasing accessibility of its products have increased the freedom and mobility of individuals, but also provided conditions for them to become more isolated and lonely.

These are recognisable elements of the new paradigm. »First of all, as the widest social phenomena the emergence of a new development paradigm should be mentioned. This paradigm encompasses the evolving of a social model based on knowledge and information as well as on their transfer and processing using high technologies. In the social context this represents on the one hand further individualisation of human life and existence which has become less interdependent due to rapid scientific and technological development while on the other hand it presupposes greater interdependence and integration at the social (community) level which reduces the social entropy and increases the efficiency of those societies. Thus, we have marked increased individualisation and independence at the level of individuals and at the same time increased social interdependence and integration at the level of the society.« (Jazbec, 1999: 131)

At the same time a completely different notion of security appeared after the end of the Cold War due to a changed security environment and new security threats and challenges. Those challenges have become dispersed, hardly or not at all fore-

seeable, non-conventional and combined. (Cvrtila, 2004:112; Donnelly, 2003:25; Rotfeld, 2003:76) This of course necessitates the reorganisation of fight against those threats and challenges and at the same time questions the existing structures involved in the provision of security. The intensity in planning and realising the enlargement processes of NATO as well as the EU is therefore not surprising. The enlargement of both integrations is accompanied by their intensive internal restructuring. NATO has lately been the target of criticism regarding the unnecessaryness of its further existence. The main reason for its further functioning was supposed to be eliminated with the disintegration of the polarised blocks, what should prove it to be unable to deal with the new security challenges (Meyer, 2003). The United Nations have also been criticised for being a typical product of the situation at the end of the Second World War and as such unable to provide global peace and security in a completely different security environment. Nevertheless, the fact is that the functioning of UN was mainly oriented towards preventing wars between states at which they were successful since in the second half of the 20th century there were less wars than in the first half of the 20th century although the number of states increased four times during the same period. However, the United Nations have obviously failed to prevent civil conflicts although their mission has generated the basic principles of security for the people and intervention for humanitarian purposes (A More Secure World: 9-14). Criticism has also been directed towards OSCE, although its ability to focus on the soft security offers possibilities for further functioning (Rotfeld, 2004).

The notion of security has therefore spread to the social, economic, environmental and other fields and it can be ensured only with increased co-operation of international stakeholders, who are not only national states and international organisations but - increasingly - also individuals, the civil society and non-governmental pressure groups. Due to their aggressive activities the latter sometimes become one of the key security threats. Instead of block confrontation we are threatened by terrorism, trafficking in drugs and human beings, light weapons, strengthening of international crime, corruption, unemployment, increasing needs for (or dependence on) energy which is in decreasing supply and lack of drinking water. All this leads societies to a more and more vulnerable position. Since we constantly want to improve our standard of living - which we do - the social systems are more and more complicated and vulnerable to simple means and threats and it is increasingly difficult to ensure security.

It seems that terrorism has been born anew and in combination with increasing availability of different and relatively simple weapons it has become an unpredictable and constant security threat (Bennett, 2004; Donnelly, 2004:30-31). As a rule, the victims are more and more often civilians, especially children, women and the elderly, i.e. individuals chosen at random. The most severe examples in

the past few years were New York, Madrid, Budyennovsk, Moscow and Beslan when large numbers of civilians died in terrorist attacks (e.g. about 3000 in New York and about 500 in the small provincial town of Beslan). Classical war clashes were rarely so destructive since the humanitarian law and conventions demand avoiding civil victims, especially children, who were, nevertheless, the main target in Beslan (Russia's Horror, 2004). It seems that the use of different weapons (of mass destruction as well as very simple and classical ones) by non-governmental groups is targeted mainly at civilians, especially children, women and the elderly, which clearly points to the emergence of a new paradigm. It is therefore not surprising that the world seems to have changed completely and instead of its former static and balanced position it has entered the dynamic movement full of new, complicated and interdependent contradictions. The known and predictable has been replaced by the unknown, unrecognised and hardly predictable.

The new development paradigm was also confirmed by the Report of the UN High-Level Panel, in which Secretary-General Kofi Annan determines the inseparable interdependence between development and security (A More Secure World, 2004: viii). Understanding security as the key development issue of the present time points to the necessity of complementary actions taken by security bodies and other stakeholders who can ensure global security only if they co-operate. The complementarity of security processes, which could be clearly noticed for the first time in managing European security processes, is gaining global connotation (Jazbec, 2002:221-226). In this, both the inter-agency co-operation within individual national states (foreign, defence, interior and other ministries, intelligence services etc.) and the co-operation of national armies play an important role. Instead of fighting wars the armies of European States co-operate intensively. The urgent need to adapt to changed security circumstances requires among other the rightsizing of armies, their reorganisation and professionalisation and incorporation in the security and defence integrations (Jazbec, 2002:238-42). One may say that we are witnessing the denationalisation process in European armies, since it was their nationalisation which led them to wars in the past. Interference in the internal affairs of individual states which used to be undesired or even prohibited has today become the basis for functioning of numerous international institutions. Thus the basic activities of the Council of Europe and OSCE for example are institutionalised monitoring of human rights and the freedom of media. The EU and NATO expect their members to harmonise whole social structures, especially the security and defence systems. Transparency, co-operation and trust are the values which have replaced exclusion and conflicts. The universal freedom of individual and his unappealable right to be protected even from his own state represent the orientation of values after the end of the Cold War.

4. THE CHANGE OF THE PARADIGM

There is no more confrontation of blocks and the states of the northern and most of the southern hemisphere are not at war any more. However, there has been an immense increase in the number of inner-state conflicts caused and led by non-governmental groups which abuse the achievements of globalisation (development of information technology and various kinds of weapons as well as the unprecedented availability of weapons left from the Cold War). The victims of those conflicts are primarily civilians. The basic principle of armies is no more their territorial dependence but their operability or ability to react. The development of modern societies makes them extremely vulnerable not only in the military sense but especially in terms of their social, economic, health and other systems.

If this paradigm is taken as a model and research instrument to present the widest context in which the social relations are determined as a whole, it is in principle possible to confirm the accuracy of the above presented view of the volume, dynamics and depth of changes after the end of the Cold War. The key change is the change in the security environment (Reiter, 2003) and its influence on the organisation and functioning of social structures dealing with the provision of security. This security shift is followed by other aspects of changes (political, social, economic, cultural etc.) affecting global societies after such radical changes.

According to Donnelly, a revolutionary change can be noticed every fifty years in the nature of military conflict caused by sociological, technological or other external factors. He perceives this process as the change of the paradigm. As examples he enumerates the introduction and development of the recruitment system during the Napoleonic Wars, development of quick firing guns in the mid 19th century, industrialisation of military production and appropriate infrastructure during the period before the First World War and development of nuclear weapons and systems for its distribution during and immediately after the end of the Second World War (2004: 24). According to Donnelly we are now right in the middle of such sweeping changes which started at the end of the Cold War and were accelerated with the events on September 11, 2001.

Taking into account the above time frames and development until 1989 when century-long trends can be observed in European political history one could agree with Donnelly's findings. He states that the period of duration of each paradigm lasts half a century. However, bearing in mind that the notion of paradigm (and its present change) is based mainly on the functioning of national states, their emergence and development as well as on the development of national armies which have been till now the key factor in ensuring peace and security, one must admit that the effects of individual paradigms extend over a much longer period of time.

The changes which the national armies underwent during the past fifteen years are mainly related to the functioning of the collective defence (and partly security) system in a changed global security environment and could be summarised in the following set of findings: During the past few centuries the national armies were primarily designed for national defence and accordingly for independent functioning, while collective defence presupposes functioning within an alliance. Defending national states from aggression was the basic task of those armies while in alliance they have to defend from various threats. Defence from aggression against the state meant primarily functioning within the territory of own national state while an alliance presupposes functioning outside the territory of the state or even outside the territory of the alliance. The basic source of power for those armies in the past was their ability to mobilise its reserve forces while the capacity to react as a rule presupposes professional composition. National armies were organised for concrete tasks while collective forces have to be capable of carrying out various tasks.

Looking into the way national armies functioned during the period before the end of the Cold War one can find out that the practice (including aggressive wars) has been known since the period before the Napoleonic Wars. Even the several centuries long European domination over the known world was supported by those findings, therefore the functioning of the paradigm based on such military principles should be set in a much longer period of time. The same conclusion can be drawn by applying the criteria of emergence, development and functioning of a national state and some of its attributes (e.g. diplomacy). This corresponds also to the wider (art, literature, science, philosophy etc.) comprehension of the modern paradigm which started with the period of renaissance and lasted throughout most of the twentieth century. In any case, it was the end of the Cold War and the changes which followed that eventually enabled the change of the paradigm to happen and to become identifiable.

What was regarded in the past few centuries as the absolute truth, the only practice, the rule and the motive power of history, has changed from the very bottom. The history of a national state encompassed ownership, management, control and protection of its own territory, of the inhabitants and of other resources, the national border being the sacred notion. The manner in which those issues were regulated determined the system of values and the structure of security, social and other systems. Totalitarianism and ideology were the prevailing features of the previous century and their end marked the expiration of the previous paradigm. Although its elements are and will be still present for some time, the new paradigm can already be clearly distinguished.

The paradigm which expired during the past few years can be regarded as encompassing several centuries. The most obvious proof perhaps arises from the above

mentioned fact that during that period the European main powers controlled global relations with accumulated and balanced power in various forms and through maritime expansion until the beginning of the 20th century when the USA gained important role in the international politics. As the Second World War ended and the Cold War started the leading European states were so exhausted in military and economic terms that the USA simply ousted them from the position of the monopolistic controller of global relations. Accordingly the history of the USA can be regarded as the process of constant expansion and development from a relatively weak state to the present global hegemonic power (Kagan, 2004). This transformation became apparent at the end of the Cold War when the USA became the dominant actor as the division of the world into blocks ended.

The year 1989 can be understood as a funnel through which the history decanted into a camera obscura which changed its paradigm. We left the modern world and entered the post-modern world. It took us fifteen years of witnessing intense changes as well as unexpected and unpredictable events to realise that. The security vacuum which appeared as one of the first and unexpected signs after the fall of the Berlin Wall is apparently a long-term phenomenon. Although one may argue that the East European revolution in 1989 passed without violence it can be observed that the violence has merely spread out and manifested mainly through increasing terrorist attacks. Due to globalisation changes which brought about an unprecedented availability of just about anything, terrorism became one of the main threats in the world today. It could be even argued that the period of uncertainty has returned causing a post-modern topicality of Hobbs's war of everyone against everybody. It could be regarded as a post-modern Thirty Years War in which it is very difficult to foresee concrete forms of emergence or outbreak of terrorism and to anticipate or plan concrete ways of fighting each individual form in which those outbreaks occur.

The change of the paradigm is therefore most evident in the change of the security environment, threats and manner of addressing them. This is not surprising since in the history of human societies security has been of key importance for their survival and functioning. However, the present resolving of not only security but also political, economic, social, religious and other global issues seems to be not well enough considered since it largely generates further authoritarian approach which increases uncertainty and gives room to terrorism (Russia's Horror, 2004).

5. CONCLUSION

There is no doubt that a change of the paradigm has occurred during the past fifteen years. The turning point was the end of the Cold War in 1989.

After several centuries of European global ruling which was based on the concept

of national state and oriented towards ensuring security of states (and indirectly of their citizens) due to inter-state wars, we are witnessing an increasingly dominant role of the USA and the growth of inner-state conflicts which make it difficult to ensure security especially to the citizen as an individual. Owing to the integration processes, especially in the northern hemisphere, states are not at war with each other any more. Instead, their armies intensively co-operate to tackle new and different challenges and threats concerning all the aspects of functioning of the modern societies at different levels. This requires on the one hand accelerated and strengthened co-operation between the states and other stakeholders and on the other hand inter-agency co-operation within states in order to deal with security challenges and threats.

In the post-modern value matrix the individual and his universal importance is placed on the first place which is evident from the fact that a person can resort to international institutions for protection from violence or injustice committed against him/her by the state whose citizen he/she is. At the same time in communication with others the individual (also as *zoon politikon*) has to take into account the principle of co-operation and consensus instead of the principle of conflict which has been primarily applied till now.

The change of the paradigm enabled among other the emergence of a number of new states in the wider European space. Fifteen years after the end of the Cold War a large part of those states also became members of NATO and the EU thus fulfilling their basic foreign-policy goals. By achieving those original goals, i.e. international integration, deideologisation and ensuring functioning in a safe international environment, those states gained means with which they can constantly ensure welfare and security to people living in their territories. Paradoxically - or logically - goals converted to means.

Finally, the task of defining the new development paradigm no doubt poses problems at least at first glance. The simplest and most convenient approach would be to apply Cooper's classification of states and their attributes into pre-modern, modern and post-modern (1996) and use the term »post-modern paradigm«. Since the paradigm is discussed here as the basic concept at the strategic level and taking into account the initial stage of its emergence, the term »post-modern« can be used as the starting point. However, in the long run, the definition and detail grounds for such term will certainly become one of the important issues which will have to be dealt with appropriately.

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7. NOTES

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A group of the most influential states comprises at least Austria, Belgium, France, the Netherlands, Portugal, Spain and the United Kingdom.

The book was composed from 1987-1991 while the quoted part of the text was written in December 1990. The book was published on the occasion of the tenth anniversary of the fall of the Berlin Wall.

Report of the UN High-Level Panel: the summary (2004:1) states that the modern concept of collective security is based on three pillars: today's threats know no

national borders, they are linked with each other and should be dealt with at the global, regional and national levels.

Bennett (2004) points out two events which essentially influenced the process of NATO's transformation: the Srebrenica massacre in July 1995 when NATO intervened after EU's failure and the September 11, 2001 terrorist attacks in the USA. According to Bennett the key challenge of the present time is to achieve consensus regarding the most appropriate strategy of fighting the threats posed by terrorist groups and weapons of mass destruction.

The Report lists in the summary (2004:2) the following six groups of current security threats: firstly, economic and social threats (including poverty, infectious diseases and degradation of the environment), secondly, inter-state conflicts, thirdly, inner-state conflicts (including civil war, genocide and other atrocities), fourthly, nuclear, radiological, chemical and biological weapons, fifthly, terrorism, and sixthly, international organised crime. However, it should be mentioned in this context that the number of victims of terrorist attacks in the first five years of the 21st century was less than five thousand while the recent largest natural catastrophe ever recorded (tsunami in the Indian Ocean in late December 2004 affecting the area from Indonesia to Kenya) took more than two hundred and fifty thousand lives.

In various so called »small wars« since 1990 more than 4 million victims were children and women (Donnelly, 2004:33).

A vivid example is the decline of social systems in most Eastern Europe immediately after the end of the Cold War with the introduction of the market economy. In the past, social systems functioned as a rule on the basis of state subsidies or budget funds, while the mechanisms of market economy no longer provided those funds automatically, which reflects especially in inefficiency of social functions.

Donnelly further states three key factors of those changes after the end of the Cold War: firstly, new global balance of power and its influence on the geostrategic importance of states, secondly, fast technological development, and thirdly, changed attitude to the use of army in western societies (2004:24).

It should be stressed that in case of aggressive wars national armies operated outside their national territories (which, nevertheless, does not change the logic of demonstrating the difference in their functioning before and after the end of the Cold War).

A similar comparison, though more narrow, was made by Cvrtila who described the transformation of national defence and new tasks of armed forces (2004:114).

The global relations which will mark the new paradigm will be based on the fact that the USA, as Dahrendorf states, will remain the key global factor while China's role will continue to strengthen and will, in the foreseeable future, affect those relations with its political and military power. On the other hand, the future of Russia and of the states in its orbit, such as Ukraine, is uncertain, as is the future of Europe since its soft power does not mean much without a connection with the firm power of the USA. (2004).

The author of the quoted editorial from *The Economist* argues that fundamentalism would have very few followers were it not for the miserable living conditions of the local inhabitants.

In case of Slovenia this has an important meaning: a millennium after the first written record of the Slovenian language and four hundred and fifty years after the first book was published, the Slovenian language has been, for almost fifteen years, an official language of a nation which has its own internationally recognised state with all the necessary attributes (Jazbec, 2004:641).

The term »post-modern« was introduced by A. Toynbee in 1934 as the name for the European civilisation after the modern period (modern times) encompassing both the continuation of and the opposition to the spirit of the modern world. In the beginning of the second half of the 20th century the term spread to various fields expanding their horizons (e.g. philosophy /Lyotard/, sociology /Habermas/, literature /Eco/ etc.).

SANDZAK - A REGION THAT IS CONNECTING OR DIVIDING SERBIA AND MONTENEGRO?

The International Institute for Middle-East and Balkan Studies (IFIMES) from Ljubljana, Slovenia has been regularly analyzing the events in the Middle East and the Balkans. IFIMES is analyzing the current political situation. The most important and interesting sections of the comprehensive analysis are given below:

Sandzak is a region that is divided among Serbia and Montenegro. Six municipalities are in Serbia (Novi Pazar, Sjenica, Tutin, Prijepolje, Priboj and Nova Varoš) and six in Montenegro (Bijelo Polje, Rožaje, Berane, Pljevlja, Gusinje and Plav). On the basis of the 1991 census the number of the inhabitants of Sandzak included 420.000 people - 278.000 in Serbia and 162.000 in Montenegro, of which 54% are Muslims by ethnicity.

Sandzak, which is carrying its name after a Turkish word for a military district, constituted a part of the Bosnian Pashalik within the Ottoman Empire until the year 1878. On the Berlin Congress, which was held at the same year, the great powers decided to leave Sandzak within the framework of the Ottoman Empire, but have allowed Austro-Hungary to deploy their forces in a part of this region. Through an agreement between the kings of Serbia Peter I. Karadjordjevic and of Montenegro Nikola I. Petrovic, but thanks to Russia, Serbia and Montenegro took control over Sandzak in the First Balkan War of 1912. Up to the Balkan Wars in 1912 and 1913, Sandzak represented a separate administrative unit with the administration and cultural center being in Novi Pazar. After the end of the Balkan Wars the process of emigration of the Bosniac population to Turkey continued and through the port of Bar left for Turkey in the period between April and June 1914 some 16.500 Bosniacs from the Montenegrin part of Sandzak and some 40.000 from the Serbian part.

In the area of Sandzak in the vicinity of Novi Pazar there are roots of the medieval Serbian statehood (State of Rashka of Nemanja), while today Sandzak is in ethnical sense populated by Bosniacs, who represent a majority population, Serbs and Montenegrins. The Sandzak question rose in importance in the period of the Yugoslav crisis, when new national questions were opened in republics became independent.

On the 11th of May 1991, the Muslim National Council of Sandzak (MNVS), which was in 1993 renamed into the Bosniac National Council of Sandzak (BNVS), was formed. MNVS quickly afterwards issued a memorandum about the special status of Sandzak. At that time also Bosniacs from Montenegro were present within the MNVS. The MNVS issued a memorandum about the special status, which includes elements of statehood, and the document is still officially

valid and has not been revoked. On these two documents the authorities in Serbia and Montenegro reacted with accusations of secessionism and endangerment of the sovereignty of Serbia and Montenegro, which resulted in a political process, in which the leaders of SDA Party in Serbia and Montenegro were accused and arrested (Harun Hadžić and others).

The referendum on Sandzak was held on the 25th - 27th of October 1991, on which the people of Sandzak (mostly Bosniacs) were declaring their will on the issue of autonomy with the possibility of joining some of the republics (without specifically stating which of the republics). It is important to state that there were no incidents on the national basis during this period.

On the basis of Bosniac National Council of Sandzak's (BNVS) decision a referendum has been held on the political autonomy of Sandzak. All together the voting body counted 264.156 voters. On the referendum 185.473 voters participated, which represents 70.19 % of the total. 185.284 voting ballots were valid, against the autonomy of Sandzak voted altogether 1.982 voters or 1.069 %, while 183.302 voters or 98.90 % of the total voted for the political autonomy of Sandzak. The results of the referendum were published in a form of demands, but only when it became clear that the SFRY is falling apart and that the creation of new states was legally formulated by the international community. Since the referendum for the autonomy of Sandzak was being held at the time of Yugoslavia's disintegration, the Bosnian National Council of Sandzak has in the middle of 1993 adopted and published a memorandum calling, according to the model of the Hungarians in Vojvodina, for a »special status of Sandzak«.

The politically-court process against a group of 25 Muslims from Novi Pazar, Sjenica and Tutina, who were accused of an attempt to destroy the territorial integrity of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and to create a republic of »Sandzak«, started on the 31st of January 1994. In January, February and March 1994 also started arrests against Bosniacs-Muslims in Bijelo Polje, Rožaj and Plevlje under the same accusation.

At the same time the regime in Serbia and Montenegro was leading a campaign against the Bosniacs through searching for weapons and a large part of the population underwent special tortures of the security services. This is a period of repression in Sandzak and of a massive emigration to the European countries (Germany, Scandinavia) and some 70.000 people leaved due to the terror. Because of the secessionism charges, the president of MNVS Sulejman Ugljanin left to Turkey and came back before the elections on the 3rd of November 1996, when he became a candidate on the elections, on which SDA in coalition with all the Bosniac parties wins. The coalition won the power but already after six months Milošević introduced temporary administration over the municipality on the 10th of July 1997 under a pretense that the local authorities led by Sulejman Ugljanin supposedly

»provoked national and religious intolerance by hanging out on the municipality building a flag of SDA, and more so between the flag of Serbia and Yugoslavia.«. In the explanation of the Government of Serbia of that period it is also said: »SDA has organized the authority in an improper manner, they introduced to the leading positions only people of their own, they were provoking discomfort among the Serbian population, declined cooperation with the Republic.« One of the Bosniac parties, the Reform Democratic Party of Sandzak under the leadership of Izudin Sušević, also left the coalition with SDA accusing Ugljanin of naming to the leading positions of Pazar's institutions people according to the party key. After some turbulent political events that characterized the period of 1996/97, the president of Helsinki Committee in Sandzak Šefko Alomerović spoke out stating that in Sandzak »the condition of the human rights was devastating.« (at the time of temporary administration by SPS and JUL).

In the unity period of all the Bosniac political parties up till the year of 1999, a Memorandum about the autonomy of Sandzak and special relations with Bosnia and Herzegovina has been adopted by the Bosniac National Council on their 8th regular session on the 19th of July 1999. At this time, Serbia was facing the loss of Kosovo and the declared departure of Montenegro from the common state. Instead of working together on the realization of the declared will of the citizens from the referendum in 1991, Bosniacs and their party leaders were occupied exclusively with the party issues and by this they missed the opportunity to exert public pressure on the authorities in Podgorica and Montenegro to start coping with the question of returning the refugees into the 28 Bosniac villages in the community of Plevlje and bringing to justice the war criminals who abducted 12 Bosniacs from the village of Bukovica. The SDA who was at that time still undivided, hasn't basically done anything on the occasion of kidnapping of 19 Bosniacs on the railway station in the village of Štrpci on the 27th of February 1993, who were in the village of Prelovo close to Višegrad in a garage of one of the burnt houses on the banks of the river Drina itself, brutally killed. Due to the pressure of The Hague Tribunal, Montenegro performed abolition and paid damages to the families of the kidnapped, which was an important moment for the return of the Bosniacs' faith in the government, while in front of the court in Bjelina for the crime committed in Štrpci, only Nebojša Ranisavljević was held responsible. He was sentenced to 15 years of prison, while the commander Milan Lukić (awarded general of The Republika Srpska) is still at large. In 2003 he was sentenced in absence to 20 years of prison, but not for kidnapping and killing of Bosniacs from Štrpac, but rather for killing of 16 Bosniacs in the town of Mioče, case Severin. In case Montenegro did not start fulfilling her obligations towards The Hague Tribunal, the families of the tragically deceased Bosniacs in the villages of Montenegro would never learn the whole truth, especially if taken into consideration that the

SDA branch in Montenegro slowly started to divide itself due to the departure from the party of Harun Hadžić and the arrival of Rasim Šahman. Such a division of the Montenegrin branch of SDA resulted in neglecting the disenfranchised Bosniac parties before the creation of the »Let's live better« coalition, led by Mile Djukanović. The new power in Serbia is sending a clear message that the cooperation with The Hague Tribunal is not a priority and claims that cases like these in Štrpac and Sjeverin can be solved at domestic courts. Meanwhile, not a single criminal proceedings case against the criminals killing Bosniacs in the mentioned villages commenced.

After the departure of Ugljanin for Turkey, SDA was left to the vice-president Rasim Ljajić, who at a certain moment declared himself as the president and afterwards founded his own SDP (Sandzak Democratic Party). Due to continuous pressures on SDA and Sulejman Ugljanin the situation resulted in dispersion and a creation of a large number of parties of Bosniac extraction, which were mainly controlled by Ugljanin and were later gathered in the »List for Sandzak – Dr. Sulejman Ugljanin«. In the political sense, these divisions are still continuing through founding of new parties of former closest colleagues of Ugljanin, such as Party for Sandzak of Fevzija Murić, who was the first democratically elected president of the municipality of Novi Pazar and was later moved from his position by Milosevic. At this time The National Coalition of the Bosniacs in the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, later of Sandzak was formed under the inspiration and control of the Meshihat of the Islamic Community. The last years of Milosevic rule were in Sandzak marked on a local level by a conflict of SPS and JUL, who is supporting the changes of politics towards Sandzak, an event that had quite an echo, but also the inclusion of the Islamic community into the politics and inspiring this party as an exponent of opposition towards the politics of SDA.

The political parties of Sandzak (Sandzak Democratic Party of Rasim Ljajić, Party for Sandzak of Fevzija Murić, who separated himself from the party of Sulejman Ugljanin, Bosniac Democratic Alternative, Liberal Bosniac Organization of Sandzak and Bosniac-Muslim Organization), organizations and NGO's (The Sandzak Intellectual Circle, The Sandzak Committee for the Protection of Human Rights and Liberties in Sandzak, The Association of »Damad«, The Associations of Economists of Sandzak, The Helsinki Committee for Human Rights in Sandzak, The Center for Multiethnic Dialogue) that gathered on the joint meeting on the 3rd of September 2003 in Novi Pazar, adopted a declaration, in which it is among others stated that it is vital to determine the status of the Bosniac community in Serbia and Montenegro, as well as the status of other ethnical groups with Novi Pazar as political, cultural and economical center. The declaration is stating further on that with the new constitutions of Serbia and Montenegro it is vital to take into consideration the interests of all nationalities according to the

democratic standards, principles and practice in the democratic countries, but also that with the new constitutions and laws it is necessary to enable »a working participation of representatives of the Bosniacs in the political, cultural and public life on all levels«.

On Friday, the 5th of September 2003, The Electors Assembly in Novi Pazar univocally chose the Bosniac National Council composed of 35 members. In addition to this a decision was made that the function of the president of the National Council should be performed by the president of the coalition »List for Sandzak – Dr. Sulejman Ugljanin«. »By founding of this council everyone is gaining«, said Ugljanin in the official speech to the electors, »but more than all, a state community, which is going to possess legitimate representatives of the Bosniac nation, which is going to participate in further democratization and creation of new conditions in the multinational community«. In the statement for radio B92, Ugljanin said, that this is a great day for the Bosniac community: »Today we are reaping the fruits of years-long work of Bosniacs and Bosniac parties and The Bosniac National Council of Sandzak on the democratization of this country and creating a better climate. With this deed the Bosniacs are beginning to create the conditions for their own national equality in this state«. In the operations of the Electors Assembly, the Sandzak Democratic Party of Ljajić and the Party for Sandzak of Murić, did not participate and they explained that the legal and political conditions for the forming of this council haven't been met yet. It has been considered that since then political conflicts among the Bosniacs started and they represent a direct clash of the official Belgrade and political opponents, who see their base exclusively within Bosnia and Herzegovina, which in fact holds true. In such a clash got involved also the Islamic Community of Sandzak, which is seen by the Belgrade Islamic Community only as a religious organization of the local character, since they are setting their organizational loyalty outside of the Serbian borders. The Islamic Community of Sandzak considers itself in the spiritual sense to be a part of the Islamic Community of Bosnia and Herzegovina, despite being outside the borders of Bosnia and where the jurisdiction is in principle over Sandzak. The Mufti of Sandzak, Muamer Efendi Zukorlić, speaking for different media has said that »jurisdiction is encountering problems when normal functioning in the southern part of Sandzak is in question, and that is the part that is a part of Montenegro«. He also states that »the authorities started to interfere with the work of the Islamic Community«.

The Islamic Community of Serbia has been founded in the year 1868 with the center in Belgrade, when with the order of Duke Miloš Obrenović the state of Serbia committed herself to perform the restoration of Bajrakli mosque as its seat and to materially stand behind the community itself. On the question of the legitimacy of the Islamic Community of Serbia, the Ministry of Religious Affairs

of the Republic of Serbia gave their opinion: »the Ministry of Religious Affairs of the Republic of Serbia is confirming that the Islamic Community of Serbia with all its belonging organizational units, according to the founding and other internal acts, is a traditional religious community in the republic of Serbia and is operating legally with a full legal subjectivity«. The Islamic Community of Serbia is classified in the Register of the units with the Bureau of Statistics of the republic under its own identity number and a code of activity.

In a search for the solution of the »case« of the Islamic Community of Serbia, the Sandzak Mufti Muamer Zukorlić demanded from the Prime Minister of Serbia to support his initiative to create unique Islamic Community in Serbia, probably with a request of the Prime Minister supporting him in an attempt to move the center of Islamic Community from Belgrade to Novi Pazar. The only thing that has remained outside the framework of these discussions is the fact that the internal relations and principals of organization of the Islamic Community are being regulated by the Islamic Community. »The negotiations between several existing Islamic communities is our internal question«, said Zukorlić. The former Prime Minister of Serbia Zoran Živković thought that the problem was formed because Serbia still does not have a modern law on the subject of religious freedoms and at a certain occasion he said that »the time when the state had a negative attitude towards religious communities has passed«.

BOSNIACS IN MONTENEGRO

Until the »Žabljak« Constitution of 1992 the Moslems (then still not Bosniacs) were one of the constitutive nations of the former SFRY. The decision of changing the name of Muslim into Bosniac was adopted on the All-Bosniac Assembly in Sarajevo in 1993. Three years later the term Bosniac was accepted also in Novi Pazar, and afterwards in Kosovo, Macedonia, Croatia, and Slovenia and recently even in Serbia. It was the hardest in Montenegro.

The elections on Montenegro put the Bosniacs in to the position of choosing between the democratic candidate of the time Mile Djukanović and Momir Bulatović as the candidate of Milosevic, which convinced the Bosniacs to vote for Djukanović, even though this resulted in minimizing the political role of SDA. A great number of Bosniacs in Montenegro are joining the Montenegrin parties, such as DPS, Liberals and SDP, a condition that is being continued up to this day, a fact that in great measure eliminates the question of Sandzak on the political scene of Montenegro. In the present period of division of the orthodox population in Montenegro on Montenegrins and Serbs, the position of Bosniacs is playing a role of a decisive political factor between them, which is preserving the rule of Djukanović. In addition to the Albanian population, the Bosniacs are also rep-

resenting an important factor in the eventual independence of Montenegro. The politics of Djukanović and the subjects from the Bosniac side shattered the unity of the Bosniacs in Montenegro, as well as the possibility of creating a unique spiritual and cultural space of Sandzak with a center in Novi Pazar.

Side by side with this politics in Montenegro operates a Muslim Society of Avdul Kurjepović, a former minister in the Government of Montenegro and the director of the Republican Bureau of Planning, which is negating the national identity of the Bosniacs in Montenegro. Such a situation is being supported by ruling and oppositional structures in Montenegro, which are sending agitators, who are in direct talks convincing the Bosniacs that it is in their greater interest to identify themselves as Montenegrins of Muslim faith and that that is the only way to achieve greater freedom and civil rights. The Muslim Society with a seat in Podgorica is with a mission mostly going to Plav and Gusinje in order to »open the eyes« to the majority Bosniac population that in Montenegro there are no Bosniacs, but only Muslims who have no connection to the Bosniacs in Bosnia. All this is leading to the conclusion that Bosniacs in Montenegro do not possess democratic national rights and freedoms, since their national selfness is being denied, which is the same as under the communist rule when the ruling structures claimed that there is no Bosniac nation. With such a well-considered move the authority created several effects – instead of national recognition, the Bosniacs were pushed into the frameworks of a religious institution and were by thus prevented from integrating into the society.

Along this we have an active society of Bosniac-Muslim intellectuals, who are gathered around the newspaper »Almanah« and are running a debate on the national identity of Bosniacs in Montenegro, which results in a fact that on the last census of the population of Montenegro there are in addition to Bosniacs also Muslims. Of the total 672.656 citizens of Montenegro, Montenegrins represent 273.366 or 40.64 percent, Serbs 201.892 or 30.01 percent, Bosniacs 63.272 or 9.41 percent, Albanians 47.682 or 7.09 percent, Muslims 28.714 or 4.27 percent, Croats 7.062 or 1.05 percent and 2.875 Romany or 0.43 percent. It should be marked that a part of Bosniacs are declaring themselves as Muslims or Montenegrins of Muslim faith. In the total structure of the population there are some 15-20% of Bosniacs a result of which is a general position of the Bosniacs in Montenegro that they are looking for a solution of their problem through a status of a constitutive nation in the case of Montenegro as a civil state. The latest population processes in Montenegro have showed that the ethnical processes are still not finished and that the political identification does influence national identification. Thus a much larger number of Serbs is registered in relation to the previous census, which is in a substantial measure preventing the success of reforms on Montenegro and is showing the importance of Bosniacs and Albanians for the final result of the status of

Montenegro. With this, the Albanians see their position in the regionalization of Montenegro, while the Bosniacs are not asking any questions and therefore the 5-6 % of Albanians possess greater rights than 15 % of Bosniacs. According to these data it seems that the authorities in Montenegro are with an inspiration towards the final independence using all the methods to slow down the Bosniac national identity.

A new moment in Montenegro is represented by an attempt of the government (the regime) to introduce the term »mother tongue« into the schools, with which an opportunity could be given for the national communities to call their language Bosnian, Serbian, Montenegrin or Croatian, an idea that is provoking a large reaction of the pro-Serbian circles in Montenegro, who oppose the project. This though still hasn't completely put out the work and certain influence of the Bosniac National Council of Sandzak, who has its protagonists in Montenegro among some intellectuals and marginal Bosniac parties, but the ambitions of the Islamic Community to influence Montenegro have risen and we should also not forget the activities of the Islamic Community of Montenegro. The politics of Djukanović is creating a manifold confrontation within the Bosniac corpus on the relation Sandzak - Bosnia and Herzegovina in the sense of mother-country, but also in locating their own regional identity, which in Montenegro of course is not possible without connection to Sandzak. The question of Bosniac language in Montenegro is also a question of returning of the Bosniacs to their nation and culture. Each move of the regime in Podgorica is leading this nation to a loss of identity and total political disorientation of 15% of the population of Montenegro, the Bosniacs. In order for the Bosniacs to be able to solve their national question, they have to know that for them do not suffice only political proclamations of political parties and leaders, but a force of the spirit and their culture, which is suffocating already for decades in Montenegro as well as in Serbia. Through a path of unity and cultural development, the Bosniacs would succeed in creating a strong political climate in order to solve the problem of constitutional and legal status as the only way for complete integration into the state and the society.

Such a situation in Montenegro is directly leading to the question of an idea of integral Sandzak and is factually reducing it to the space in Serbia, who is also exposed to further fragmentation due to the Serbian politics. With this in Montenegro the part of Sandzak ceases to have a political subjectivity, which is partially remaining only in the Serbian part of Sandzak.

The tragic events in Kosovo on the 17th of March are without any doubt representing an important moment for Sandzak as well, since with the burning of the mosques in Belgrade and Niš came to a double reaction among the Bosniacs in Sandzak of which one was an increase in the faith in the state, since the objects in Sandzak were not damaged, with which in some way trust in each other on both

sides was confirmed in the region. An important moment was a declaration of all Bosniac institutions in the sense of searching for the answer, whether the Bosniacs in Sandzak within Serbia-Montenegro are indeed safe. About the declaration also the European institutions for human rights were informed. It could be said that the position of Bosniacs in Serbia was exposed to variability, from a noticeable improvement in the times of Zoran Djindjić, which resulted in the opening of two universities and all to the naming of Rasim Ljajić for the president of the National Council for the Cooperation with The Hague Tribunal, a deed that represents an extremely cynical position of the Koštunica's government, which has no power to confront herself with the war crimes accusations and with delivering the indicted generals, including Radovan Karadžić.

Up till now the dominant trustworthy position among the Bosniacs was held by Sulejman Ugljanin as a president of BNVS. But this trust was shaken after the local elections in September 2004, on which Ugljanin was closely followed by Rasim Ljajić, the present minister for people's and minority rights of Serbia-Montenegro. In the pre-election fever of Novi Pazar the candidates for the president of the municipality were Ugljanin and Sait Kačapor (SDP). The difference in favor of Ugljanin was small, while there were more than 51% of the voters who went voting. This can from one side mean a beginning of democratization within the Bosniac national corpus, while from the other it opens a question of division within the corpus and a crisis of leadership, which was opened by this.

A decade long conflict of former leading people of SDA Ugljanin and Ljajić is today resulting through open hostility and investment into the game of their closest colleagues Fevzija Murić, the president of the Party for Sandzak. The present position of the two Sandzak leaders is in great measure caused by the division within the Serbian political parties. A plebiscitary support the Bosniacs gave to Boris Tadić, the present president of Serbia, because the people of Ugljanin found themselves on the list of candidates of DS for the Parliament of Serbia (Bajram Omeragić, Esad Džudžević). Vojislav Koštunica kept Rasim Ljajić on the position of the Minister for people's and minority rights, who has with his list »Together for tolerance« became an extra-parliamentary party due to the election census of 5%, which was only after the parliamentary elections reduced to 2%. Ljajić by this created a considerable influence in Sandzak since by now towards this Bosniac leader economic and other lobbies started to gravitate. During the local elections evidenced support from Sarajevo was given to Sulejman Ugljanin, while Ljajić was supported by Belgrade. In such a manner the civil option in Sandzak became completely marginalized, a fact which created a double effect - national homogenization and polarization inside the Bosniac and the Serbian voting body, but division within the national corpuses as well.

The International Institute IFIMES considers that in the situation, when in Serbia

national questions are becoming actualized, it is necessary to solve the question of relations between the majority nationality and the national minorities, especially in the sphere of participation of the minorities in the political life, which is not a case at the moment. National minorities are politically discriminated, since there is no political document, which guarantees the national minorities with adequate representation in the political life. The space of Sandzak became also a space of possible actualization of the Bosniac question in Serbia. The newest actions of the Ministry of education and sport of the Republic of Serbia, who came out with a position that there is no Bosnian language, represent a big step backwards on the issue of national minorities, since the previous minister, or rather the same ministry, had a favorable stance towards this question, which even resulted in a creation of textbooks for the Bosnian language. Lack of recognition of the Bosnian language is at the same time a step that denies the existence of the Bosniac nation, with which the politics is returning into some old and dark ages. The question of language is obviously in the current political context saying more through a change in the political course towards the minorities in a negative sense. In Serbia and Montenegro national values of the majority nation are superimposed on the minorities as values of the general society, which means that the State Union of Serbia and Montenegro isn't ready for multiculturalism, or rather interculturalism and civil society. In Montenegro, where we are witnessing a modern and awoken nationalism, Bosniacs are brought into the situation where in case of not supporting Djukanović on the elections, they would be labeled as pro-Serbian, since in Montenegro indirect support for preserving the state union because of a desire to preserve Sandzak is seen as a »Serbian thing«. In such a manner the authorities in Montenegro are directly preventing the realization of elementary human, civil, national and political rights and liberties of the Bosniac nation in Sandzak. The independence of Montenegro would bring even greater instability to the region, especially if taken into account the fact that in the independent Montenegro, the Montenegrins would themselves be a minority, while Serbs, Bosniacs, Albanians and Romany would literally be a majority.

The International Institute IFIMES considers that in the adoption process of the new Constitution, it is impossible to minimize the fact of urgency of responsible natural regionalization of Serbia, by taking into consideration geographical, economical, ethnical and other foundations, according to which the region of Sandzak would have its own place and affirmation, and through it the state of Serbia as well.

The International institute IFIMES considers that the question of status of the Sandzak region is a central question of Serbia-Montenegro relations and should be due to its importance treated as such. The preservation of the ethnical picture as well as of the multi-ethnical territory of Sandzak with its traditional and modern

mosaic is a very important question in the goal of political, social and economic solution of the crisis in this area. The preservation of the territory of Sandzak is a condition for the preservation of Bosniacs between the two fires of Serbia and Montenegro. In addition to this, the international community should have more understanding for the actual problems of Bosniacs in Serbia and Montenegro as to finally place the question Sandzak on the agenda with a goal of creating conditions for the democratic national rights, which in itself is a civil democratic question par-excellence.

LOCAL SELF-GOVERNMENT IN SLOVENIA

The International Institute for Middle-East and Balkan Studies (IFIMES) in Ljubljana, Slovenia, regularly analyses events in the Middle East and the Balkans. Dr Stane Vlaj, Assistant Professor at the Faculty of Administration of the University of Ljubljana, Director of the Institute of Local Self-Government and member of the IFIMES International Institute presents his view of the local self-government in Slovenia in the light of centralisation or decentralisation. His complete paper is published below.

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1. INTRODUCTION

In Europe, local self-government has a several-century-long tradition comprising variegated regimes. The models of local self-government vary in the volume, structure, tasks and their relations to the state. Their common feature is that they rest on their own tradition and historical development. Different models of local self-government will also be present in the future for there is not and can not be a single model, not even within individual (federal) states. The European Charter on Local Self-Government (ECLS) and other documents of the Council of Europe and the European Union (Treaty establishing a Constitution for Europe) relating to local and regional communities respect the diversity of those models.

Local self-government made significant progress in the 20th century. It became the indicator of democracy in individual systems and contributed to the stability and security in Europe. As a special autonomous field of public law it forms the basis of the social system and the system of government in all modern European states. The re-established principle of subsidiarity, which led to the decentralisation of public issues to the most appropriate level, plays the decisive role in this process. The focus of attention is on the citizen equipped with modern rights, freedoms and new needs. The principle of subsidiarity constantly seeks the balance between the freedom of an individual and various authorities. Moreover, the principle of subsidiarity means that the state and international institutions, especially the EU, respect the role and position of local and regional authorities in a state. In accordance with the international law, the principle of subsidiarity is the fundamental principle in the European integration process.

2. LOCAL SELF-GOVERNMENT HAS REPLACED THE MUNICIPAL SYSTEM

The municipal system, in which the municipality was the so-called socio-political community functioning mostly on behalf of the state while local self-government was partly implemented in local communities, was abolished with the introduction of the new municipalities. In its size, number of inhabitants, organisation and field of activities, the former municipality was hardly comparable to the classical municipality in Europe. Municipalities were too big to be regarded as classical municipalities and too small to assume the role of the first stage of state administration or the role of the regional community.

The former municipality performed most of the tasks on behalf of the state. Research has shown that there were over 3000 such tasks after 1974 and that municipal bodies carried out more than 80% of the activities for the state. In accordance with the constitution the municipality was competent for all public matters within its territory regardless of whether they were of local or general national importance, except those which the law explicitly placed within the competence of broader socio-political communities. The municipality thus functioned as an integral part of the state and its first instance.

The fact that the former municipality was not intended to engage in local issues and meet the local needs of the citizens obviously arises from the structure of municipal bodies and, especially, the municipal administration with its authorities and services which were in fact merely the extension of government departments. The examination of municipal decrees and other acts shows the same picture. The vast majority of those regulatory documents was intended only for the implementation of laws, regulations and administrative provisions.

The municipalities set up on that basis were on average several times bigger in size and the number of inhabitants than the average European municipality. Even as regards its territorial structure the former Slovenian municipality did not represent a natural local community. On average it had 31.740 inhabitants and covered the area of 321 km².

With the abolition of social ownership as the prevailing form of ownership, self-managing based on associated labour, delegational system, the prevailing role of the league of communists etc., which were replaced by the plurality of ownership, market economy, multi-party political plurality etc., the conditions were created for the abolishment of the former municipal system.

3. LOCAL SELF-GOVERNMENT HAS PRACTICALLY FUNCTIONED SINCE 1995

The Constitution of the Republic of Slovenia guarantees local self-government to the citizens of Slovenia. With this basic requirement, along with the regulation of

human rights and fundamental freedoms and the division of authority, the Constitution places Slovenia among the states striving to ensure common European standards for defining and safeguarding the rights of local authorities which are the level of administration closest to the citizens enabling them to participate efficiently in the formation of decisions relevant for their daily life. The right of citizens to participate in public matters is one of the principles of democracy common to all democratic states. This right can be most immediately realised at the local level.

In Slovenia, local self-government has been in force since January 1995. The municipalities with changed territories, new contents and new bodies started to operate on 1 January 1995. The reform of local self-government in the Republic of Slovenia regarding the functional, territorial, financially-material, organisationally-administrative and legal contents has not been concluded in any of these aspects.

Many changes have happened in Slovenia in the past ten years, especially in the legislative field: ratification of ECLS, ratification of the European Outline Convention on Transfrontier Cooperation between Territorial Communities or Authorities in 2003, elimination of initial difficulties in the functioning of municipal bodies, completion of the network of new municipalities, preparation of the bases for the introduction of regions, etc. On 1 May 2004 Slovenia became a full member state of the EU. The Capital City of the Republic of Slovenia Act as well as new acts in the field of public administration, which have an important impact on the position of municipalities, their bodies and administrations, were adopted.

The reform of local self-government in the Republic of Slovenia is not a one-off act but a complex and dynamic process which will continue in the future. Local self-government was introduced in a very short period. It should be pointed out that, mainly due to various political interests, the functional, financial and regional contents of this reform were neglected.

The introduction of local self-government was accompanied also by problems stemming from disagreements in the preparation of the necessary legislation as well as from the new values and methods of operation which can not be adopted in such a short time. We should be aware that such a turning point implies a complete functional, territorial, material and organisational reform of the social foundations.

4. THE CONFRONTATION BETWEEN THE CENTRALISTS AND THE REGIONALISTS

Two opposing movements have been constantly present in the debate on local self-government in the Republic of Slovenia: the centralistic and the regionalistic (decentralistic) movements. The most disputable issue was the so-called region-

alism. The question was whether there should be one or two levels of local self-government in the Republic of Slovenia. As regards the new municipalities, the question was whether they should have large or minor competences, i.e. whether municipalities should be large or small. The essential conflict was whether Slovenia should have a strong local self-government which would represent an appropriate counter balance to state centralism or only a weak local self-government which would enable centralistic administration of the state. In those dilemmas the national politics never achieved the consensus on the basis of which a clear formulation on local self-government could be included in the Constitution and the Local Government Act (ZLS).

After long years of living in municipalities as communities, the inhabitants had difficulties in understanding the new local self-government in which they often still expect the municipality to act as the extension of the government administration. The implementation of local self-government is a demanding task. It mostly concerns the division of competence between the state and local communities, which implies also the regulation of rational financial and ownership flows and of the relations between the two levels. However, the absence of wider self-government local communities in Slovenia represents a pressing problem which can not be avoided. The true role of local self-government lies in the vertical division of authority. With the division of authority between the state and the local communities, the power of the state (the centre) is limited in such a way that there are fewer possibilities for the alienation or misuse of that power.

5. ELEMENTS OF THE REFORM

The reform of local self-government in Slovenia comprises five elements: the functional, territorial, organisational, financially-material and legal component.

The functional element includes the redistribution of competences between the state and the municipalities as the basic local self-government communities and the implementation of the principle of subsidiarity with the decentralisation process which has been initiated.

The territorial aspect covers the creation of new municipalities which have replaced the former communes. From the former 62 communes, 147 new municipalities were formed in 1994, followed by 45 additional municipalities in 1998 and another one in 2002. Altogether there are 193 municipalities in Slovenia today, but they are not all formed in accordance with the legal standards. Half of them have less than 5000 inhabitants and not all of them have a complete primary school, primary health care centre or health station, bank, post office, appropriate facilities for the work of the municipal bodies, etc.

The organisational component deals with the new arrangement regarding the or-

ganisation of authority in the municipality which is composed of bodies (directly elected municipal council and mayor, supervisory board) and the forms of indirect citizens' participation in the municipality decision making (citizens' assembly, referendums and civil initiative).

The financially-material aspect incorporates the implementation of principles of proportionality of funds to the tasks of local communities, solidarity with the less developed municipalities, the right to own sources of local communities etc.

The legal element deals with the status of the municipality as the legal person governed by public law and its integration in the complex legal system of the Republic of Slovenia.

None of the above elements of local self-government in Slovenia have been completely realised. It should be noted that the territorial aspect has been overemphasised while not enough attention has been paid to the functional, regional and financial elements.

6. TASKS OF THE MUNICIPALITY

In comparison with the former municipalities the tasks of the new municipality are focused on the local matters of public importance which are laid down by the municipality general act or by law. According to the Constitution of the Republic of Slovenia, the municipality is competent for local affairs which can be regulated autonomously by the municipality and which affect only the residents of the municipality. The Constitution also lays down that the state may, with the municipality's or wider self-governing local community's prior consent, vest by law specific duties within the state jurisdiction in the municipality or wider self-governing local community, if the state provides financial resources to this end. During the initial period of functioning of the new municipalities it was hard to expect that the municipality could take over certain matters, since the material and human resource conditions were not adequate. However, the municipalities have recently established that they are qualified to take over from the state jurisdiction those matters which would be carried out more expediently and rationally in municipalities, including the fields of spatial planning, agriculture, small business, tourism, public events, opening hours and other. From the point of view of ECLS and modern tendencies in Europe in the field of local self-government it can be concluded that there are numerous matters which should be decentralised on the analytical basis by transferring them from the state to municipal jurisdiction, especially to urban municipalities.

In other states the legislation vests the municipalities and regions with more or less freedom in determining the level and volume of public matters they are to manage. Some laws are merely framework documents and enable wide possibili-

ties of application. On the other hand, some laws vest the municipalities and regions with special matters in which they allow them few possibilities. Municipalities also carry out the tasks not laid down by law and those not vested in them by the state.

Abroad, municipalities are usually competent for public utility, social care, health services, support to private economic activities (e.g. providing locations for economic and trade activities), ensuring collective use for the local community residents (e.g. solidarity and non-profit making housing for underprivileged parts of society) and maintaining social order (e.g. supporting persons in difficulties). The scope of activities of local self-government is relatively large covering most of the tasks relevant for the daily life of the people. The regions or other levels of local self-government are vested with the competences affecting a larger number of the population and covering harmonisation and planning beyond local borders concerning transport, hospitals, secondary education, regional planning etc. The matters within the jurisdiction of municipalities and regions are laid down in laws for each field.

7. FINANCING OF MUNICIPALITIES

Financial resources are essential for evaluating the reality of local self-government. Local authorities must have a high degree of autonomy in their competences, the manner and means for realising those competences and the necessary resources for their completion. Financial autonomy requires enhanced competence of local communities and at the same time democratic control of their expenditure. Financial autonomy also means that local communities collect the minimum of taxes within their territory and on the other hand requires satisfactory management of local public services responsible for the public good.

Financial resources must be proportional to the competences which the Constitution and the laws vest in local communities. Many European states are still a long way from applying the principle of subsidiarity and the provisions of ECLS. Public expenditure of local communities ranges from 1,4% (Cyprus) to 27,5% (Sweden) of the gross domestic product while it is below 10% only in twelve states. In those states, the share of that expenditure in the total public expenditure, which provides a better view of the degree of decentralisation in the public sector, is below 15% and in 5 states even below 10% although it should be taken into account that transferred competences are already included in these figures.

In Slovenia, public expenditure of municipalities in 2004 accounts for 5% of GDP and about 12% of the total public expenditure. Expenditure for investments amounts to 43% of the total municipal public expenditure, 11,20% of total expenditure for investments and 1,89% of GDP. Comparison of those shares in different

European states shows that Slovenia is among those at the bottom of the scales. This also shows that the Slovenian local self-government is still in its early stages. The decentralisation of public matters and their transfer to the local communities together with appropriate funds will enable a different (more favourable) evaluation.

Slovenian municipalities are financed pursuant to the Financing of Municipalities Act which was adopted in 1994 as a temporary act before the new municipalities started to operate. The main content of the Act was the financing of essential tasks (the so-called ensured expenditure and from 1998 appropriate expenditure), defining the criteria for the financing of essential tasks and financial equalisation based thereupon, i.e. state budget funds intended for the operating of municipalities. The 1998 amendments to the Financing of Municipalities Act include a more objective definition of the equalisation of municipalities regarding their size, number of residents, number of residents aged below 15 and above 65 and the length of local roads, all in comparison with the national average. Appropriate expenditure is calculated on the basis of a special equation which includes above corrective factors. A new act on the financing of municipalities is in preparation at the moment.

The ratification of ECLS also calls for the changes in the system of financing of municipalities. Article 9 of ECLS contains the following eight principles which the signatory states must respect in the formation of national legislation in the field of financing of local communities: Firstly, the principle of adequacy requires that local communities have adequate financial resources of their own, of which they may dispose freely within the framework of their powers. Secondly, the principle of commensurability requires that local communities' financial resources are commensurate with the responsibilities provided for by the constitution and the law. Thirdly, the principle of self-financing requires that at least a part of the financial resources of local authorities derives from local taxes and other charges of which, within the limits of laws, they have the power to determine the rate. Fourthly, the principle of flexibility requires that the financial resources of local communities are sufficiently diversified and flexible to enable them to keep pace as far as practically possible with the actual evolution of the cost of carrying out their tasks. Fifthly, the principle of equalisation requires that the state applies not only financial equalisation but also other appropriate measures in order to ensure equalisation between local communities in the financing of local matters. Sixthly, the principle of participation requires that local communities are consulted, in an appropriate manner, on the way in which redistributed resources are to be allocated to them. Seventhly, the principle of autonomy requires that the funds which the state grants to local communities are not earmarked strictly for the financing of specific projects. And eighthly, the principle of borrowing requires that local

communities have, for the purpose of borrowing for capital investments, access to the national capital market within the limits of the law.

8. REGIONS - THE SECOND LEVEL OF LOCAL SELF-GOVERNMENT IN SLOVENIA

The implementation of the principle of subsidiarity includes also the discussion on the regionalisation of Slovenia. In a unitary state like Slovenia the question of regionalisation is how to find the intermediate level between municipalities, communities and the state. In the Republic of Slovenia there are no wider self-governing local communities (regions) nor administrative districts. Consequently, a vacuum has occurred between the state and the municipality which is negatively reflected both in the fields within the jurisdiction of local self-government and within the jurisdiction of the state. This has resulted in a high level of centralisation: the decentralisation of the municipal system has been replaced by the centralisation in the central state authorities. The consequences of such a system are systemic inefficiency in carrying out public matters, the tendency of border regions to ally with their counterpart regions across the national border, as well as constant economic, political and other pressures on the state centres.

The inhabitants of Slovenia exercise local self-government in municipalities and other local communities. Municipalities are the basic units of local self-government which may independently decide to join into wider self-governing local communities, as well as regions, in order to regulate and manage local affairs of wider importance (Article 143 of the Constitution). Wider self-governing communities may in addition perform also specific tasks within the state competence which the state has vested in the region after its prior approval and in accordance with law together with the funds necessary for carrying out those tasks. In agreement with the regions, the state may transfer specific matters within the state competence to original competence of regions and determine the participation of such communities in proposing and performing particular matters within the state competence. The principles and criteria regarding the transfer of those competences are regulated by law.

The regionalisation, i.e. creation of regions, is necessary mostly in order to resolve faster the internal development problems and implement the principle of subsidiarity by ensuring the decentralisation process as the basis for a quick and harmonious development of the whole Slovenia. The need for regionalisation arises also from the changes which took place during the period after local self-government was put into force. The number of municipalities increased, their structure changed, their competences were centralised (except for the competences of local importance) and the difference in the economic development between Slovenian

municipalities increased.

Regions are intended to fill in the vacuum between the small municipalities and the state and mitigate the present excessive power of the state over the weak municipalities. Their aim is to bring municipalities together in order to enable a more efficient management and realisation of the needs of citizens and the economy which are beyond the capabilities of individual municipalities.

Regions carry out the tasks which municipalities are not capable of performing since they exceed their human resource, technical, organisational and financial capabilities. Those tasks are within the original competence of regions as they can perform them on their own without the transfer from municipalities which are not competent for carrying out the tasks of wider local communities (regions). Nevertheless, municipalities may transfer certain tasks from their original competence to regions. The original tasks of regions cover environmental protection, spatial planning, transport and communications, agriculture and, notably, regional development. Moreover, regions carry out the tasks transferred to them by the state on the basis of the principles of subsidiarity and decentralisation, the tasks laid down by law as the original tasks of regions as well as the tasks referred to municipalities in their role as the first instance of the state jurisdiction.

Slovenia needs regions in order to be comparable with the EU states and to be able to tender successfully for the EU regional development funds. The creation of regions enables Slovenia as an EU member state to co-operate with other European regional centres on an equal basis.

Cross-border co-operation of local and regional communities also calls for the creation of regions. The absence of regional organisation, incompatibility of the Slovenian administrative system with the neighbouring states and lack of organised public infrastructure which would facilitate the establishing and deepening of contacts and co-operation, represent one of the key barriers for developing cross-border co-operation.

Various models have been prepared for the division of Slovenia into regions.

9. PROPOSALS FOR FURTHER DEVELOPMENT OF LOCAL SELF-GOVERNMENT IN SLOVENIA

Since local self-government in Slovenia has been limited by centralism, the latter should be dealt with from the points of view of territorial division of municipalities, the reduced role and influence of municipalities and the failure to recognise regions. On the basis of the analysis of local self-government in the Republic of Slovenia and its comparison with the European experiences and tendencies, the following proposals have been prepared for the continuation of the reform:

Since the problems of Slovenian local self-government stem from the Constitu-

tion, some of the articles of Chapter V should be amended so that it would contain clear provisions regarding the establishment of regions, transfer of state tasks to local communities (without their approval) together with appropriate funds and the realisation of the state's administrative tasks also in local communities. All the provisions which are incorrect and misleading in comparison with the European standards and which strengthen centralism in Slovenia should be removed from the Constitution.

Further reform should be based on the recent sociological knowledge which surpasses the local narrowness backed by Slovenia's laws. It should move from the concept of »territory of localities« to the concept of »territory of flows«, from the »old« (closed) to the »new« (open) localism. It should apply the concepts of »new regionalism« and »teledemocracy« which change the previous concept of direct and indirect democracy. The »new political culture« should replace the rigid and hierarchical territorial organisation, weaken the role of political parties and strengthen the role of various groups which go beyond the local and national boundaries. In the long run these concepts indicate the vision of the creation of a global civil society. In accordance with the principle of subsidiarity and other European standards contained in the ratified ECLS, municipalities should be protected in all aspects in the Slovenian legislation on local self-government and in practice from the interference of the state with their competences and fixed and stable material resources should be ensured for their functioning. The present inability of the state to deal with the demands for new and ever smaller municipalities should be overcome by legal provisions which would determine the establishment of municipalities within certain reasonable territorial limits. The complete professionalisation of mayors and administrative apparatuses even in the smallest municipalities is also in contradiction with the modern European tendencies.

The imposition of solutions by the state or municipalities (local narrowness backed by the laws) can only be eliminated with a dialogue and partnership cooperation which enables the convergence of general and concrete interests and thus a dynamic relationship in which the state authorities carry out the matters of national importance while the municipal authorities deal with the matters of local relevance. Nevertheless, the municipalities should be encouraged to enter the wider sphere and assume the responsibility for resolving the issues also at the national and global level.

10. RECOMMENDATIONS OF THE CONGRESS OF LOCAL AND REGIONAL AUTHORITIES OF EUROPE (CLRAE)

In May 2001 the Congress adopted the recommendations for Slovenian authorities regarding the further development of local and regional democracy in the

Republic of Slovenia.

CLRAE recommends the Slovenian authorities to:

ensure local communities (municipalities) their own financial resources, more strictly respect the criteria laid down by the Local Government Act in the creation of new municipalities and prevent further fragmentation, achieve co-operation between the Ministry of Finance and Ministry of the Interior, especially concerning the financing of local communities, and include local communities in those discussions and in the preparation of various other laws in the field of local and regional self-government, fully respect Article 10 of ACLS on the right of local communities to associate and resolve the issue of their representativity in associating, to lay down clear powers for the regions, the establishment of which the Council of Europe supports; in accordance with the principle of subsidiarity the municipalities should transfer to the regions only those tasks which they are not able to perform on their own due to their size, vest in the regions which should have at least 100,000 inhabitants, as envisaged in the coalition agreement (of the previous government - author's note), numerous powers of the state administration, i.e. the majority of present competences of administrative units, ensure sufficient funds to the regions and respect the ECLS provision on direct election of regional councillors in the preparation of legislation, strengthen cross-border co-operation between the Slovenian, Austrian, Croatian, Hungarian and Italian local and regional communities and ratify as soon as possible the European Outline Convention on Transfrontier Cooperation between Territorial Communities or Authorities including the two Protocols (already ratified in 2003), continue with good work and efforts to protect ethnic communities.

11. CONCLUSIONS

The weaknesses of the Slovenian local self-government are:

the above recommendations of the Council of Europe have not been satisfactorily realised;

the decentralisation process has not started and therefore the principle of subsidiarity as the fundamental principle of ECLS and the EU Constitution has not been implemented;

technical proposals for constitutional changes in the field of local self-government have not been adopted;

the act on regions and the act establishing the regions and defining their territories have not entered the legislative procedure;

the (new) act on local government and the (new) act on encouraging a harmonious regional development have not been adopted;

the proposal for a new act on the financing of municipalities has not been prepared;
the field of local self-government has not been included in the competences of the Ministry for Public Administration.

12. COMMENT

Assistant Professor at the Faculty of Administration, Director of the Institute of Local Self-Government, former head of the Government Service of the Republic of Slovenia for the Reform of Local Self-Government, member of the Steering Committee on Local and Regional Democracy - CDLR (1992-2003), alternate Slovenian member in the Committee of Independent Experts for the European Charter of Local Self-Government within the Congress of Local and Regional Authorities of Europe (Council of Europe, Strasbourg). Latest book: *Local Self-Government: Theory and Practice*, Faculty of Administration, Ljubljana, July 2004.

The logo for SKT, featuring the letters 'SKT' in a stylized, blue, blocky font.

RRA LUR

For Successful Economy
of the Ljubljana Urban Region

The logo for Sava Group, with the word 'Sava' in a white, rounded, script-like font on a green rectangular background.

Sava Group

The logo for debitel, with the word 'debitel' in a lowercase, sans-serif font, where 'debi' is black and 'tel' is green.

Ponudnik mobilne telefonije

The logo for montiboss, with the word 'montiboss' in a blue, italicized, sans-serif font, slanted upwards.The logo for primorje 60, with 'primorje' in white on a dark blue background and '60' in white on a yellow background.The logo for Gospodarsko razstavišče, with a green 'GR' monogram and the text 'GOSPODARSKO RAZSTAVIŠČE' in a small, sans-serif font.The logo for ADRIA, with the word 'ADRIA' in a blue, italicized, serif font.

www.adria-airways.com

The logo for DROGA KOLINSKA, with the text 'DROGA KOLINSKA' in a bold, red, sans-serif font.The logo for SLOVENIJALES, with the word 'SLOVENIJALES' in white, uppercase, sans-serif font inside a blue oval.The logo for Akti Vita, featuring a green plant-like icon above the text 'Akti Vita' in a serif font, with 'Mreža zdravja' in a smaller font below.The logo for modracelica, with a blue circular icon containing a white dot and the word 'modracelica' in a blue, lowercase, sans-serif font.The logo for in LIFE, with a blue circular icon containing a white 'in' and the word 'LIFE' in a large, black, sans-serif font.



Identity card of SCT, d. d.

SCT is Slovenia's leading construction company providing its clients – investors domestically and abroad – with reliable and high quality services in various fields of construction work. SCT, d. d., is a joint-stock company formed from a group of associated companies. It is the parent company of the SCT Group, which includes subsidiary companies. In 2004 SCT employed 2,100 people, with 200 top experts.

SCT constructs motorways, main and regional roads, bridges, viaduct, flyovers, under-passes, tunnels, railway lines, airports, ports, residential complexes, industrial and power plants, office buildings and cultural centers, hotels, hospitals, schools, churches, sports centers, hydropower plants, purification plants, and a number of other structures and facilities aimed at the protection of environment. SCT market share in the Slovenian construction industry fluctuated between 11 and 12 percent in 2004. In the Slovenian market, SCT was engaged in the construction of 202 structures, including 133 in the field of civil engineering and 69 in the field of structural engineering. SCT foreign market operations in 2004 were underway in the countries of former Yugoslavia: in Montenegro, Bosnia and Herzegovina, and in Croatia.

SCT was the first Slovenian group of construction companies to receive the ISO 9001 quality certificate in January 1997. Quality in operations, human relations and relation to the general society and environment is the basic value that is inbuilt in our goals, strategy and policies. In February 2004 SCT received a SIST ISO 14001:1997 certificate, that assure our clients and stakeholders that we use natural resources and

dangerous substance appropriately and that we control various environmental impacts of our production.

SCT has been present in Slovenian construction field for almost sixty years. In Slovenia a majority of our surroundings bear the SCT sign, but we are also well known abroad. SCT has built the largest viaduct in Slovenia - Črni Kal, the Karavanke, Dekani, Sozina (Montenegro) and other tunnels, Jomo Kenyata international airport in Nairobi, Kenya and several airports in Libya and Iraq, Sochi airport in Russia, Kiev airport in Ukraine and others. In the last years, SCT also took part in the construction of international border crossings Karakaj, Rača and Izačić in the former Yugoslav republics. All together SCT has over the last decades built more than 100 km of motorways abroad, including the first real motorway in Bosnia and Herzegovina - the Jošanice-Podlugovi section of the Zenica-Sarajevo motorway.

Only people with professional ethics who focus on expert skills and create trends are able to leave behind such a heritage. Despite its age SCT is a dynamic business system, which is not only actively adapting to the changes in the market, but is rather also provoking and creating them. Our development is based on firm vision, business adaptability, quality of operations and financial development. SCT projects arise from our past experience, are based on the present and look to the future. As at SCT we are building the future - for all of us as well as future generations.

SCT d.d

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For Successful Economy of the Ljubljana Urban Region



*Lilijana Resinovič,
Director of the regional
Development Agency of the
Ljubljana Urban Region
(RRA LUR)*

During the last year, the Regional Development Agency of the Ljubljana Urban Region and the its 25 municipalities have been developing a Regional Development Programme for the period after Slovenia has joined the EU. It is an extremely important document for an investor with a global view. It comprises several measures which will help us reach our goal of making the region a quality business and living environment. We believe that the economy of the region will develop fast and successfully only on condition that good business connections and fast and efficient communication with the world are available.

The Ljubljana Urban Region and her competitive advantages

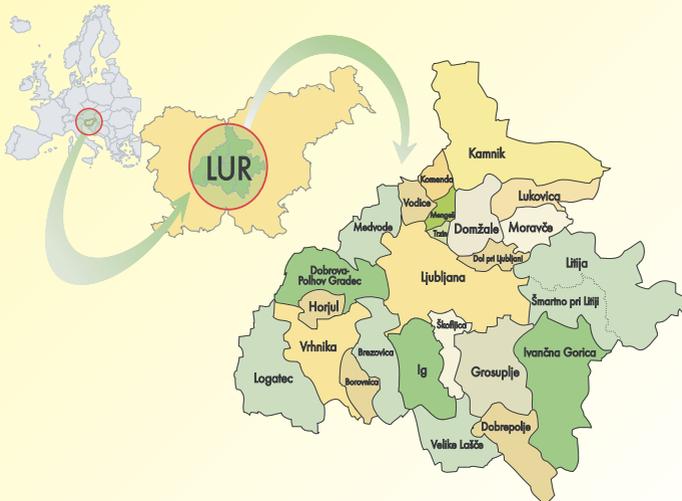
The Ljubljana Urban Region comprises 25 municipalities and covers 12% of Slovenia. More than a quarter of the entire Slovene population live in the region. Our people are very well educated and highly skilled in modern high technological industries. A quarter of all jobs in Slovenia are in our region. GDP level per citizen is approximately 91% of EU average. Regional economy structure is similar to the average structure of well developed European cities with a prevailing service sector.

In comparison with other regions, both in Slovenia and abroad, the Ljubljana Urban Region has three competitive advantages (they are explained in

detail in the Regional Development Programme of the Ljubljana Urban Region, which you can find at www.raklur.si):

- o The authenticity of the Slovene language and culture, as well as a great variety of Slovene dialects, as an example of European distinctiveness.
- o Cultural events and institutions known in both European and global contexts.
- o The most preserved ecological network.

It is a mountainous region with a network of rivers, wetlands, forests, cultural landscapes, towns and villages. The quality of the environment is such that drinking water is drawn directly from groundwater beneath the city. The region plays an important role in connecting Slovenia, internally and to other countries, since it lies at the crossroads of two main European transport corridors; no. 5 (Barcelona-Kiev) and no. 10 (Munich-Istanbul).



The role of the Regional Development Agency of the Ljubljana Urban Region

The Regional Development Agency of the Ljubljana Urban Region was founded in 2001 by municipality of Ljubljana.

We are an agency that supports economic, social and cultural activities in the municipalities of central Slovenia. The main aim of this support is to make the region a friendly and recognisable entity with common goals.

We support recognisable and high quality projects in the field of regional development and provide all the necessary information for their effective implementation into everyday life.

Our main activities are:

- Development of relationships between the public and private sector at local, regional, national and international levels in order to promote development initiatives and enhance coherent regional development.
- Acceleration of integrated regional development.
- Planning and implementation of regional and other development programmes.
- Acquisition of domestic and foreign financial support.

The basic task of our agency is to connect the 25 municipalities of the region into a harmonious whole. The fundamental idea as the basis of the region will be respect for each individual unit and the intertwining of mutual business and personal relationships. This will lead to a better quality of life for us here and now, as well as for future generations. In addition, the Agency represents a bridge to the European Union for all the municipalities in the region.

Projects directed to improve economic vitality and growth of the region

Our vision is to develop the Urban Region of Ljubljana as a conurbation or network of towns intertwined with nature, with a high quality of life. The region aims to achieve a high level of global competitiveness by fostering creativity and co-operation, and to meet the challenge of being a

European capital. To achieve this vision, the region needs to secure the high quality of its institutions, informal networks and especially its infrastructure. This will enable our people and businesses to be globally competitive and simultaneously enjoy a very high quality of life.

The Regional Development Plan consists of seventeen sub-programmes including 48 projects, ranging from the regional municipal infrastructure, international business zones and a network of bicycle routes, to internet support for the job market and forming clusters of enterprises and educational institutions. The largest project with major structural impact is the development of the regional public transport system, combining existing rail infrastructure and bus services with modern tramway technology, thereby enabling sustainable spatial, functional and social development of the region. By reinventing a public transport system which has lost ground in the past decade, the region hopes to avoid the urban sprawl, revitalize its town centres and avoid environmental problems connected with increasing car use.

The implementation of this programme will be the first steps of an old Central European region in the European Union. Its success will benefit the region itself and will contribute to the sustainable development of Europe as a whole.

Contact

The Regional Development Agency of the Ljubljana Urban Region (R R A L U R), Linhartova 13, 1000 Ljubljana, Slovenia, phone: +386 1 306 1901, fax: +386 1 306 1903, e-mail: lur@ljubljan.si, internet: www.rralur.si.

Strategic goals	Functioning conurbation Creative people and successful businesses Capital region with the highest quality of life in Europe		
Priorities	Estimated cost	Goals	Sub-programmes
1. Co-operation within the region	231.000	To put to use the "dormant" opportunities arising from co-operation within the region.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Strengthening regional institutions ○ Support to regional networks ○ Exchanges of experience and preparation of joint projects
2. Accessibility		To secure quality access to the services of the city, towns and the region for all sections of the population through connectivity.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Sustainable mobility ○ Environmental infrastructure ○ User friendly internet content ○ Supply of services in support of quality of life
3. Effective education and training for creativity	161.000.000	To exploit the current gap between the capacity of human resources and their impact on generating added value.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Clustering education and research with business ○ Opening culture to youth ○ Lifelong learning
4. Opening to the world	4.000.000		To actively involve a European capital region in the process of European integration and open to the world for the region and the country.
5. Ecological and cultural network	540.000	To benefit from the quality of our environment, natural resources and cultural heritage as one of the key competitive advantages of the region	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Preservation of cultural heritage ○ Effective physical planning ○ Nature conservation ○ Development of possibilities for recreation and sports
	4.500.000		



Sava Group

The Sava Group is managed administratively by the *holding company Sava, d. d.* In addition to the holding company Sava d.d. the Group includes the affiliates from the six divisions: Rubber Manufacturing, Trade, Tourism, Real Estate, Investment Finance and other operations. The holding company Sava d.d. is decided to keep its leading position in all of the Sava Group's divisions by offering its products and services in the local, regional and international market.

In the **Rubber Manufacturing** division, which manufactures high-quality industrial rubber, the following companies operated in 2005: Savatech d. o. o., Sava-Schäfer d. o. o., Sava-GTI d. o. o. and Sava-Rol d. o. o., as well as five foreign trade companies and two representative offices in eight countries. The reputable Sava brand name and the advantages that the Group provides are successfully utilised and marketed in the domestic and international market.

Trade division includes companies Sava Trade d. d. and MG Market d. o. o. selling technical goods and do-it-yourself programme. Since 2002 Sava Trade d. d. operates as a uniform trading company in the wholesale and retail under the Astra-Chemo brand name. Its largest affiliate is MG Market d. o. o., the OBI-franchise partner. Both sales networks, AstraChemo and OBI, successfully expand their operations throughout Slovenia.

Tourism is growing to become one of Sava's strongest development activities. The operations of **Tourism** division are based on the strategy of common appearance in the market, therefore they are linked under two brand names: Sava Hotels & Resorts Bled (Grand Hotel Toplice d. o. o., Golf and Camp Bled d. d., Golf and Park Hotels Bled d. o. o.) and Pannonian Spa (Terme 3000 d. d., Terme Lendava d. d., Terme Ptuj d. o. o., Terme Radenci, d. o. o., and Terme Banovci, d.o.o.).

Real Estate division includes the companies Sava IP d. o. o., IP NOVA, d.o.o. and Sava Nova d. o. o. The companies build real estate for sale and Sava's investments.

Investment Finance operations are performed directly by the holding company Sava d.d, to assure the economic efficiency of the Group and growth in the investment value. It creates opportunities for profitable financial investments and supports the development of all strategic operations. The division includes also the affiliated companies Limb d.o.o. and Biool, d.o.o.

Other operations include three companies: Teol, d.d., Sava Medical&Services, d.o.o. and ENSA, d.o.o. The companies operate in various fields of business; they are being restructured, or provide services for needs of the Sava Group.

MISSION OF HOLDING SAVA D.D.

To increase the asset value of the company by training the companies owned by Sava to achieve an above average return on capital with regard to the branch in which they operate and through efficient management of financial investments.

VISION OF HOLDING SAVA D.D.

To become the most successful and sought-after manager of capital in Slovenia and a reputable and responsible partner in the sustainable development of the natural and social environment.



Poslovna skupina Sava



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Company profile:

Primorje is a universal construction company, able to execute any kind of works, related to construction and building. Its quality of construction ranks it among the best construction companies in Central Europe.

Main activities of company:

Construction and execution:

highways, fast roads, bridging structures, railways, airports, dams and reservoirs, drainage and irrigation systems, power plants, open cast, mining works, pipelines, commercial and industrial buildings, residential buildings, sports structures, plants.

Production:

stone aggregates, concrete, asphalt mixes, prefabricated elements, concrete pipes, poles ...

Designing:

construction engineering design, building construction design, complete technical support, design of prefabricated buildings.

Strategy and success of Primorje is based on four elements; skilled workers and experts, new technologies, contemporary machinery and own resources.

2850 highly trained and skilled workers as well as experts for most different fields of construction engineering and building constructions present staff.

Primorje owns several technologically demanding systems for launching bridge construction, for making pile walls, under ground drilling and up to date technologies for prefabricated elements.

ISO 9001 and 14001 certificate:

Quality of buildings and building products shows, that Primorje is able to fulfill all international quality standards. Primorje has the certificate ISO 9001 from year 1998 and ISO 14001 from year 2005.

Foreign markets:

It is a high level of expertise and quality which set a door wide open to the foreign markets once again for Primorje. Thus at the moment company is present in Italy, Croatia, Montenegro, Bosnia. Apart from building on foreign markets Primorje also develops other forms of business co-operation with highly specialized partners from abroad like Austrian company Jager for the construction of tunnels or the world famous French firm Freyssinet for the construction of more demanding bridges.



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ADRIA
www.adria-airways.com
Adria Airways,
The Airline of Slovenia, d.d.

Adria Airways is the Slovenian national air carrier. The principal activities of the company are scheduled air transport, non-scheduled (charter) air transport, transport of cargo, maintenance of aircraft for third parties, and training of flight crew. Adria's fleet comprises ten aircraft: three Airbus A320s and seven Canadair Regional Jet CRJ 200s. This is a modern fleet that is both environmentally friendly and economical.

The network of Adria Airways links Ljubljana with 19 cities throughout Europe and offers excellent connections to Southeastern Europe (Sarajevo, Priština, Podgorica, Skopje, Ohrid, Istanbul). In cooperation with our partner airlines, especially members of the Star Alliance network, of which Adria is a regional member, Adria offers its customers 15,000 scheduled flights each day and a network of 790 destinations in 139 countries throughout the world.

Adria Airways operates charter flights to Mediterranean destinations.

Adria's cargo service offers cargo shipment to airports throughout the world. Adria Airways operates a cargo route between Ljubljana and Sarajevo, and between Ljubljana and Frankfurt.

Adria has several European certificates and has been providing maintenance and service for its aircraft for decades. Aircraft manufacturer Bombardier Aerospace Canada selected Adria to be its only European Heavy Maintenance Facility for Canadair Regional Jet aircraft, and we also perform maintenance work on the Airbus A320 family.

Adria Airways was one of the first airlines to receive the IOSA (IATA Operational Safety Audit) safety certificate, which defines the level of organisation of the company and its operating procedures, as well as the flight safety and security of the company.

Our goal is to remain a respected European regional carrier. With a professional, caring staff and modern fleet, Adria is committed to providing a high level of service and satisfaction, and to winning our passengers' loyalty.



DROGA KOLINSKA

Company profile

The main business strengths of the Droga Kolinska Group are its solid financial position and the establishment of its own brand on the market.

The merger of two successful Slovenian food producers, Droga and Kolinska, gave Slovenia a new company in May 2005. In addition to the parent company, Droga Kolinska d.d., headquartered in Ljubljana, it also includes associated companies in Slovenia, Croatia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Serbia and Montenegro, Macedonia, Sweden and Russia.

The Droga Kolinska Group, which links 1,640 suppliers on the Slovenian and foreign markets, supplies consumers with a broad range of food products, including coffee and teas, patés and ragus, cereals, water and soft drinks, children's food and fruit and vegetable preserves. Droga Kolinska's strategic goal is to become the biggest food producer in the region, through both organic growth and external growth by making further capital links. The fulfilment of these ambitions will be helped by the already established brands, some of which have regional and even global potential. The Droga Kolinska Group meets all industry standards and has the ambition to become the leader and core of the integration of the Slovenian food industry and, together with other companies, to achieve total higher growth and increase output. These ambitions and capabilities are based on the following facts: excellent business performance and financial strength, a good market position, our own solid and recognisable brand names and investments in development, people and technology.

Our goal is integral quality control. We follow modern trends in the food industry by training

our experts and encouraging innovation. We have opted for environmentally friendly technology, since we are aware of the importance of the environment in which we live and work.

The company is organised as a public limited company. The parent company has a total of 1047 employees at the following locations: Ljubljana, Izola, Portorož, Gradišče, Središče ob Dravi, Rogaška Slatina, Mirna and Črnomelj.

Social responsibility

At Droga Kolinska, we strive to preserve, develop and encourage anything that has a favourable effect on people's quality of life.

Environmental protection is our foremost concern, and that's where our greatest responsibility lies. We live and work in the only world we have. We have inherited it, and we must preserve it for our children.

The quality of our products and services has been and continues to be our most important value.

Both companies out of which Droga Kolinska was formed were holders of the [ISO 9001](#) and [ISO 14001](#) certificates, the [HACCP](#) international certificate for children's food and an international certificate that meets the [BRC](#) international standards for teabag and meat paté programmes.

By supplying the market with food and beverages of the highest quality on a daily basis, we meet the needs of consumers from all age groups and ensure an increase in the value of shares for our owners, while offering our suppliers and subcontractors an environment conducive to the realisation of their business plans.

Our Brands

Spreads



The Argeta pâté is made of **quality raw materials**, spiced with **natural spices** and prepared without **added food preservatives**. The main ingredient of the pâté is meat minced into such tiny pieces that they are no longer seen with unaided eye. Without any animal fats, the Argeta pâté is added exclusively quality vegetable oil which improves the quality and nutritious value of the pâté. The method of packaging and heat processing – sterilisation – ensure the durability of Argeta. You can take Argeta wherever you go as it does not need to be kept in a refrigerator as long as it is originally packed. It is a quality practical companion on the better side of your bread.

Healthy Food



The Zlato polje trademark comprises rice, milled products, cereal products, groats, breakfast products and risottos. The nutritious and energy value places them among the basic foodstuffs of the healthy food pyramid. The Zlato polje products are intended for use at home and in catering industry which is becoming one of the fastest growing market segments.

Drinks and Hot Beverages



The 1001 cvet teas excel in natural vegetable raw materials. Knowledge and the state-of-the-art technology in Droga Kolinska enable our packages and filter bags to keep and maintain the most precious of the sensitive flowers and leaves of medicinal herbs. This is why our 1001 cvet teas are known and used in every Slovene household.



The family of the Barcaffé coffee blends is the result of the thirty-five years of experience, our knowledge, modern technology and your wishes taken into consideration. Our coffee blends have been carefully selected and their quality is thoroughly controlled.



The mystery of the special flavour of Cockta lies in the unique blend of eleven types of herbs: Rosa rugosa hips give Cockta its characteristic aroma and lemon and orange its irresistible freshness. Cockta is suitable for all generations since it contains neither caffeine nor ortho-phosphorous acid (an aggressive ingredient characteristic of the cola beverages).



Natural mineral waters may have a special composition and physical properties and, owing to medical findings, alleviate or prevent certain diseases. Can you imagine that there is a natural mineral water which:

- helps with stomach and gallbladder problems,
- is an excellent laxative,
- reduces the possibility of kidney stones,
- acts against muscle cramps,
- does not increase blood pressure even in case of larger quantities having been drunk,
- prevents disorders of the cardiac muscle rhythm,
- improves metabolism,
- makes up for the magnesium deficiency due to an unbalanced diet, smoking, stress or sport,

- relaxes and calms you, and
- plays a role in preventing osteoporosis.

There is no doubt that Donat Mg, this natural mineral water of unique composition, is distinguished for all of the above and many other features.

Ready to Eat



The Maestro spices are distinguished by the tradition and quality which comply with the wishes of an ever so demanding chef. In addition to a wide range of spices, aromatic herbs and their mixtures, the trademark offers the Maestro hren, a cold horseradish sauce, which is also best known in Slovenia.

Sauces are like life – their mystery is only known when bitter and sweet moments blend. Owing to these properties they are indispensable in a good kitchen since they improve the flavour and fragrance of dishes. The products by Droga Kolinska are the very answer to the wishes for safe food the preparation of which is simple and not time-consuming. Lunch is on the table in just a few minutes.

Confectionery



With an over 80-year long tradition, Štark is one of the largest confectionery companies in this part of Europe. The production programme comprises more than 200 products of which the salt products "Smoki", the "Najlepše želje" chocolates, pralines, tea biscuit and many others are best known among consumers. More information on the offer can be found on the website of the company Štark.

Baby Food



The Bebi baby food is easily digestible and has a high nutritious value. We recommend it to adults, too, when they need light food.



Droga Kolinska Group Strategy 2010

Vision

The vision of the Droga Kolinska Group is to become the leading company of comestibles with own trademarks in the region and exceed the average rate of return.

Our mission

To satisfy the needs of consumers of all ages with a quality range of food and drinks, to guarantee shareholders an increase in the value of capital and offer employees an environment in which to realise their enterprise ideas.

Main strategic goals

- focus on consumer satisfaction
 - growth through own brands and selected acquisitions
 - in each product line: among top 3 players in the region
 - geographical expansion in the region
 - targeted total sales revenue in 2010: 500 million EUR
- 

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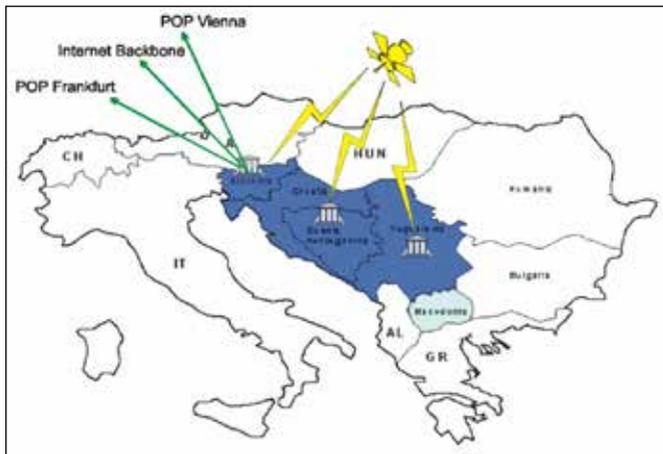
In.life d.d., telecommunication carrier

In.life is an alternative telecommunication service provider in Slovenia and other countries in the SEE region (Bosnia and Herzegovina, Serbia and Montenegro, Croatia). In.life Corporation has started in Slovenia. Slovenia is because of its historical, geopolitical and business position naturally a gateway between EU and SEE region. With the region's development and accelerating economic activity growing telecommunications trends/needs are emerging. New state-of-the-art technology offers the opportunity to quickly set-up the business infrastructure and to gain leading position as an alternative telecommunications provider (Next generation telco) in this region. The company In.life d.d. headquarter is registered in Slovenia, Ljubljana and has offices in Belgrade (SCG) and Sarajevo (BiH).

The principal activities of the company are the following: performance and sales/marketing of telecommunication services (voice and data) based on NG (Next generation IP network). In the period from 2000 to now days the company has put in operation, successfully upgraded and managed the system for VoIP, TDM and Internet. Currently In.life serves more than 1000 business users. Services which are offering are following:

- ❖ Call-by-call service in Slovenia
- ❖ VOIP calls - in Slovenia (088xxx number) and in some others SEE
- ❖ International IP-VPN
- ❖ Internet access
- ❖ Wholesale services for operators

In.life holds the first license for international telephony operator in Slovenia (the access code is 100 00). To this end In.life is operating an telecommunication network between the SEE countries ('autonomous system'), and is acting as local Internet Registry for a range of IP addresses. In.life is interconnected with many operators like Belgacom, Swisscom, Telia, Colt, MCA, ... either on CCS7 or IP level.



- Environmental problems
- Cultural tensions
- Strains from history
- Shortage of strategically important raw material, energy, crude oil, gas and water and resulting dependencies
- “no future” feeling of the “losers” of industrialisation and globalisation
- demographic development - over ageing and overpopulation in poor countries
- Flight from the country into “Megapolis”
- Migration
- “failed states”
- Non-state armed groups
- Shortage of food

These factors do not need further explanation, they are self explanatory.

Where and when some factors are combined crisis and conflicts become almost inevitable.

A nation state needs a “**National Security Adviser**” who systematically observes the factors which might create crises and conflicts at home and abroad.

He needs a interdisciplinary team with expertise from all walks of politically relevant areas.

This team forms a hub in a national and international network of state and non-state organisations - UN, NATO,EU, World Bank, International Monetary Fund, African Union, ASEAN states, G-8, G-21,OECD, OSEC, research institutes, multinational companies – and so forth.

Computer freaks can use the opportunities of the internet. As “Open source intelligence (OSINT)

All these sources fill an ocean of information. The art of “crisis prevention” is to select the relevant information and transfer this “unfinished intelligence” into knowledge as “finished intelligence”.

What to do with “finished intelligence” ?

It makes no sense if and when the “National Security Advisor” keeps this knowledge on his desk. He has to “sell” it to the decision-makers – including the advice : who should do what and when and how ?

That’s not an easy task.

Governments in democracies tend to think and act in short periods of time – looking at the next election. Why should a government invest scarce resources when a crisis is still beyond the horizon of public awareness ? Why should they tackle a problem of the future under pressure of pressing actual competing issues ?

The reality tells us that many nation states do not have the instruments for “crisis prevention” nor the political resolve to start.

They accept to be surprised and to react instead of pro-active decisions and actions.

What is the prize for failed “Crisis prevention”?

The prize for failed “crisis prevention” can be seen in the media.

Crises and conflicts are very expensive. Losses of lives, destruction of infrastructure, deployment of military and police forces, costly damage control, expensive reconstruction of the infrastructure as well as nation and state building.

If crises and conflicts are not brought to a satisfying end the next crisis and conflict is borne.

Responsive governments and individuals have to break this vicious circle in the interest of mankind.

The value of IFIMES’ contribution

As consumer I appreciate very much the contribution of IFIMES in the area of “Crisis prevention”. The in-depth going analyses about the development in the Middle East and in the Balkans are very helpful for decision-makers and other institutions which work in a similar way. These analyses are part of an “early warning system” telling decision-makers where crises and conflicts might occur.

IFIMES is a very important part in the world-wide network.

As Global Editor of www.worldsecuritynetwork.com I benefit from the products of IFIMES. We have common goals and objectives: Network a safer and better world.

For this aim and objective “crisis prevention” is a challenge and worth our common efforts.

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