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# MONITOR

CRNOGORSKI NEZAVISNI NEDJELJNIK

Broj 1572 godina XXXI

## CRNE GORE



**nova vlada**

# NI TEŽIH ZADATAKA NI SLABIJE PODRŠKE



**vakcine  
protiv korone**

**SVIJETLO NA  
KRAJU TUNELA**



**wolfgang petrič  
austrijski diplomata**

**NADAM SE DA JE NOVA  
CRNOGORSKA VLADA SVJESNA  
ISTORIJSKE ODGOVORNOSTI**

## FOKUS

**NOVA VLADA:**  
Ni težih zadataka ni slabije podrške (Zoran Radulović) 7

## DANAS, SJUTRA

Srećna opozicija (Milena Perović) 11

## INTERVJU

**VANJA ČALOVIĆ MARKOVIĆ, DIREKTORICA MANS-A:**  
Teški zadaci (Milena Perović) 12

## MONITORING

**ZAKUP SVETOG STEFANA I MILOČERA**  
13 GODINA KASNIJE:  
Nezadovoljstvo građana  
i mjesne zajednice (Branka Plamenac) 16

**VAKCINE PROTIV KORONE:**  
Svjetlo na kraju tunela (Predrag Nikolić) 18

## DRUŠTVO

**BEZBJEDNOST SUDIJA I TUŽILACA:**  
Na milost i nemilost (Svetlana Đokić) 22

**POLITIKA I IZBOR NOVOG SRPSKOG PATRIJARHA**  
I MITROPOLITA CRNOGORSKO-PRIMORSKOG:  
Vučić čezne da ima veći uticaj  
u Crnoj Gori i preko crkve (Jovo Martinović) 24

## OKO NAS

**MJEŠTANI ZLATICE NEZADOVOLJNI**  
PREDLOŽENIM RJEŠENJEM GRADNJE BULEVARA:  
Saobraćajnica koja obesmišljava živote (Andrea Jelić) 32

**REKONSTRUKCIJA CENTRALNOG TRGA U PODGORICI:**  
Vuković traži partnera ili kupca (Ivan Čađenović) 34

**MJEŠTANI SELA KALUDRA ISTRAJNI**  
DA ODBRANE SVOJU RIJEKU:  
Uzdaju se u nove vlasti (Tufik Softić) 36

## INTERVJU

**VOLFGANG PETRIČ, AUSTRIJSKI DIPLOMATA:**  
Nadam se da je nova crnogorska Vlada svjesna  
istorijske odgovornosti (Nastasja Radović) 38

## SVIJET

**SVIJET NAKON UBISTVA IRANSKOG NAUČNIKA:**  
Tempiranje bombe  
(Dragan Lučić) 42

## INTERVJU

**RADOSLAV NIKČEVIĆ,**  
ZELENI CRNE GORE:  
Ekološko raskršće  
(Predrag Nikolić) 47

FOKUS



**Vlada će najveću i najiskreniju podršku dobiti za najavljenju reformu izbornog zakonodavstva. Pošto se i vlast i opozicija spremaju za izbore do kojih bi moglo doći prije roka, pod uslovom da izvršna vlast bude neuspješna i, jednako, pod uslovom da bude uspješna – na žalost onih koji je formalno podržavaju**

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**V** olfgang Petrič je predsjednik *Fondacije Maršalov plan* u Austriji i predsjedavajući *Instituta Herbert C. Kelman* za interaktivnu transformaciju konflikata. Našoj javnosti je najviše poznat kao bivši visoki predstavnik UN-a u BiH.

**MONITOR:** *Nedavno je u SB UN održana debata uz učešće Milorada Dodika i Dragana Čovića. Debatu je inicirao ruski predstavnik u SB. Često se govori o ruskom uticaju u RS. Kako je to izgledalo dok ste Vi bili Visoko predstavnik u BiH?*

**PETRIČ:** U moje vreme, između 1999. i 2002, saradnja sa Rusijom je bila odlična. Moskva je štitila Banja Luku, ali u mnogim situacijama ja sam mogao da računam na podršku ruskog ambasadora. U skladu sa tim, Dodik je bio konstruktivan političar. Uspeo sam da postignem da se sve tri partije slože oko sveobuhvatne reforme entitetskih ustava. Veliki napredak je bio moguć jer je bilo izvesnog pragmatizma kod sve tri strane. Što su duže ovi isti političari ostajali na vlasti to je bilo više korupcije, a manje napretka.

Uskoro je u Bosni nastao tužan slogan „Gladni smo na tri jezika“.

Bosna, zarobljena u etno-političkoj retorici, postala je zarobljena država. Dejtonski pojas za spasavanje pretvorio se u ludačku košulju.

**MONITOR:** *Kada su pogoršani odnosi Zapada sa Moskvom?*

**PETRIČ:** Okupacijom Krima 2011. novi hladni rat je na vidiku, novi faktori kao Kina, neke arapske zemlje, ali i Rusija i Turska, menjaju geopolitičku ravnotežu na Balkanu.

Evropa i svet su u potpuno novom položaju. U sadejstvu sa epidemijom kovida digitalno doba će promeniti ekonomske mogućnosti za sve nas, osobito za regiju koja je dodatno pogođena ogromnim demografskim pro-

# Nadam se da je nova crnogorska Vlada svjesna istorijske odgovornosti

**Građani instinktivno znaju da održavanje na vlasti mnogo godina otvara vrata za korupciju, i ekonomsku stagnaciju. Samo mali broj izabраниh se bogati a mase ostaju u siromaštvu. Da li se radi o Bjelorusiji ili Bosni ili o Crnoj Gori, sve je to isto**

menama. Mnogo mladih ljudi odlazi čime se još više smanjuju perspektive za bolji život u njihovim domovinama.

Potrebno je da razumemo nedavnu šaradu u UN na ovoj pozadini. Odgovorni za bosansku propast - Dodik, Čović, Izetbegović nije bio prisutan - pozvani od strane Rusije, grubo su napali Evropu i njenog predstavnika. Gde bi bio bosanski narod da nije bilo milijardi eura i dolara koji su spasli Bosnu? Ništa, zaista ništa, nisu doprineli ovi političari koji su zloupotrebili najviše telo UN da bi širili laži i mržnju. Oni su možda mnogo bogatiji danas nego što su bili kada su ulazili u politiku, ali su njihovi građani siromašni.

Odkad sam pre 18 godina napustio Bosnu, suviše mnogo toga je pošlo nagore. Iskreno se nadam da će prijatelji demokratske Bosne kao Nemačka, Austrija i mnogi drugi biti odlučni da

unaprede reforme i insistiraju na promenama. Od kada je novi specijalni predstavnik EU Johan Satler, ponovo jedan Austrijanac, već je postignut neki uspeh. Nakon 12 godina, Mostar će glasati ovog decembra.

**MONITOR:** *Šta mislite o promjenama na čelu najvećih gradova u Federaciji i RS?*

**PETRIČ:** Promena je spora u Bosni, ali je moguća. Obični građani, posebno u gradovima kao što su Sarajevo i Banjaluka ali i u nekim seoskim zajednicama, žele da poštene ljudi budu njihovi predstavnici. Neke od malih partija, kao što je građanski orijentisana Naša stranka, predstavljaju tu promenu. Iako se čini da mladi gradonačelnik Banjaluke naginje nacionalističkim osećanjima, njegov program za borbu protiv korupcije predstavlja otklon od Dodikove klijentelističke politike. To je korak napred!



## Crna Gora ulazi u novu fazu u svojoj istoriji

**MONITOR: Šta biste sugerisali novoj crnogorskoj Vladi?**

**PETRIČ:** Sa ovim glasanjem Crna Gora ulazi u novu fazu u svojoj istoriji. To je omogućila mirna promena koja se dogodila u glasačkoj kabini, glavni pokretački događaj u svakoj državi i društvu. Ja poštujem rezultate ovih izbora i nadam se da je nova Vlada svesna istorijske odgovornosti da radi u korist svih njenih građana i suvereniteta zemlje, da održi njeno članstvo u NATO-u i drugim međunarodnim sporazumima, uključujući pristupanje EU.

Drugo, dobrosusedski odnosi su veoma bitni i doprinose regionalnoj stabilnosti. Tako da dobri odnosi sa Zapadom, EU i SAD-om posebno, a posebno sa EU članicama kao što su Nemačka, Italija i Austrija. Odnosi sa Rusijom i Kinom koje imaju jak ekonomski uticaj, trebalo bi da budu usklađeni sa evropskim pravilima i propisima.

Na kraju, EU će pažljivo posmatrati kako se sprovode unutrašnje reforme, posebno u pravosuđu. Transparentnost, odgovornost i vladavina prava temelj su članstva Crne Gore u EU.

Uveren sam da će EU primetiti ove male znake promene i podržati ih. Više podrške mora ići građanski orijentisanim grupama za koje etnicitet nije odlučujući faktor.

**MONITOR: Promjene i u Crnoj Gori. Predviđali ste ih, ali ne tako skoro?**

**PETRIČ:** Mirni protesti su znak da narod ne želi da političari zauvek budu na vlasti. Građani instinktivno znaju da održavanje na vlasti mnogo godina otvara vrata za korupciju, kronizam i ekonomsku stagnaciju. Samo mali broj izabranih se bogati a mase ostaju u siromaštvu.

Da li se radi o Belorusiji ili Bosni ili o Crnoj Gori, sve je to isto.

Rezultati izbora su jasan znak da Crnogorci žele mirnu i demokratsku promenu. Ja verujem da će jedna sposobna vlada otvoriti šansu za sve. To će pomoći Crnoj Gori u njenom pristupanju EU. Izbori koji vode ka promeni znak su vitalne demokratije.

**MONITOR: Bili ste i specijalni izaslanik EU za Kosovo. Da li bi pitanje odnosa Srbije i Kosova moglo ostati na nivou zamrznutog konflikta za duži niz godina?**

**PETRIČ:** Osim što još nedostaje međuetničko pomirenje u Bosni, albansko-srpski sukob oko Kosova je poslednje istorijsko pitanje koje je ostalo posle raspada Jugoslavije. On mora biti rešen. Evropi nije potreban još jedan zamrznuti konflikt na njenoj teritoriji. Nedavni sukob u Nagorno-Karabahu pokazuje kako brzo zapušteni konflikti ponovo buknu. Želimo miran dogovor za Kosovo. Iskusni EU posrednik Miroslav Lajčak je na obećavajućem putu da pomogne obema stranama da normalizuju odnose.

U ovim nesigurnim vremenima, bezbednost na Balkanu je pristo povezana sa evropskom bezbednošću i mirom. Kosovo

je lakmus test za miroljubivu Evropu.

**MONITOR:** *Na koji način zamišljate budućnost tzv. Zapadnog Balkana?*

**PETRIČ:** Jednom kada se nasleđe iz ratova u bivšoj Jugoslaviji u potpunosti reši, fokus bi brzo morao da se okrene na životne socijalne i ekonomske teme. Slabi ekonomski pokazatelji, zapanjujuća nejednakost i gorući izazov klimatskih promena-Balkan je nerazvijen i suviše zagađen i time se mora baviti. EU je spremna da pomogne i primi Crnu Goru i region u svoj krug.

**MONITOR:** *EU ima problem sa neslaganjem Mađarske i Poljske u vezi sa uslovljavanjem za pristup fondovima EU, što se uslovljava vladavinom prava.*

**PETRIČ:** Populistički pokreti širom Evrope ugrozili su naš liberalni demokratski sistem. To je posebno opasno u Mađarskoj i Poljskoj, ali i u Bugarskoj i Rumuniji.

EU je obezbedila milijarde eura da bi se borili protiv ekonomskih posledica pandemije i milijarde koje bi se investirale u evropsku industriju. Novac mora biti potrošen na korektan i transparentan način.

U Mađarskoj i Poljskoj pravosuđe više nije nezavisno. To je otvorilo vrata korupciji i zloupotrebi velikih novčanih iznosa koji su stizali iz Brisela. Zemlje, kao Nemačka i Austrija koje uplaćuju mnogo više u EU budžet nego neke druge, žele da budu sigurne da će se novac trošiti mudro i transparentno.

To nije ono što želi g-din Orban, čija je dugogodišnja autokratska vladavina poznata po zloupotrebi javnih fondova.

Videćemo kako će taj sukob biti rešen, ja se nadam i verujem da će demokratija i odgovornost prevladati.

Ukoliko zemlje koje su kandidati, među njima i Crna Gora, ne razviju jači demokratski sistem, mnogo EU članice će

## Dejtonski sporazum nije nacrt za održivu, evropsku BiH

**MONITOR:** *Prošlo je 25 godina od Dejtonskog sporazuma. Za to vrijeme su se pojavila dva različita pristupa: jedan je insistirao na potpunoj primjeni Sporazuma, a drugi na njegovoj izmjeni.*

**PETRIČ:** Od početka je jasno da Dejtonski sporazum može biti samo osnova za stvaranje demokratske BiH. Odredbe koje je ispregovarao američki izaslanik Ričard Holbruk bile su kompromis na osnovu kojeg je zaustavljen rat. To nije bio nacrt za održivu evropsku državu. Da bi se pomoglo posleratnoj Bosni – koja je ostala u starim granicama ali podeljena na dva entiteta sa visokim stepenom autonomije-stvorena je međunarodna ispostava, KVP (OHR), kojom je rukovodio Visoki predstavnik kao krajnji autoritet koji je ubrzo dobio vrlo moćna Bonska ovlašćenja da bi uspostavio zakonski poredak i otpustio političare koji narušavaju mirovni sporazum. Zajedno sa SFOR-om predvođenim NATO, snagama za stabilizaciju, KVP je mogao da održi mir u Bosni i doprinese ponovnoj izgradnji države. Oko 90 posto infrastrukture, domova, fabrika bilo je u ruševinama. Više od polovine populacije je bilo raseljeno ili je živelo kao izbeglice na raznim stranama-Evropi, Turskoj, SAD-u ili Kanadi.

Bilo bi nužno nastaviti putem potpune transformacije države, što znači ići dalje od Dejtonskog sporazuma. To je KVP radio u prvih deset godina – i to je funkcionisalo. Od tada su unutrašnje politike bile u mrežama duboke i sistemske korupcije od strane političke biznis elite koja je nastojala da odbrani svoje etničko bratstvo.

Nažalost, EU i KVP, obe iz svojih razloga, su odustale od svih težnji i ciljeva koje su prihvatile kao svoje obaveze.

Potreban nam je novi početak u Bosni koji će aktivirati civilno društvo iznad etničkih podela, reforma nefunkcionalne države i transformacija nesposobnog pravosuđa i preopterećene birokratije, u modernu evropsku državu.

Evropeizacija bi morala da zameni nedelotvornu i koruptivnu dejtonsku državu. Zaboravljamo da EU u Sarajevu ima jednu od najvećih misija u svetu. Evropi je potrebno da postane „jedina igra u gradu“. Tradicionalni saveznici kao SAD bi takođe trebalo da se ponovo angažuju, ali Bosna je u Evropi i pre ili kasnije biće članica EU.

zadržati skeptičan odnos prema proširenju. Brisel ne želi da nove EU članice postanu kao Mađarska i Poljska. To bi EU okrenulo ka autoritarnom sistemu koji bi razorio pravi koncept liberalne demokratije EU.

**MONITOR:** *Može li se od Džozefa Bajdena, izabranog predsednika, očekivati slična politika koju su vodili njegovi prethodnici iz Demokratske stranke?*

**PETRIČ:** On će opozvati neke od najgorih odluka njegovog prethodnika. Već je najavio ponovno pristupanje Pariskom sporazumu o klimi kao i povratak multilateralnom okviru UN i specijalnih agencija kao što je SZO u njegovom središtu...

G-din Bajden će ojačati evroatlantske odnose i podržaće EU na Balkanu. Tu ima mnogo pozitivnih signala.

Još je važnije da EU nastavi da samu sebe reformiše, osnažuje svoju stratešku autonomiju i postane igrač na globalnoj sceni.

Američko stoleće se bliži kraju, a novi multipolarni globalni poredak je u nastajanju. Evropa mora da pronađe svoje mesto među velikim igračima - SAD-om, Kinom, Rusijom. Za to su nam potrebne sve naše pozitivne snage, uključujući one iz manjih država kao što su Austrija i Crna Gora.

Nastasja RADOVIĆ

## Wolfgang Petritsch for MONITOR

Podgorica, Montenegro

4. Dec, 2020

Questions by Nastasija Radovic

1. It's been 25 years since the signing of the Dayton agreement. In this period there were opposite approaches to it: One insisted on full implementation of this agreement and the other took into account a possible transformation of it. What do you think about that?

PETRITSCH: It was clear from the outset that the Dayton Accords can only be the mere basis for the creation of a democratic Bosnia and Herzegovina. The provisions negotiated by the American envoy Richard Holbrooke was a compromise with which the war was stopped. But it is no blueprint for a viable European state, we have to admit. In order to assist post-war Bosnia – which remained in its old borders but was divided into two highly autonomous Entities – an international office, the OHR, was created, headed by the High Representative as the *final authority* and soon thereafter equipped with the strong *Bonn Powers* to impose legislation and sack politicians who violated the peace treaty. Together with the NATO-led SFOR, the Stabilisation Force, the OHR was able to keep Bosnia at peace and contributed to re-build the state. We need to be reminded that about 90 percent of Bosnia's infrastructure, housing, factories etc was destroyed. More than half of its population of 4 million was displaced or lived as refugees all over Europe, Turkey, the US and Canada.

Thus it was necessary to follow the road of a full transformation of the state, which means going beyond Dayton. This is what the OHR did in the first ten years – and it worked. Since then, however, domestic politics has been caught up in deep and systemic corruption by a political-business elite that pretends to defend their ethnic brethren. Unfortunately, the EU and the OHR, both for its own reasons, have for all intents and purposes withdrawn from their obligations.

We need a new start in Bosnia by activating civil society across ethnic lines, reform the dysfunctional state and transform the inept judiciary and the burdensome bureaucracy into a modern European state.

Europeanisation has to replace the inefficient and corrupt Dayton state.

We forget that the EU has one of its largest Missions worldwide in Sarajevo. Europe needs to become the only game in town. Yes, traditional allies like the US need to re-engage as well, but Bosnia is in Europe and will sooner or later become a member of the European Union.

2. A few days ago, there was a debate in the UN-Security Council with the participation of Milorad Dodik and Dragan Covic. Dodik once again exposed that he doesn't recognize unique and whole Bosnia and Herzegovina. The debate was initiated by Russian representative in the Security Council. There were many discussions about Russian's influence in the politics of Republika Srpska. Was that the same during your heading of OHR?

PETRITSCH: At my time between 1999 and 2002 cooperation with Russia was excellent. Yes, Moscow was defending Banja Luka, but on many occasions I could get the support of the Russian Ambassador. This was part of the success and, accordingly, Dodik was a constructive

politician. I managed to get all three parties to agree on a sweeping reform of the Entity Constitutions. Much progress was possible because of a certain pragmatism on all three sides. The longer these same politicians stayed in power the more corruption and less progress occurred.

Soon Bosnia's sad slogan was "Gladni smo na tri jezika". Bosnia, caught up in ethno-political rhetoric, it became a captured state. The *life vest* of Dayton turned into a *straitjacket*.

Relations between Russia and the West have deteriorated since the occupation of the Crimea in 2011. A new Cold War is on the horizon, new external actors like China, some Arab states, but also Russia and Turkey, are changing the geopolitical equation in the Balkans.

Europe and the world are in a totally new situation. Compounded by the Covid Pandemic the Digital Era will change the economic prospects for all of us, particularly for the region which is additionally hit by enormous demographic changes. Too many young people are leaving and further diminishing prospects for a better life in their home countries.

Now to your question: We need to understand the recent charade at the UN against this background. Those responsible for the Bosnian disaster – Dodik, Covic; Izetbegovic did not attend – were invited by a misguided Russia to attack Europe and its representative in a rude way. Where would the Bosnian people be if it were not for the billions of Euros and Dollars that saved Bosnia? Nothing, really nothing was contributed by these politicians who abuse the highest UN body to spread lies and hate. They might be much richer now than they were before they entered politics, but its citizens have remained poor.

I must say that since I left Bosnia some 18 years ago, too much has become worse. I sincerely hope that the friends of a democratic Bosnia like Germany, Austria and many others



in the EU will resolutely advance reforms and insist on change. I am confident since the new EU Special Representative Johann Sattler, by the way again an Austrian, has already achieved some success. After a 12-year standstill, Mostar will vote this coming December.

3. What do you think about the last local elections in Bosnia and Herzegovina? Interesting changes happened especially in Sarajevo and Banjaluka?

PETRITSCH: Change is slow in Bosnia – but it is possible. My feeling is that ordinary citizens, particularly in cities like Sarajevo or Banja Luka, but also in some rural communities want posteni ljudi as their representatives. Some of the smaller parties, like the civic-oriented Naša Stranka represent change. Although the young Mayor of Banja Luka seems to be inflicted by nationalist sentiment, his anti-corruption program represents a departure from Dodik's clientelist politics. A big step forward!

I am confident that the EU will seize these small signs of change and support them. More support must go to civic-minded groups for whom ethnicity is not the decisive political or economic factor.

4. You said that the power time of Milo Djukanovic would come to the end sometimes but not so soon. Are you surprised about the results of the newest elections in Montenegro and about the victory of opposition.

PETRITSCH: Well, Europe is watching carefully what is happening in Belarus, where the days of Lukašenko – the longest serving dictator of Europe - are numbered. The peaceful protests are a sign that people do not want politicians to stay on forever. Citizens know instinctly that to occupy power for too many years opens the door for

corruption, cronyism and economic standstill. A chosen few become rich and the masses remain in poverty.

Whether this is Belarus or Bosnia, but also to Montenegro, its all the same.

The election results are a clear indication that Montenegrins want change, peaceful and democratic change. A competent government opens a great opportunity for all, I believe. This will help Montenegro in its accession to the EU. Because elections that produce change are a sign of a vital democracy.

5. Do you have any suggestion to the new Montenegrin government?

PETRITSCH: With these votes Montenegro has entered a new phase in its history. Peaceful change in the election booth does work, this is a crucial development in any state and society.

I respect the election results and hope that the new government is aware of its historic responsibility will work for the benefit of all its citizens and the country's sovereignty, keep its promise to stick to NATO membership and to other international commitments, including EU accession.

Secondly, good neighbourly relations are crucial and contribute to regional stability. So are good relations with the West, the EU and the US in particular as well as with individual EU members such as Germany, Italy and Austria. Relations with Russia and China have a strong economic impact and have thus to abide by European rules and regulations.

Finally, the EU will watch carefully how domestic reforms will be executed – in the judiciary in particular. Transparency, accountability and the Rule of Law - this is the bedrock of the future EU member Montenegro.

6. You were special envoy EU for Kosovo. From the point of view of such experience, if the Kosovo-Serbia question can stay as “frozen conflict” for many years ahead?

PETRITSCH: Apart from still missing inter-ethnic reconciliation in Bosnia, the Albanian-Serbian conflict over Kosovo is the last *historic question* remaining from the break-up of Yugoslavia. It must be resolved in due course since Europe does not need yet another frozen conflict on its territory. The recent war in Nagorno Karabach has demonstrated how fast conflicts, kept unattended, reignite. We want a peaceful compromise for Kosovo. The experienced EU mediator Miroslav Lajcak is on a promising path to help both sides to normalize its relations. In uncertain times as ours, Balkan security is intimately tied into European security and peace. In this way Kosovo is a litmus test for a peaceful Europe.

7. In what way you have imagined the political and social scene of the Southeast Balkans in the future?

PETRITSCH: Once the legacy of the wars in former Yugoslavia is fully settled, the focus must urgently shift to the vital social and economic issues. Weak economic performance, staggering inequality and the pressing challenge of climate change – the Balkans is underdeveloped and overpolluted – has to be tackled. The EU is ready to assist and take Montenegro and the region into its orbit. We Austrians are convinced that the future of the whole region lies in the EU.

8. EU, nowadays, has a problem with Poland and Hungary about the budgeting EU for the seven years and funding the consequences of the Covid crisis. The problem is the rule of law as requirement?

PETRITSCH: The populist political movements all over Europe have jeopardized our liberal democratic system. This is in particular danger in Hungary and Poland, but also in Bulgaria and in Rumania.

The EU has provided billions of Euros to combat the economic consequences of the pandemic and further billions to be invested into the European industry. The money must be spent in a correct and transparent way.

Unfortunately in Hungary and Poland the judiciary is no longer independent. In the past few years this has opened the door for corruption and misspending of large sums, provided by Brussels. Now member states like Germany or Austria who pay much more into the EU budget than others want to be sure that the money is spent wisely and transparently.

This is not what Mr. Orban wants whose longtime autocratic government is famous for misappropriating public funds. His best friend has become the richest Hungarian in no time.

How? This kind of crony corruption has to stop. Public control is what the EU wants.

We will see how this confrontation is going to be resolved, I hope and trust that democracy and accountability will prevail.

What can the Balkan states learn from this?

Unless the candidate countries, among them Montenegro, develop a stronger democratic system, many EU members will remain sceptical vis-à-vis enlargement. Brussels does not want new members to become like Hungary or Poland. This would shift the EU towards an authoritarian system which in turn would destroy the very concept of a liberal democratic European Union.

9. Joseph Biden is the President-elect of the USA. Could we expect from him and his administration more or much

different in his politics than it was going on in the previous Democrat's Presidency?

PETRITSCH: The newly elected President will most certainly revoke some of the worst decisions taken by his predecessor. He already announced to re-join the Paris Climate Accord and to return into the multilateral frame with the UN and the Specialized Agencies like the World Health Organisation WHO at its center.

Mr Biden will also strengthen Euro-Atlantic relations and he will support the EU in the Balkans.

So there are many positive signs around.

But what is even more important is that the EU continues to reform itself, strengthens its strategic autonomy and becomes a player on the global scene. The American century is coming to an end and a new multi-polar global order is in the making. Europe has to find its proper place between the *Big Players* US, China, Russia. For this we need all our positive forces, including those from smaller states like Austria and Montenegro.