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**THE AWARD FOR THE BEST EUROPEAN MAYOR OBLIGES TO WORK IN THE FUTURE**



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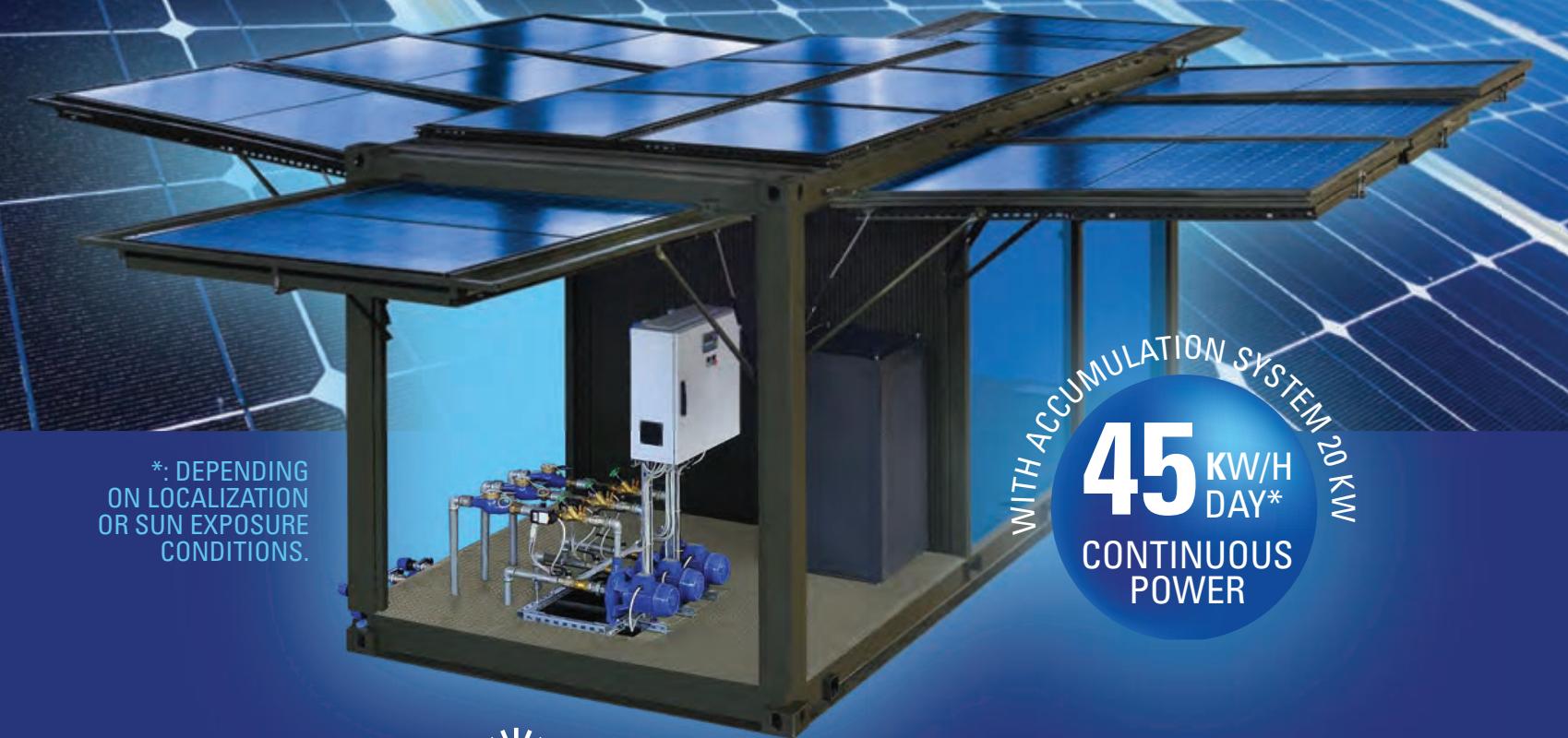
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# FALKENSTEINER

## - WELCOME HOME -

**H**otelski lanac Falkensteiner otvorio je svoj prvi hotel u Beogradu, Falkensteiner Hotel Beograd, superior hotel sa četiri zvezdice koji pripada kategoriji gradskih hotela. Namjenjen pre svega poslovnim ljudima i kongresnom turizmu, nalazi se u središtu prestižne poslovne zone Novog Beograda, nedaleko od centra grada, uz odličnu saobraćajnu povezanost sa aerodromom „Nikola Tesla”.

Objekat upečatljivog futurističkog izgleda projektovao je Boris Podreka, jedan od najznačajnijih evropskih arhitekata današnjice.

Hotel Falkensteiner Beograd odlikuje moderan i dinamičan dizajn, maksimalna udobnost, vrhunска usluga i prijatna atmosfera. Svojim eksterijerom hotel Falkensteiner Belgrade odudara od većine poslovnih zgrada u Beogradu, ali u njemu se krije pravi užitak za ljubitelja dobrog dizajna.

Hotel Falkensteiner Beograd pored upečatljive spoljašnjosti i interesantne unutrašnjosti, odiše topлом porodičnom atmosferom koja čini da se svaki gost u njemu oseća kao kod kuće. Lanac hotela, poznat po vrhunskoj usluzi i porodičnim vrednostima, stvorio je jedinstvenu „Welcome Home” filozofiju koja se jasno ogleda i u samoj ponudi hotela.

Od ukupno 170 soba i apartmana hotel posede 134 Comfort sobe i 28 Deluxe soba, 7 Junior apartmana i 1 Senior apartman. Sve sobe opremljene su najsavremenijom tehničkom opremom koja uključuje individualnu kontrolu klima-uređaja, satelitsku televiziju, telefon sa direktnom linijom, sobni sef veličine laptopa i besplatan bežični internet.

Na 9. spratu hotela nalazi se AcquaPura City Spa centar koji je idealno mesto za dobar početak ili kraj radnog dana. Spa centar, posede finsku saunu, parno kupalo, 2 prostorije za masažu, fitness centar i sobu za opuštanje sa terasom odakle se pruža panoramski pogled na Novi Beograd.

Bogat američki doručak na bazi švedskog stola ispunjava očekivanja i najzahtevnijih gostiju. U hotelskom restoranu služi se najbolji doručak u gradu, otvoren je za A la carte ručak i večeru, dok gostima na raspolaganju stoji i 24-časovna usluga u sobi.

Moderno konferencijski i banket prostor Hotela Falkensteiner Beograd raspoređen je na dva sprata i zauzima površinu od oko 700 m<sup>2</sup>. Obuhvata dve manje sale za sastanke i četiri konferencijske sale, koje se uz pomoć pokretnog zida mogu spajati u jednu veću površine do 139 m<sup>2</sup>. Sve konferencijske sale hotela Falkensteiner Beograd su klimatizovane i ispunjene dnevnim svetлом, potpuno opremljene i imaju izlaz u foaje. Banket sala White Pearl je višenamenska sala, pogodna za sve tipove događaja, od velikih konferencija i seminara, modnih revija, pa sve do svadbenih i drugih proslava.

Na poslednjem spratu hotela nalazi se Business Lounge sa prostranom terasom i predstavlja izdvojen prostor za individualne poslovne sastanke ili manje događaje.

Otvorena letnja bašta hotela Falkensteiner Beograd prava je oaza mira u samom centru Novog Beograda. Bilo da je u pitanju poslovni sastanak, pauza tokom konferencije ili odmor nakon napornog dana, u hladu ispod baldahina gosti mogu da pobegnu od gradske gužve i na svežem vazduhu uživaju u intimnom ambijentu.



# HOTEL BELGRADE

## - WELCOME HOME -

The hotel chain Falkensteiner opened up its first hotel in Belgrade, the Falkensteiner Hotel Belgrade, a superior four star hotel, which belongs to the category of city hotels. It is primarily aimed at business and congress tourism, as it is located in the center of the prestigious business area of Novi Beograd, not far from the city center, and has excellent traffic connections with the airport Nikola Tesla.

The building, with very a distinctive and futuristic outlook, is designed by Boris Podreka, one of the most distinguished architects of today.

The Hotel Falkensteiner Belgrade is characteristic for its modern and dynamic design, maximum comfort, top service and pleasant atmosphere. With its exterior, the hotel Falkensteiner Belgrade differs from the majority of business buildings in Belgrade, but it also discloses a true pleasure for all those who love a good design.

Beside an extraordinary exterior and interesting interior, Hotel Falkensteiner Belgrade breathes warm familial atmosphere, which makes every guest feel at home. The hotel chain, widely known for its top services and familial values, has created the unique "Welcome Home" philosophy, which is reflected in the hotel's offer.

Among the 170 rooms and apartments, the hotel offers 134 comfort rooms and 28 deluxe rooms, 7 junior suites and 1 senior apartment. All the rooms are equipped with the latest technical facilities, including individually controlled air-conditioning, satellite TV, direct phone line, a lap-top sized room safe and free Wi-Fi.

The 9th floor of the hotel accommodates the AcquaPura City Spa center, which is an ideal place for a good start or end of the working day. The spa center has a Finnish sauna, steam bath, two massage rooms, fitness center and relax area with a terrace offering a panoramic view of Novi Beograd.

A rich American Style buffet breakfast can satisfy even the guests with the highest expectations. The hotel restaurant serves the best breakfast in the city, it is open for a la carte lunch and dinner, while the guests have also 24-hours room service at their disposal.

The modern conference and banquet area of the hotel Falkensteiner Belgrade spreads over two floors and covers an area of 700 m<sup>2</sup>. It comprises two smaller meeting rooms and four conference rooms with movable walls, so they can be merged into a larger space up to 139m<sup>2</sup>. All the conference rooms of hotel Falkensteiner Belgrade are air-conditioned and have daylight, include all the necessary technical equipment and have an exit to the foyer. The banquet hall White Pearl is a multi-purpose room, adequate for all types of events, ranging from big conferences and seminars, to fashion shows, to weddings and other ceremonies.

Located on the last floor of the hotel, a Business Lounge with a spatial terrace, offers a separated space for individual business meetings or small-sized events.

An open-air summer garden of the hotel Falkensteiner Belgrade is a true oasis of tranquility in the very center of Novi Beograd. Whether it is a business meeting, a conference break or just a rest after a heavy day, in the shade under a baldachin, guests can escape the city crowd and enjoy the intimate ambience in the fresh air.



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## ON THE ROADS AND FLIGHTS TO NEW INVESTMENTS

If we look back at the past year, we can proudly say that our expectations were satisfied with many projects being started, such as the Belgrade Waterfront – the

largest project in the region; Air Serbia taking us to New York, whereby Belgrade and Serbia have become the regional center for air transport, roads being built, and these are all doors for new investors. New factories have opened up, giving opportunities for new jobs. Although unemployment is still our "sore point" and an ongoing topic for criticism of government's work, primarily, we should keep in mind that Serbia has been impoverished, robbed,

brought to the verge of bankruptcy for years, and that it takes years for economic recovery. With a little more optimism and work, and less criticism, we will get to recovery, faster and easier. Once in a while, we should all do what we usually do, and turn the criticism to ourselves; the progress is larger than criticism. It is just unbelievable that every other citizen of Serbia knows the situation in the country and solutions to the economic crisis better than the Prime Minister. As Shakespeare, my eternal inspiration would say: "Much ado about nothing" (too much fuss over nothing... only talking, no doing, and thus no results).

In its 10<sup>th</sup> jubilee issue, THE GLOBE MAGAZINE brings you a handful of new information on the economy, commerce and culture.

We started this year with lots of optimism, therefore, with lots of new ideas, and we will try to remain interesting, innovative and motivating as we have been until now.

And from now on, you can read us on all flights of our national airline, Air Serbia. See you on some of the flights to New York, Abu Dhabi, London, Dubai, Paris, and Milan.



## PUTEVIMA I LETOVIMA U NOVE INVESTICIJE

**A**ko se osvrnemo na prethodnu godinu, možemo sa ponosom da kažemo da su očekivanja bila zadovoljavajuća. Započeto je mnogo projekata, kao što je izgradnja BEOGRADA NA VODI – najvećeg projekta u regionu; Air Serbia nas vodi u Njujork, a Beograd i Srbija postaju regionalni centar za avio-saobraćaj; grade se putevi, a to su nam vrata za strane investitore. Otvorene su fabrike, a sami tim i mogućnosti za nova radna mesta. Iako nam je nezaposlenost „bolna tačka“ i nezaobilazna tema za kritiku i rad Vlade, moramo prevashodno da imamo u vidu da je Srbija godinama osiromašavana, pljačkana, te da je dospela na ivicu bankrota. Zato su potrebne godine ekonomskog oporavka. Sa malo više optimizma i rada, a manje kritike, brže i lakše ćemo doći do boljšitka. Ako bi se svako bavio svojim poslom, i ponekad sam sebe kritikovao, napredovali bismo više. Neverovatno je da svaki drugi građanin Srbije bolje zna kakve su prilike u Srbiji i kako treba rešiti ekonomsku krizu od premijera – „Much ado about nothing“ (mnogo buke ni oko čega... mnogo reči a malo dela, te nije ni čudo što nema rezultata), rekao bi Šekspir, moja večita inspiracija. THE GLOBE MAGAZINE u svom jubilarnom 10. broju poklanja vam pregršt novih informacija iz ekonomije, privrede i kulture. U ovu godinu smo ušli sa mnogo optimizma, a samim tim i sa novim idejama. Zato ćemo se truditi da ostanemo, kao i do sada, dovoljno zanimljivi, inovativni i podsticajni. Od sada nas možete čitati na svim letovima naše nacionalne kompanije AIR Serbia. VIDIMO SE U NEKOM OD LETOVA ZA NJUJORK, ABU DABI, LONDON, DUBAI, PARIZ, MILANO!

GLAVNA I ODOGOVORNA UREDNICA /  
EDITOR IN CHEF / Mirela Krajinović



FOTOGRAFIJA: *Dragan Gajić*



GRADONAČELNIK BEOGRADA / THE MAYOR OF THE CITY OF BELGRADE

# SINIŠA MALI

TITULA NAJBOLJEG EVROPSKOG GRADONAČELNIKA OBAVEZUJE  
NA RAD U BUDUĆNOSTI

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THE AWARD FOR THE BEST EUROPEAN MAYOR OBLIGES TO  
WORK IN THE FUTURE



**G**radonačelnik Beograda Siniša Mali kaže da je svesno preuzeo na sebe sve rizike koje sa sobom nosi „Beograd na vodi”, ističući da će realizacija tog projekta ostaviti važan trag u istoriji grada. U ekskluzivnom intervjuu za *The Globe magazine* prvi čovek prestonice Srbije najavljuje i nove projekte u budućnosti, a metro i sređivanje kompletne infrastrukture kao i Beograd na vodi su, kako kaže, neophodni glavnom gradu da bi se svrstao u red svetskih metropola. Ne zamera političkim neistomišljenicima što je često na udaru kritike bez osnova. Ponošan je što je za svog mandata učinio mnogo za modernizaciju grada ne tražeći na zajam „ni jedan jedini dinar”, za razliku od prethodne vlasti, koja je gradsku kasu ostavila na ivici bankrota, što mu je predstavljalo dodatni rizik po preuzimanju funkcije. Kaže i da mu je titula najboljeg evropskog grada-nачelnika u regionu stigla kao podsticaj, ali i obaveza da u budućnosti nastavi da radi savesno i odgovorno.

**T**he mayor of the city of Belgrade, Siniša Mali, says that he consciously accepted all the risks carried with the project Belgrade Waterfront, emphasizing that the realization of this project will leave an important mark in the history of the city. In the exclusive interview for *The Globe magazine*, the first man of the Serbian Capital also announces some new projects for the future. Building a metro system, modernizing the complete city infrastructure, as well as *Belgrade Waterfront*, as he says, are a necessity for any capital that strives to be marked as a world metropole. He does not resent political opponents for criticizing him frequently without solid grounds. He is proud of his achievements on the modernization of the city which are completed “without a single dinar” loan. This is unlike the previous government, which left the city budget on the verge of bankruptcy, presenting an additional risk when he took over the position. He also says that the title of The Best European Mayor in the Region is not only stimulating, but also serves as a duty to continue doing his work conscientiously and responsibly.

**Više od godinu i po dana upravljate prestonicom Srbije. Kako ocenjujete sebe na mestu gradonačelnika Beograda?**

Ispunjio sam sve ono što sam zacrtao na početku mandata. Znao sam da ulazim u tešku priču i da započinjem skoro nemoguć posao. Jer nije isto zateći grad na ivici bankrota i početi sa punom kasom. Mene je, nažalost, sačekalo ovo prvo, i znao sam da mi je to najvažniji domaći zadatak. Zato smo moj tim i ja toliko i radili na konsolidaciji finansija i javnih preduzeća, ukidanju svih nepotrebnih PR, konsalting i pravnih usluga, i bukvalno rečeno „dovodenjem u red“ grada Beograda. S druge strane, nismo se zadužili ni jedan jedini dinar a pokrenuli smo neke velike projekte; postavljen je kamen temeljac za „Beograd na vodi“, radovi se završavaju pre roka, počeli smo da realizujemo javno-privatna partnerstva, da aktivno privlačimo nove investicije, da pokrenemo Beograd sa mrtve tačke. Grad nikad nije bio čistiji, zeleniji, uređeniji. Imam mnogo razloga da budem zadovoljan, ali sam svestan da moramo istom snagom i intenzitetom da nastavimo dalje.

**Dokazali ste da je moguće biti nestranačka ličnost a biti na važnoj funkciji. Smeta li vam što vas mnogi povezuju sa Srpskom naprednom strankom?**

Kako može da mi smeta kada sam na predlog SNS-a postavljen na mesto gradonačelnika Beograda? Ta ideologija je ideologija u koju verujem i za koju se zalažem. Može samo da mi imponuje što sam deo najveće stranke u zemlji, koja ima većinsku podršku naroda.

**Smatraju vas bliskim saradnikom premijera Aleksandra Vučića. Politički neistomišljenici vas često kritikuju zbog toga, navodeći da nemate svoj stav. Kako to tumačite?**

Politički neistomišljenici će uvek naći razlog za kritiku, tako da se na njih lično ne bih mnogo obazirao. Kada je reč o mom prijateljstvu sa premijerom, tačno je da on ima veoma izražene stavove, ali daleko od toga da ja zbog toga ne mogu da imam svoje. Ja sam i dalje nezvanično njegov savetnik, dosta se konsultujem i razgovaramo, i mislim da je to jedan produktivan i kvalitetan odnos.

**„Beograd na vodi“ smatraste najznačajnijim razvojnim projektom grada Beograda. Da li je to i najznačajniji poduhvat gradske vlasti u 2015. godini?**

Mislim da će „Beograd na vodi“ na kraju mog mandata sigurno biti i moj najznačajniji projekat. On jeste najvažnija investicija pokrenuta ove godine, ali smo pokrenuli i druge velike projekte, koje ne bih nepravedno zanemarivao.

**S druge strane ima mnogo protivnika „Beograda na vodi“, ne samo iz opozicionih stranaka već i iz redova stručnjaka iz te oblasti. Kako to ocenjujete?**

Bavim se javnim poslom, o projektu se od početka mnogo govorilo u javnosti, i sasvim je normalno da ima i pozitivnih i negativnih kritika. Nekim stručnjacima iz te oblasti, nekim se dopada, nekim ne... Jer to i jeste, između ostalog, stvar ukusa. Kritike mi ne smetaju, a neke, za koje smo smatrali da imaju smisla, usvojili smo. Londonski *Gardijan* je nedavno pisao o „Beogradu na vodi“, o tome kako je decenijama unazad bilo pokušaja da se tako nešto napravi na obali Save. Ovaj projekat širi pozitivnu priču o Beogradu u svetu, pa ne znam zašto bi se neko tome protivio.

**You have been running the capital of Serbia for over a year and a half now. How would you evaluate your work as the mayor?**

I have fulfilled everything I set out to do at the beginning of the mandate. I knew I was getting into a difficult situation and starting an almost impossible job. It is different when you find the city on the verge of bankruptcy than when you have the full budget. Unfortunately, I was greeted by the first of the two. I knew this would be my first assignment. For that reason, my team and I worked so hard on the consolidation of finances and public companies, cutting down on all the necessary PR, consulting and legal services, and to say it literally, “to put the city of Belgrade in order”. On the other hand, we managed to spare ourselves from any, even the smallest of loans, while starting some large projects; we laid the cornerstone for Belgrade Waterfront, works are progressing even before deadlines, we started with the realization of public-private partnerships, as well as actively attracting new investments, to move Belgrade from the dead point. The city has never been cleaner, greener, or better arranged. I have plenty of reasons to be satisfied, but I am well aware of the fact that we must continue working with the same capacities and same intensity.

**You have proved that it is possible to be a non-political person, yet hold a high position. Does it disturb you that many people bring you into connection with the Serbian Progressive Party (SNS)?**

How can it disturb me, when I have been appointed as the mayor upon the proposal of the SNS? That ideology is an ideology I believe in and I stand up for. I can only take it as a compliment to be a part of the country’s largest party which holds the support of the majority of people.

**You are considered to be a close associate of Prime Minister Aleksandar Vučić. Political opponents often criticize you for that, claiming that you do not have your personal opinion. How do you interpret those claims?**

Political opponents will find any reason to criticize, so personally, I would not pay too much attention to them. Speaking about my friendship with the Prime Minister, it is true that he expresses his stands strongly, but it is far from true that I cannot have my own stands. I am still unofficially his advisor, we consult and discuss a lot, and I think we have a productive and quality relationship.

**You consider Belgrade Waterfront to be the most important development project of city of Belgrade. Is it still the most significant achievement of the city administration in the year 2015?**

I think that Belgrade Waterfront will certainly be my most significant project upon completion of my mandate. It is the most important investment started this year, but we also started other big projects, that I would not like to neglect unfairly.

**On the other hand, there are many opponents of Belgrade Waterfront project, not only among political parties from the opposition, but also among experts in that area. How would you judge that?**

I have been doing a public job, the project has received a lot of public attention since its beginning. It is absolutely normal to have

### **Često ste na udaru opozicije, a neretko i medija. Zašto ste im vi toliko zanimljivi za kritike?**

To se i ja pitam. Ne znam... Nikada nisam bio osoba koja toliko intrigira. Možda će nekome ovo zvučati hvalisavo, ali ipak ču reći. Kritike su se često odnosile na projekat „Beograd na vodi”, koji je smeо, ambiciozan, drugačiji. Nešto što ljudi sa ovih prostora nisu videli. A naši ljudi se plaše i strepe od drugačijeg. Vole da budu u svojoj sigurnoj zoni, da ne iskaču iz nje. Ipak, za velike stvari, krupe promene su neophodne. Da, mi jesmo preuzeli veliki posao, da, mi jesmo na udaru kritika, ali da, mislim da radimo nešto što će ostaviti trag u istoriji grada.

### **Kada analizirate svoj dosadašnji rad na mestu gradonačelnika, šta samom sebi zamerate?**

Nestrpljivost i prevelika očekivanja.

### **Da li je moglo više da se uradi u Beogradu za vreme vašeg dosadašnjeg mandata?**

Mislim da nisam neskroman ako kažem da smo uradili i nemoguće. Moj prvi i najvažniji zadatak je bio da sredim finansije, koje su bile u katastrofalnom stanju. Ne morate da budete ekonomista da biste shvatili koliko je stanje bilo teško. Smanjujemo budžetski deficit za četiri puta, pokrenuli smo brojne infrastrukturne projekte, među kojima je najvažniji „Beograd na vodi”, počeli smo da realizujemo javno-privatna partnerstva, čime se niko nikada u Srbiji nije bavio, a što je uobičajena praksa u svetu.



both positive and negative criticism. Some experts in that area like it, some do not... and that is a matter of taste, after all. I do not mind criticism. We have accepted some that make sense. London's "The Guardian" recently wrote about *Belgrade Waterfront*, and the decades-long attempts to build something like that on the banks of the Sava River. This project spreads a good story about Belgrade around the world, so I do not know why someone would be opposed to that.

### **You are often targeted by the opposition, and by the media as well. Why do they find you such an interesting target for criticism?**

I often wonder that myself. I don't know... I was never an intriguing type of person. Someone may take it as bragging, but I will say it, nevertheless. This criticism is often in connection to the project "Belgrade Waterfront", which is bold, ambitious, and different. It's something that people from this region have never seen before. And our people are afraid of different. They like to stay in their safe zone, not to step out of it. Still, for big things, big changes need to be made. Yes, we have taken up a big job, yes, we are the target for criticism, but yes, I think we are doing something that will leave a mark in the history of the city.

### **When you analyze the work you have done as the mayor so far, what would you resent?**

Impatience and too high of expectations.

### **Could you have done more in Belgrade during your mandate?**

I believe it would not sound immodest to say that we did even the impossible. My first and most important task was to sort out the finances, which were in a state of disaster. You do not have to be an economist to realize how difficult the situation it was. We have reduced the budget deficit four times, we started many infrastructure projects, out of which the most important is *Belgrade Waterfront*. Also, we started the realization of public-private partnerships, something that no one has ever done in Serbia, but is a normal practice around the world.

### **What could your predecessors have done, but didn't?**

For a start, they could have taken less loans. Taking a loan that someone will have to pay for years or decades is not the only way of building something good in the city. There are other ways, such as public-private partnerships. Furthermore, they should have supported investors to a bigger extent. For example, some of them had case files sitting in their drawers for years. Now, we are much more efficient in issuing building permits and in that way, we regain investors' confidence in our city. Furthermore, they could have paid more efforts to solve everyday problems of citizens. I speak with them on a daily basis, and so do secretaries and city councilors.

### **When you summarize the results of this year, is there something that you did, but you are not satisfied with?**

When I look at all the big things we did, there is not much I would be unsatisfied with. Surely, there are such things on a daily basis, as this is a very long period of time, but nothing that citizens of Belgrade would feel the consequences of.

### **What else does Belgrade need in order to be considered as a world metropole?**



### **Šta su vaši prethodnici mogli da urade a nisu?**

Za početak, mogli su malo manje da se zadužuju. Nije jedini način da nešto dobro napravite u gradu da uzmete kredit koji će neko posle vas godinama, decenijama da otplaćuje. Postoje i drugi načini, kao što su javno-privatna partnerstva na primer. Dalje, trebalo je više da izlaze u susret investitorima. Neki od njih su imali predmete koji su godinama stajali u fioci. Mi sada mnogo efikasnije izdajemo građevinske dozvole i tako vraćamo poverenje investitora u naš grad. Dalje, mogli su više da se posvete i rešavanju svakodnevnih problema građana. Ja svakodnevno razgovaram sa njima, baš kao i sekretari i gradski većnici.

### **Kada sumirate rezultate u prošloj godini, postoji li nešto šta ste uradili a da time niste zadovoljni?**

Kada se osvrnem na sve veće stvari koje smo uradili, nema ničeg čime bih bio nezadovoljan. Sigurno na dnevnoj bazi postoje takve stvari, jer je to dug period, ali ništa što bi mogli da oseste građani Beograda.

### **Šta je još potrebno Beogradu da bi mogao da se svrsta u red svetskih metropola?**

Kompletna infrastruktura, „Beograd na vodi” i metro.

### **Koje planove kao gradonačelnik srpske prestonice imate za ovu godinu?**

Planovi su veliki i ambiciozni. A i inače smatram da je za sve što se radi upravo najvažnije imati jasnu strategiju i plan. Počinjemo radove na Trgu Slavija, širimo pešačku zonu, nastavljaju se radovi na „Beogradu na vodi”, a nekoliko objekata će biti u poodmakloj fazi, stižu nam novi autobusi, počinjemo da realizujemo strateški plan da svaka kuća u Beogradu dobije vodu i kanalizaciju, pošto, nažalost, taj problem ni do dana današnjeg nije rešen... Nastavice ćemo da realizujemo javno-privatno partnerstvo za Deponiju „Vinča”, javno osvetljenje, liftove, vrtiće... I još mnogo manjih trgovaca, parkova, igrališta će biti uređeno.

### **Po čemu želite da vas Beograđani pamte kada vam istekne mandat?**

„Beograd na vodi” je projekat sa kojim me već svi toliko identificuju, a voleo bih da tako i ostane. To je ono što će se pamtitи jer će potpuno promeniti izgled grada. Nadam se da ćemo početi da gra-

It needs complete infrastructure, *Belgrade Waterfront* and a metro system.

### **What are your plans for the next year as mayor of the capital of Serbia?**

The plans are big and ambitious. By the way, I think that whatever you do, you need to have a clear strategy and plan. We are starting with the works on Slavija square; expanding the pedestrian zone; we are proceeding with Belgrade Waterfront, and several objects will be in their advanced phases; we are expecting new busses; we are starting the realization of a strategic plan for connecting every house in Belgrade to the water and sewage system, which unfortunately is still not the case; we will continue with the realization of public-private partnership for Vinča landfill; street lights system, elevators, kindergartens... and many other smaller squares, parks, playgrounds will be arranged.

### **What would you like Belgradians to remember you by upon the completion of your mandate?**

*Belgrade Waterfront* is a project that everybody identifies me with, and I would like to keep it that way. That is what will be remembered, since it will completely change the outlook of the city. I hope we will start building the metro, as this is the second big thing that can largely improve the lives of citizens.

### **In mid-December, you received the title of the Best European Mayor in the Region, awarded by The European Movement in Bosnia and Herzegovina. How important is this award to you?**

This award arrived during the days when our country opened the first chapters of accession negotiations with the EU, so I am very glad for this confirmation that Belgrade, together with Serbia is on

dimo i metro, jer je to drugi veliki projekat koji može umnogome da poboljša život građana.

#### **Polovinom decembra ste poneli titulu najboljeg evropskog gradonačelnika u regionu, koju vam je dodelio Evropski pokret u Bosni i Hercegovini. Koliko vam je važna ova nagrada?**

Ta nagrada je došla u danima kada je naša zemlja otvorila prva poglavila o pregovorima sa Evropskom unijom, tako da mi je posebno drago što je to potvrda da je Beograd, zajedno sa Srbijom, na dobrom putu. Svaka nagrada je važna, jer je ona potvrda da moj tim i ja radimo dobro. Naravno, to znači i veliku odgovornost za ubuduće.

#### **Ko je po vama najbolji gradonačelnik Beograda?**

Branko Pešić. Uvek neposredan i otvoren za razgovor sa svojim sugrađanima, toliko toga dobrog je doneo gradu. Voleo bih da uspem da uradim bar polovinu onoga što je on uradio.

#### **Postoji li profesionalna želja koju Siniša Mali nije ostvario?**

Da neko vreme živim i radim u Aziji.

#### **Gde vidite sebe za nekoliko godina?**

Mislim da je suvišno govoriti o takvim očekivanjima. Život vas uvek iznova iznenađuje, pa mi tako nikada nije ni na pamet palo da mogu da obavljam funkciju gradonačelnika, nisam imao takve ambicije. Znam samo da će mi sigurno i tada biti važno da radim na tome da moja deca budu srećna i ostvarena.

#### **Svakodnevne obaveze gradonačelnika Beograda oduzimaju vam mnogo vremena. Vi ste suprug i otac troje dece. Da li vam nedostaje vremena za porodicu?**

Da, svakoga dana. Trudim se da bukvalno svaki trenutak slobodnog vremena, kojeg nemam baš mnogo, posvetim porodici. Plašim se da se jednog dana ne okrenem i vidim da sam propustio da gledam decu kako rastu.

#### **Vaši prijatelji iz studentskih dana kažu da vas vlast nije promenila. Nikud ne idete sa obezbeđenjem, a za svakoga ko vam se obrati nađete vremena da ga saslušate i da mu pomognete.**

#### **Kako uspevate da ostanete isti?**

Ne mislim da je to neki veliki podvig pa da u tome treba „uspeti“. Na ovaj posao gledam kao i na svaki drugi, trudim se da ga obavljam dobro i odgovorno. Da, ljudi mi često prilaze i nema razloga da ih ne saslušam i ne izađem im u susret.

#### **Kakav je Siniša Mali privatno?**

Kažu da sam neposredan, a ja dodajem i da volim da se šalim, da sam veoma nestrpljiv i da me mesto ne drži.

#### **Šta želite Beograđanima u 2016. godini?**

Da čuvaju svoje porodice i svoj mir. I, naravno, zdravlje je najvažnije. Mi ćemo se sa naše strane truditi da im olakšamo i omogućimo ugodniji život u gradu.

#### **S obzirom na predstojeće izbore, da li očekujete poboljsanje/promene, i mogućnosti za nove investicije?**

Što se tiče grada, mi ćemo imati izbore na opština. Naši projekti

the right tracks. Any award is important, as it stands as confirmation that my team and I are doing a good job. Of course, it means a great responsibility for the future, as well.

#### **In your opinion, who was the best mayor of Belgrade?**

Branko Pešić. He was always direct and open with the citizens, he brought so much good to the city. I wish to accomplish half as many things as he did.

#### **Is there a professional ambition that Siniša Mali has not accomplished?**

I would like to spend some time living and working in Asia.

#### **Where do you see yourself in few years?**

I think it is too much to talk about that kind of expectation. Life keeps surprising us, and it had never even crossed my mind to serve as the mayor. I never had such ambitions. The only thing I know for sure is that it will always be important for me to work on my children's happiness and accomplishments.

#### **Everyday duties as the mayor of Belgrade take up a lot of your time. You are also a husband and father to three children. Do you miss time with your family?**

Yes, every day. I try to spend every single moment of free time with my family, but I do not have much of this. I am afraid that one day, when I turn around, I will realize I missed seeing my children grow up.

#### **Your friends from college say that the authority has not changed you. You are not accompanied by security, and whoever addresses you gets your attention and help. How have you managed to stay the same person?**

I do not think it is an accomplishment one would need to “succeed” in. I perceive this job as any other, I try to do it well and responsibly. Yes, people often come to me and there is no reason why I should not listen to them and help them.

#### **Who is Siniša Mali privately?**

People say I am direct and I would add that I like to tell jokes. I am very impatient and cannot be still.

#### **What would you wish for the citizens of Belgrade in the year 2016?**

I wish for them to take good care of their families and have their peace. And of course, health is always the most important. On our side, we will try to make life in the city easier and more pleasant.

#### **Considering the upcoming elections, do you expect any improvements/changes and possibilities for new investments?**

We will be having elections at the municipal level. Our projects will take their own course anyway. We always strive to make improvements, and we will this time, as well.

#### **Are expectations of the citizens sometimes unrealistic, having in mind the current economic situation?**

It is true that citizens have high expectations from us, but that is



u svakom slučaju idu nekim svojim tokom. Uvek težimo promena-  
ma na bolje pa tako i u ovom slučaju.

#### **Da li su očekivanja građana ponekad nerealna, s obzirom na ekonomsku situaciju?**

Tačno je da građani od nas očekuju mnogo ali to je normalno i to tako treba da bude, a na nama je da nađemo način da njihova očekivanja ispunimo, bez obzira na tešku ekonomsku situaciju. Zato i radimo projekte javno - privatnog partnerstva, jer je to način da, kada nemamo dovoljno finansijskih sredstava, pronađemo privatnog partnera sa iskustvom u određenoj oblasti, koji je voljan da ulaze u projekat. Takođe, zahvaljujući tome što investitorima omogućavamo povoljan poslovni ambijent, povratili smo njihovo poverenje i oni sada žele da ulažu u Beograd. To samim tim znači i više radnih mesta za naše sugrađane.

#### **Koje mere preduzimate da biste zastitili najslabije - decu, penzionere, trudnice?**

Nakon što smo konsolidovali javne finansije grada Beograda, koji je bukvalno bio na jedan korak od bankrota, svu snagu smo usmjerili upravo ka ovim kategorijama stanovništva. Za decu Beograda je pre svega važno da imaju mesto u vrtiću, pa smo tako u sistem uveli privatne vrtiće i dobili 3.600 novih mesta za njih, posle 15 godina preselićemo Prihvatalište za decu koje je u jako lošem stanju, obezbedili smo 250 ličnih pratioca za decu sa smetnjama u razvoju, obnovili smo Pionirski grad i vratile ga deci... Kada je reč o penzionerima, otvorili smo nekoliko Klubova za stare gde oni mogu kvalitetno da provode vreme, pružamo uslugu pomoći u kući, imaju na raspolaganju razne besplatne programe... Za nezaposlene porodilje smo prošle godine povećali nadoknadu sa 20.000 na 35.000 dinara, pronašli smo donatore za bebi - pakete koji su bolji nego ikad, uspeli smo da sačuvamo naš "Bebi - servis". ■

normal and should be so. And it is up to us to find ways to fulfill their expectations, regardless of the hard economic situation. That's why we do projects of public-private partnerships, because in the situation of insufficient financial resources, this is the way to find a private partner experienced in a certain area, willing to invest into the project. Also, thanks to the fact that we ensure a positive business environment to investors, we regained their trust and now they want to invest in Belgrade. This subsequently means more job openings for our citizens.

#### **What measures do you undertake to protect the vulnerable categories – children, pensioners and pregnant women?**

After the consolidation of the city budget, which was literally one step away from bankruptcy, we focused all our energy on these categories. Primarily, it is important to provide a sufficient number of places in kindergartens. Therefore, we included some private kindergartens in the system, as well, ensuring an additional 3.500 places for children. After 15 years, we will move the Children's shelter, which is in a very bad state; we hired 250 persons to accompany children with disabilities; we reconstructed the Pioneer town and gave it back to children... As far as the pensioners are concerned, we have opened up a few Clubs for the elderly, where they can spend some quality time; we also have a housekeeping-assistance program; they have a range of free programs at their disposal...As for the unemployed pregnant women, we increased their compensation from 20.000 to 35.000 dinars; we also found donors for baby-packages, which are better than ever; we managed to keep our "Baby-service." ■

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PREDSEDNIK SRPSKE NARODNE PARTIJE /  
PRESIDENT OF THE SERBIAN PEOPLE'S PARTY DR. NENAD POPOVIĆ

# Dr NENAD POPOVIĆ

SAMO JAKA EKONOMIJA MOŽE DA ZADRŽI MLADE U SRBIJI

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ONLY A STRONG ECONOMY CAN KEEP THE YOUTH IN SERBIA

**P**redsednik Srpske narodne partije dr Nenad Popović godinama nosi epitet političkog rusofila, koji Rusiju vidi kao jedinog iskrenog prijatelja Srbije.

Važi za jednog od retkih političara koji se zalaže za raspisivanje referendumu o ulasku Srbije u Evropsku uniju i ističe da Kosovo i Metohija ne sme da bude cena za članstvo. Otvoreno se protivi i prodaji „Telekoma Srbija“ jer smatra da preduzeće koje državi donosi profit ne treba davati strancima. U ekskluzivnom intervjuu za „The Globe Magazine“ kaže da samo jaka ekonomija može da spreči odlazak mlađih mozgova iz Srbije. Kao uzornu zemlju na polju razvoja ekonomije vidi Sjedinjene Američke Države. Očekuje veću opreznost države kada su u pitanju migranati, kako Srbija ne bi nesvesno postala saveznik u širenju islamskog terorizma. Ne libi se da otvoreno iznese kritike ali i pohvale na račun Vlade premijera Aleksandra Vučića, što ga dodatno svrstava u red ozbiljnih političara sa stavom.

**Pošto je ekonomija stub svakog društva, da počnemo od ekonomskih pitanja. Vlada nije uspela u decembru da proda „Telekom Srbije“. Vi ste među političarima koji su se protivili njegovoj prodaji. Zašto?**

Ja sam, kao potpredsednik Narodne skupštine Srbije, još pre više godina, organizovao potpisivanje peticije protiv prodaje „Telekoma Srbija“. I danas smatramo da bi bila velika greška prodavati jedno takvo preduzeće strateški važno za Srbiju, koje posluje uspešno i državi donosi profit. Od 2007. do prošle godine, „Telekom“ je ostvario više od od 1,2 milijarde evra neto profita. Nikada neto profit „Telekoma“ nije bio manji od 100 miliona evra godišnje. I pri tome u poslednje tri godine stalno raste, sa 109 na 139, pa na 152 miliona evra. „Telekom Srbija“ je strateški važno preduzeće ne samo za našu državu već za celokupnu privredu Srbije – posebno za onaj zdravi deo privrede koji posluje u oblasti informacionih tehnologija, a čiji se razvojni i obrazovni potencijal naslanja na najvećeg mobilnog operatera. Naročita strateška važnost „Telekoma Srbija“ leži u činjenici da je ta kompanija vlasnik i „Telekoma Srpske“, kao i jednog mobilnog operatera u Crnoj Gori, što omogućava da ostvarujemo važan ekonomski uticaj u regionu. Posebno se protivimo prodaji tog preduzeća u uslovima recesije, jer je u tim uslovima za „Telekom Srbije“ nemoguće postići cenu koja odgovara njegovoj realnoj vrednosti. Naglašiću samo da je „Telekom“ u prethodnih šest godina uspeo za dve trećine da smanji svoju zaduženost, sa 910 na 332 miliona evra, dok je poslovni prihod istovremeno povećan sa 900 na 1.043 miliona evra. A što je manji dug neke kompanije, to je veća njena vrednost, jer nije svejedno da li se kreditorima duguje 332 ili 910 miliona evra. Na kraju, veoma važan argument jeste i bezbednost, jer kontrolom nad „Telekomom“ mi kontrolišemo i strateški važne kanale komunikacije. To je posebno važno danas kada terorizam predstavlja realnu pretnju za globalnu i regionalnu bezbednost.

**Zalažete se za razvoj privrede u Srbiji kako bi više naših ljudi imalo posao. Šta država treba da preduzme da bi nam ojačala privreda?**

Naša ideja je da Srbija primeni evropski i američki model i da subvencionise bankarske kamate za privrednike, posebno za mala i porodična preduzeća i preduzetnike. Tu vidimo šansu za nove po-

**F**or years now, the president of the Serbian People's Party (SNP), Dr. Nenad Popović, has been known as a political Russophile, where he sees Russia as the only true friend of Serbia. He is also known as one of the few politicians who advocates for a referendum on Serbian admission to the EU, emphasizing that Kosovo and Metohija cannot be a price to pay for EU membership. He openly opposes the sale of "Telekom Srbija," for he thinks that a company that brings the state a profit should not be given away to foreigners. In the exclusive interview for "The Globe Magazine," he says that only a strong economy can prevent the brain drain from Serbia. He sees the United States of America as a state to look up to in terms of economic development. He expects more caution from the state in terms of immigrants' issues, to prevent Serbia from becoming an unconscious ally in the expansion of Islamic terrorism. He does not hesitate to criticize, but also to compliment the work of Prime Minister Aleksandar Vučić, the characteristic that places him among serious politicians with integrity.

**Given that the economy stands as a pillar of every society, let us start with economic questions. The Government failed to sell "Telekom Srbija" in December. You are one of the politicians who opposed the sale. Why?**

Several years ago, as Vice-president of the National Assembly of Serbia, I organized signing a petition against the sale of "Telekom Srbija." Today, also, we believe it would be a huge mistake to sell a company, strategically so important for Serbia, a successful business bringing profit to the state. Between 2007 and the last year, Telekom realized a net profit over 1.2 billion euro. Their net profit is never under 100 million euro per annum. Moreover, in the past three years, the profit has been increasing, from 109 to 139, then to 152 million euro. Telekom Srbija is a strategically important company, not only our state, but for the overall economy of Serbia – especially for that healthy part of the economy which runs business in the information technology branch, whose developmental and educational potential leans on the largest mobile operator. There is also a special strategic importance of Telekom Srbija, which is in the fact that it is the owner of "Telekom Srpska," as well as the only operator in Montenegro, which ensures important economic influence in the region. We especially oppose the sale of that company in the state of recession, because in these conditions, it is impossible to reach the price that corresponds to its real value. I would like to emphasize that in the past six years, Telekom managed to reduce two-thirds of its debt, from 910 to 332 million euro, at the same time increasing its income from 900 to 1.043 million euro. The less debt the company has, the more valuable it is, as it is not the same whether you owe 332 or 910 million euro to the creditors. In the end, a very important argument is security as well. In controlling Telekom, we control strategically important communication channels. This is especially important now that terrorism presents a real threat to global and regional security.

**You advocate the development of the economy in Serbia which would result in an increase of employment. What do you see as a solution that the state needs to achieve in order to strengthen its economy?**

slove. Na primer, da kredite sa kamatom od 6 odsto u evrima, država subvencionise četiri odsto, što znači da bi privrednik plaćao kamatu od samo dva odsto. To je ogromno olakšanje za privredu! U budžetu za 2016. za investitore, uglavnom strane, predviđeno je osam milijardi dinara. Podržavam subvencije za investitore, ali smatram da svaku subvenciju treba odrediti tako da stvori najviše novih radnih mesta. Kada bi se tim novcem subvencionisale kamate na kredite domaćim malim preduzećima, sa tih osam milijardi dinara mogli bi da se subvencionisu krediti od čak 200 milijardi dinara ili 1,6 milijardi evra po jeftinim kamatama od dva odsto! Sa tolikim dodatnim sredstvima domaća preduzeća sigurno bi zapošlila pet-šest puta više radnika nego strane kompanije, koje su za svako novo radno mesto od države dobijale od 4.000 do 10.000 evra. Takođe, država mora maksimalno da rastereti privatni sektor od plaćanja visokih poreza.

#### **Na koji način je to moguće sprovesti u delo?**

U Srbiji je nerealno visok porez na plate, čak 65 odsto. Kada bi se taj porez smanjio, podstakli bismo otvaranje novih radnih mesta, ali i iskorenili sivu ekonomiju. Tačno je da bi se u početku slivalo manje para u državni budžet po tom osnovu. Ali s druge strane, građani bi imali više novca, i trošili bi više, pa bi se kroz naplatu drugih poreza, kao što je PDV, taj gubitak u budžetu brzo nadomešto. Privreda bi prodisala.

#### **Još jedna goruća tema je i to što mladi godinama napuštaju Srbiju. Da li bi privredni razvoj zemlje mogao da spreči sve veći odliv mozgova u inostranstvo?**

Jaka ekonomija je ključ ostanka mladih u zemlji. Država mora da obezbedi uslove da kroz zapošljavanje u domaćoj privredi mladi ostanu da rade i zasnivaju porodice u Srbiji. Država treba da stimuliše zapošljavanje mladih u oblasti turizma, kao i IT-ja, jer su to dve oblasti gde procentualno radi najviše mladih u celoj Evropi i Rusiji. Takođe, programima „prve šanse”, kojima bi država subvencionisala deo plata mladih koji su dobili prvi posao, moglo bi pozitivno da se utiče na spremnost poslodavaca da zapošljavaju mlade. Zapošljavanje mladih povezano je u velikoj meri i sa obrazovanjem koje dobijaju na univerzitetima i potreбama tržišta za tim znanjem. Mislim da nam u budućnosti treba više inženjera i diplomaca tehničkih fakulteta koji će imati znanje primenjivo u IT i proizvodnoj industriji nego svršenih studenata društvenih nauka. Najmanje 51 odsto svršenih studenata treba da ima obrazovanje iz tehničkih nauka.

#### **Često ističete da je poljoprivreda najveća razvojna šansa Srbije. Kako je razviti?**

Poljoprivreda je grana koja može da ima najveći rast u roku od jedne do dve godine. U njoj vidimo i najveću šansu za rast izvoza i novo zapošljavanje. Ali moramo da poboljšamo ambijent za razvoj poljoprivrede. Poljoprivrednicima su potrebni jeftini i dugoročni krediti, na period od 10 do 15 godina, sa kamatom od jedan do dva odsto. Takođe, potrebno je da ti krediti imaju grejs period, odnosno da se seljacima odloži početak otplate kredita za najmanje godinu ili dve dana, jer događa se često da poljoprivrednici naruče neke mašine, opremu ili tehnologije od proizvođača iz inostranstva koja može da im bude isporučena tek za godinu dana, a oni moraju da ih plate odmah. Na zapadu banke izlaze u susret takvim klijentima i spremne su da ih sačekaju da tu mašinu stave u funkciju i počnu da ostvaruju profit, kako bi mogli da otplaćuju te kredite. Nažalost,

Our idea is that Serbia should implement European and American models which subsidize entrepreneurs, especially for small and middle sized enterprises, for their bank interests. This is where we see a chance for new jobs. For example, if the state would provide a 4% subsidy for loans in euros with a 6% interest rate, it means that an entrepreneur would pay only a 2% interest rate. This would be a huge relief for the economy. The budget for 2016 plans 8 billion dinars for investors, mostly foreign. I support subsidies for investors, but I think that every subvention should be directed towards providing as many new jobs as possible. If that money is used to subsidize loan interests of domestic small-sized companies, these 8 billion dinars would be used to subsidize loans of 200 billion dinars, or 1.6 billion euro with a low interest rate of 2%! With such additional funds, domestic companies would certainly hire five or six times more employees than foreign companies, which used to get 4,000 – 10,000 euro from the state for every new position they opened. Also, the state must unburden the private sector from paying high taxes as much as possible.

#### **In what way would it be possible to achieve all of these?**

Serbia has an unrealistically high income tax, 65%. If we reduce that tax, we would induce new employments, but also diminish the grey economy. It is true that in the beginning, the state budget would receive less revenue from this source. But on the other hand, citizens would have more money and they would spend more money, so through the collection of other taxes, such as VAT, the initial loss would be easily compensated. The economy would finally breathe.

#### **Another burning issue for years now has been young people leaving Serbia. Could economic development of the state prevent the increasing brain drain?**

A strong economy is the key for keeping young people in the country. The state must ensure all the conditions for young people to stay and work and to make their families in Serbia. That is best done through employment in the domestic economy. The state must stimulate employment of young people in areas of tourism, as well as IT, because these are the two areas where the highest percentage of youth work throughout Europe and Russia. Also, the “first chance” programs, by which the state would subsidize part of the salaries of young people’s first jobs, may have a positive impact on employers’ readiness to hire young people. Youth employment is largely connected to the education they receive at universities and market demands for the knowledge. I believe that in the future, we will need more engineers and graduates from technical faculties which will have knowledge applicable in IT and production industries, rather than graduates of social sciences. At least 51 percent of graduates should be educated in technical sciences.

#### **You often emphasize that agriculture is the biggest opportunity for the development of Serbia. How can it be fostered?**

Agriculture is a branch that can show the greatest growth within one to two years. That is where we see the biggest chances for increase in export and new employment. But we have to improve the atmosphere for the development of agriculture. Farmers need cheap and long-term loans, for a period of 10 to 15 years, with a 1-2% interest rate. Also, these loans should have a “grace” period, which means that they delay the start of payment for at least a



država je i ove godine smanjila subvencije za poljoprivredu, dok su u svim ostalim sektorima subvencije porasle. Kao da neko namerno podmeće klipove u točkove srpskom seljaku.

#### **Smatrate da treba zaštiti poljoprivrednike u Srbiji od nelojalne konkurenциje iz zemalja Evropske unije. Šta pod tim mislite?**

Već dugo govorim o tome da Srbija mora da pokrene sve zaštitne mehanizme iz Sporazuma o stabilizaciji i pridruživanju sa Evropskim unijom kako bi zaštitila domaće poljoprivrednike od nelojalne konkurenциje iz EU. Mi smo analizirali dobro taj sporazum i ukazali da Srbija na osnovu članova 16, 32, 40 i 41 tog sporazuma ima pravo da uvede dodatne mere za zaštitu svoje privrede. Domaći poljoprivredni proizvodi najvrednije su što Srbija danas ima i proizvodi, ali su ugroženi proizvodima iz EU, koji od 2008. godine bez carina dolaze na srpsko tržište. Naši stočari, naši mlekari su skoro uništeni nelojalnom konkurenjom iz zemalja EU. Srpskim seljacima je skoro nemoguća misija da konkurišu proizvođačima iz EU, koji imaju do deset puta veće subvencije i neuporedivo povoljnije kredite. A naročito danas kada, zbog embarga koji je Rusija uvela na poljoprivredne proizvode iz EU, oni stižu na srpsko tržište po bagatelnim cenama. To vam je sličan odnos snaga kao da *Radnički* sa Novog Beograda igra utakmicu protiv *Real Madrida*. Nemoguće je, moramo prvo da treniramo, da ojačamo našu privredu, pa tek onda da se otvorimo prema EU. Potpisivanje SSP je bila velika greška tadašnje vlade.

year or two, because it often happens that the farmers order machinery, equipment, technology from the supplier from abroad, which can be delivered in one year's time only, while they have to pay immediately. In the western world, banks provide support to such clients and are ready to wait for them to put the machinery into function and make a profit, so that they could be paying the loans. Unfortunately, the state reduced those subsidies this year again, while in all other sectors, they were increased. It seems as if someone is deliberately blocking the wheels of Serbian farmers.

#### **You believe that Serbian farmers should be protected from unfair competition from EU countries. What do you mean by that?**

For some time now, I keep saying that Serbia must start all protective mechanisms from the Stabilisation and Association Agreement in order to protect domestic farmers from the unfair competition coming from the EU. We have analyzed this agreement in details, and pointed out that according to articles 16, 32, 40 and 41 of this agreement, Serbia is entitled to raise additional measures to protect its own economy. Our agricultural products are the biggest value that Serbia has and makes today, but they are jeopardized by products from the EU, which arrive to Serbian markets without having to pay for customs, ever since 2008. Our cattle breeders, our dairy farmers are almost completely destroyed by the unfair competition from EU countries. It is almost a mission impossible for Serbian farmers to compete with EU producers, who have up to ten times higher subsidies and uncomparably bet-



#### **Zar Sporazum o stabilizaciji i pridruživanju nije bio uslov za napredak Srbije u Evropskim integracijama?**

Kada je potpisana SSP 2008. godine, imali smo prihode od carina preko 800 miliona evra. Već sledeće godine prihodi od carina su pali na 200 miliona evra. U proseku smo svake godine od 2008. do danas gubili 500 miliona zbog pada prihoda od carina na uvoz robe iz EU. Mi smo do danas primenom SSP-a poklonili EU više od tri milijarde evra. To je suludo. Sve zemlje EU ukidale su carine na dan kada su ulazile u EU, jedino je Srbija to uradila još 2008. godine, a nećemo u EU ući ni sledećih 30 godina. Oni koji su potpisali taj sporazum, zarad lične političke promocije, pucali su u obe noge privredi Srbije.

#### **Vaša stranka se protivi ulasku Srbije u Evropsku uniju. Zašto imate takav stav prema EU?**

Srbija ne treba da, kako se to ovde kolokvijalno kaže, „ulazi u Evropu”. Ona je i geografski i civilizacijski i na svaki drugi način bila i ostala u Evropi i deo te Europe. Mi smo evroskeptična partija, ali to ne znači da smo protiv razvijene ekonomske, političke, kulturne, naučne saradnje sa zemljama EU. Ja želim da srpsko društvo bude uređeno kao društvo u EU, da ima slobodne medije, nezavisne institucije, najviši stepen demokratije, i verujem da to možemo da ostvarimo bez članstva u EU. Jednostavno ne vidim nikakav ekonomski interes da Srbija postane članica EU

#### **Da li Srbija može sama da izgradi takvo društvo ili su nam za to ipak potrebni evropski komesari?**

Političari u EU su dvolični prema Srbiji. Govore jedno, a rade drugo. Oni nam kažu: odreknite se Kosova, a sami ne daju ni centimetar svoje teritorije; oni nam kažu: prodajte zemljište strancima, a sami to zabranjuju u svojoj zemlji; oni od nas traže da budemo

ter loan conditions. And especially today, after the Russian embargo on products from the EU, they reach the Serbian market at very low prices. It is such a balance of power as if Radnički from Novi Beograd would play against Real Madrid. It is impossible. First we have to practice, to strengthen our economy, and only then, to open up to the EU. Signing the SAA was a huge mistake of the government at that time.

#### **Was not the Stabilization and Association Agreement a prerequisite for Serbia's progress in the European integration process?**

When the SAA was signed in 2008, our custom revenues were over 800 million euro. The next year, they dropped down to 200 million euro. In average, as of 2008 until today, we lost 500 million every year, only on the basis of decrease of custom taxes from imported EU goods. In implementing the SAA, we gave away more than three billion euro to the EU. That is insane. All the EU countries abolished their custom fees on the day they joined the EU, only Serbia did it in 2008, and we will not become an EU member for the next 30 years. Those who signed that agreement, for their own political promotion, shot both legs of the Serbian economy.

#### **Your party opposes Serbian accession to the European Union. Why do you have such a position towards the EU?**

Serbia should not, as we colloquially say, “enter Europe.” Geographically, culturally it was and is a part of this Europe. We are an eurosceptical party, but it does not mean that we are against developed economic, political, cultural, and scientific cooperation with EU countries. I want Serbian society to be as regulated as the society in the EU, to have free media, independent institutions, the highest level of democracy, and I believe we can do it without

human i primimo migrante, a sami podižu zidove prema migrantima. Zato mi ne treba da ih slušamo, već treba da radimo ono što oni rade. Treba da gledamo kako oni štite interes svojih naroda, da bismo na isti način i mi zaštitili interes Srbije.

#### **Kako odgovarate onima koji u vama vide tvrdog nacionalistu?**

Ja volim svoju zemlju kao što jedan Amerikanac, Francuz, Nemac ili Rus voli svoju državu i narod kome pripada. A nikoga ne mrzim. Svake nedelje sam u Evropskoj uniji, često i u Americi, radim sa velikim nemačkim, austrijskim, francuskim i američkim kompanijama na tržištu Rusije i Evropske unije, i mogu za sebe da kažem da mnogo više poštujem evropske vrednosti od nekih koji se u Srbiji samoproglašavaju za najveće evropejce. Nedavno sam šetao psa u Tašmajdanskom parku sa poznanicima kojima su puna usta Evropske unije i evropskih vrednosti. A zamislite, niko od tih samozvanih evropejaca nije počistio za svojim psom koji je obavio nuždu. Jedino sam ja, „evroskeptik“, to uradio. Znate, ne možete da propagirate vrednosti EU ako ih sami ne poštujete. Ne možete da budete evropejci samo na rečima, evropske vrednosti prvo morate da usvojite u svojoj glavi.

#### **Često iznosite u javnosti svoj stav da narod na referendumu treba da odluči o ulasku Srbije u EU. Koliko je to realno?**

Ne vidim zašto bi neko bio protiv toga u Srbiji. Pojedinci kažu: referendum će ionako biti održan pred sam ulazak u EU, kao što je bio slučaj sa drugim državama članicama EU. A ja im poručujem: ne možete da poređite Srbiju i druge članice EU, iz prostog razloga što ni od jedne članice EU nije traženo da se odrekne 15 odsto dela svoje teritorije, kao što danas zahtevaju od Srbije da se odrene Kosova. Potrebno je što pre održati referendum na kojem bi se građani izjasnili da li su za ulazak Srbije u EU ili protiv toga, po cenu odricanja od Kosova. To je jedino pošteno. U EU, a pogotovo u Švajcarskoj, referendumi se održavaju skoro svakog meseca, i na njima narod odlučuje o najvažnijim državnim i lokalnim pitanjima. Referendumi se sprovode čak i na nivou mesnih zajednica. Ne vidim zašto se neko plaši referendumu i u Srbiji.

#### **U Briselu je u decembru otvoreno poglavlje 35, koje se tiče Kosova i Metohije. Šta mislite o Briselskom sporazumu i da li Vlada Srbije vodi pravu politiku kada je očuvanje južne srpske pokrajine u pitanju?**

Da sam ja odlučivao, sigurno ne bih potpisao Briselski sporazum. Ipak želim na tu stvar da gledam objektivno. Svi znamo ko je malim koracima doveo do toga da i pre formalnog potpisivanja Sporazuma već zaživi njegova suština. Vlast koju je narod izabrao 2008. godine pobedila je sa idejom da se dignu ruke od KiM i politike kakvu je vodila prethodna vlada Vojislava Koštunice. Ta vlast je dozvolila da se pitanje KiM prebací iz nadležnosti Saveta bezbednosti UN, gde smo imali principijelu podršku Rusije i Kine u vezi s nadležnošću EU i Euleksa. Setimo se zatim farse sa obraćanjem i rezolucijama u Generalnoj skupštini Ujedinjenih nacija, pa nakon toga i uspostavljanja takozvanih administrativnih prelaza između centralne Srbije i KiM. Sve to je vodilo minimiziranju uloge Srbije na Kosovu i Metohiji. Kada se tako nacionalna kola gurnu nizbrdo, teško ih je zaustaviti. Aktuelna vlada ne treba da pristaje na agende dijaloga koje postavljaju predstavnici EU i Prištine, koji su, zapravo, pregovarači sa iste strane stola. Srbija mora da počne da nameće teme koje štite njen suverenitet i prava Srba na KiM. Teme gde smo mi u nesumnjivoj prednosti.

membership in the EU. I simply do not see any economic interest for Serbia to become an EU member.

#### **Can Serbia build such a society by itself, or does it still need European commissioners?**

Politicians in the EU are hypocritical towards Serbia. They speak one thing, but do another. They say – give up Kosovo, and would not give away one inch of their own territory; they say sell your land to foreigners, and ban this in their own countries; they request us to be humane and accept immigrants, and build up walls themselves. That is why we should not listen to them, but do only what they do. We should look up to the way they protect the interests of their people, so that we protect the interests of Serbia in the same way.

#### **How do you respond to those who see you as a hardcore nationalist?**

I love my country, just as an American, French, German or Russian man loves his country and the people he belongs to. I do not hate anyone. I travel to the EU every week, often to the States, I work with large German, Austrian, French and American companies in the Russian and EU markets, and I can say about myself that I respect European values more than some people who are self-proclaimed as the greatest Europhiles. Some time ago, I took my dog for a walk in Tašmajdan park, together with some acquaintances, who are all talk regarding European Union and their values. But, imagine, none of those self-proclaimed Europhiles bothered to pick up after their dogs. Only I, “eurosceptik”, did it. You know, you cannot propagate EU values if you do not follow them yourself. You cannot be European only in words, first you have to adopt the European values in your own head.

#### **You often publicly express your opinion that people should decide on the accession of Serbia to the EU by referendum. How realistic is that?**

I do not see why anyone in Serbia would oppose this. Some individuals say: a referendum will be held before the accession, anyway, as it was the case with other EU members. I tell them: you cannot compare Serbia and other EU members, for a simple reason, none of them were required to give up 15 percent of their own territory, as Serbia is required to give up Kosovo now. It is necessary to hold the referendum as soon as possible, so that citizens would declare whether they are for or against Serbia's accession to the EU, at the expense of the renunciation of Kosovo. That is only fair. In the EU, especially in Switzerland, referendums are held almost every month, while people decide about the most important issues at the state and local level. Referendums are held even at the local community level. I do not see a reason why someone should be afraid of a referendum in Serbia as well.

#### **In December, Chapter 35, related to Kosovo and Metohija, was opened in Brussels. What do you think about the Brussels Agreement and does the Government of Serbia have a good policy regarding the preservation of the southern Serbian province?**

If I were the one to make this decision, I definitely would not sign the Brussels Agreement. Still, I want to look at this issue objectively. We all know whose little steps brought the agreement's essence to life, even before the formal procedure of signing.

The authorities elected by the people in 2008 won with the idea to give up on Kosovo and Metohija, and the politics lead by the

### **Recite nam koje su to teme?**

To je svakako tema svojine države Srbije i njenih građana na KiM. To je tema koju Zapad veoma dobro razume. Kako je moguće da imovinu u koju je decenijama ulagala država Srbija, kao što su rudnik „Trepča“ ili hidroelektrana „Gazivode“, sada pokušavaju da otmu nelegalne vlasti u Prištini? „Gazivode“ su srpska imovina. Branu je gradila beogradska „Hidrogradnja“. Da bi se formiralo jezero, morali su da budu raseljeni Srbi iz Ibarskog Kolašina, potopljen je više od 600 domaćinstava, dve crkve i četiri groblja. Potopljeni su i čuveni dvori Jelene Anžujske iz perioda Nemanjića. Hiljade Srba je iseljeno iz tog kraja, i to uz ponižavajuću nadoknadu, jer svedoci tvrde da za ar zemlje nije mogla da se kupi pakla cigareta. Izgradnja „Gazivoda“ finansirana je iz kredita MMF-a, a neke od tih kredita Srbija i dalje vraća međunarodnim kreditorima.

### **Zar to nije absurdno da Srbija vraća kredite u ime Kosova i Metohije a nikakva prava nema u južnoj srpskoj pokrajini?**

Taj dug je naša tapija, vlasnički list nad imovinom na Kosmetu. Srbija je uzimala kredite od Svetske banke, Pariskog i Londonskog kluba, MMF-a i drugih međunarodnih poverilaca da bi se privreda na Kosovu razvijala. Ukupan dug za Kosovo je 858 miliona evra. Tim parama koje Srbija sada vraća izgrađene su brojne termoelektrane, rudnici, fabrike, putevi, akumulacije za snabdevanje gradova vodom i navodnjavanje. Do sada smo otplatili 548 miliona evra „kosovskog duga“, a poslednja rata dospeva na naplatu 2041. godine. Vlasništvo nad imovinom je univerzalno i nepri-kosnoveno pravo koje važi u svim civilizovanim državama sveta. To je argument sa kojim treba da idemo pred međunarodnu zajednicu, jer oni taj argument ne mogu da ospore.

### **Da ste na vlasti, šta bi ste učinili da pronađete pravo rešenje za Kosovo i Metohiju? Kao što znate, mnogo toga je već učinjeno, a Briselski sporazum mora da se sprovodi.**

Ustav Republike Srbije i Rezolucija 1244 Ujedinjenih nacija definišu Kosovo i Metohiju kao sastavni i neotuđivi deo Srbije. Kao legalista logično je da se borim za dosledno poštovanje Ustava i jačanje svih državnih mehanizama koji će omogućiti veće prisustvo institucija Republike Srbije na Kosmetu. Mi se protivimo Briselskom sporazumu, ali kao odgovorni ljudi i političari, smatramo da ne bi bilo pametno da Srbija jednostrano raskida bilo koji međunarodni sporazum bez obzira na to koja vlada je taj sporazum potpisala. To bi bila loša poruka čitavoj međunarodnoj zajednici, sadašnjim i budućim stranim investitorima u našoj zemlji. Srbija treba da se kreće u okvirima potpisanih sporazuma, trudeći se da ide ka takvim rešenjima koja će omogućiti da se Ustav Republike Srbije poštuje u maksimalnoj meri, da ljudska prava Srba na KiM budu zaštićena, da se Srbij osećaju bezbedno, a da imovina Srba i države Srbije na KiM bude potvrđena kao srpska i maksimalno zaštićena. Moramo da zahtevamo da se što pre formira Zajednica srpskih opština na KiM, kao minimum uslova za zaštitu interesa Srbije i srpskog naroda u južnoj srpskoj pokrajini.

### **Srpsku narodnu partiju često deklarišu kao prorusku partiju. Da li je to istina?**

Mi pre svega vodimo računa o srpskom nacionalnom i državnom

former government of Vojislav Koštinica. Those authorities allowed the transfer of KM from the jurisdiction of the UN Security Council, where we had principal support of Russia and China, to the jurisdiction of the EU and EULEX. Then, let us remember the farce of the addresses and resolutions at the UN General Assembly, and after that the establishment of the so called administrative boundary lines between central Serbia and KM. All these lead to the diminishing of the Serbian role in Kosovo and Metohija. When the vehicle of nationality is pushed downhill like that, it is very hard to stop it. The current government should not agree to dialogue agendas set up by the representatives of the EU and Priština, who are actually on the same side of the negotiations table. Serbia must start imposing the agenda topics which protect its sovereignty and the rights of Serbs in Kosovo and Metohija. The topics in which we have an undoubtful advantage.

### **What are those topics?**

There is definitely the issue of property of the state of Serbia and its citizens in Kosovo and Metohija. That is the issue that the West understands very well. How is it possible that the property, which the state of Serbia has been investing in for years, such as the mine Trepca or hydropower plant Gazivode, the illegal authorities from Priština are now trying to seize? Gazivode is Serbian property. The dam was built by Hidrogradnja from Belgrade. In order to form the lake, Serbs from Ibarski Kolašin had to be displaced, more than 600 households, two churches and four cemeteries were sunk for this purpose. The widely known Court of Helen of Anjou from the period of Nemanjić was also submerged. Thousands of Serbs were displaced from this area with only a humiliating reimbursement, as witnesses claim that they could not buy a pack of cigarettes for one acre of land. The construction of Gazivode was funded from MMF loans, some of which are still being paid back to international creditors by Serbia.

### **Isn't it absurd that Serbia must pay back loans on behalf of Kosovo – Metohija, without holding any rights in the southern Serbian province?**

That loan is our deed, a certificate on our property in Kosmet. Serbia took a loan from the World Bank, Paris and London Clubs, MMF and other international creditors in order to develop the economy in Kosovo. The total debt for Kosovo amounts to 858 million euro. With that amount of money, that Serbia now pays back, many of powerplants, mines, factories, roads, water supplies and irrigation systems were built. Up until now, we paid back 548 million euro of “Kosovo debt”, and the last installment will be due in 2041. The property ownership is universal and an inalienable right valid in all the civilized states of the world. This is an argument that we should present to the international community, because that is the argument they cannot deny.

### **If you were in authority, what would you do to find a right solution for Kosovo-Metohija? As you know, a lot has been done, and the Brussels agreement must be implemented.**

The Constitution of the Republic of Serbia and the UN Resolution 1244 define Kosovo-Metohija as an inalienable constituent

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interesu. A u Rusiji vidimo prijatelja koji je bio uz Srbiju u najtežim trenucima u njenoj istoriji. Od Prvog i Drugog svetskog rata, preko najbolje ekonomske saradnje koju smo imali tokom sedamdesetih i osamdesetih godina, do podrške koju Rusija danas pruža svim najvažnijim državnim i nacionalnim pitanjima Srbije, kao što su pitanja Kosova i Metohije i Republike Srpske. Samo u toku prošle godine Rusi su dva puta pokazali koliko vole i poštuju Srbiju – jednom kada su sprecili da prođe britanska Rezolucija o Srebrenici, kojom je ceo srpski narod trebalo da bude žigosan kao genocidan, a drugi put, kada su onemogućili prijem lažne države Kosovo u Unesco. Šta je mogao da bude interes Rusije da postupi tako? Tu nije bilo interesa, zaštitili su nas kao što stariji brat štiti mlađeg brata. Iako imam mnogo prijatelja i poslovnih partnera u Americi i Evropskoj uniji, nemam problem da kažem da je Rusija vekovima jedini iskreni prijatelj Srbije u svetu.

#### **Kao vrsni poznavalac ruske spoljne politike, da li očekujete zaoštrevanje odnosa između Rusije i Turske? Vaše viđenje situacije.**

Rusija je predvodnik i ključni činilac globalne bitke protiv pošasti takozvane Islamske države. Bitke koju, iz samo njemu znanih egoističnih interesa, nije hteo, evo već pet godina, da okonča NATO. Turska je prva civilizacijska granica toj terorističkoj nakazi stvorenog na teritoriji Sirije i Iraka. Ali istovremeno Turska ima svoje interesе, zbog kojih ova zemlja često prelazi u zonu „mekog saveznštva” sa tom istom takozvanom Islamskom državom. U pozadini svega su poslovi koji određenim ljudima u vrhu turskog establišmenta donose ekonomsku korist. Onog trenutka kada je Rusija svojim vojnim misijama u Siriji zapretila da prekine tu „zlatnu žilu”, Turska je oborila ruski vojni avion u kojem je stradao jedan ruski pilot. Da ljudi koji vode Tursku imaju iole odgovornosti, oni bi posle takvog incidenta momentalno podneli ostavke, umesto što su svojim ostankom na vlasti naneli nemerljivu ekonomsku i političku štetu svom narodu. Moskva nema ništa protiv turskog naroda, ali logično je da turske zvaničnike koji su umešani u obaranje ruskog aviona više ne smatra za partnere. Po mom mišljenju, da bi se uopšte razmatralo ponovno uspostavljanje političkih i ekonomskih odnosa Rusije i Turske, neophodno je da ti ljudi napuste rukovodeće funkcije u turskoj državi.

#### **Da li su nedavni teroristički napadi islamističkih organizacija u Parizu početak njihovog osvajanja evropskog tla?**

Nije badava SNP još početkom prošle jeseni upozoravao da se među migrantima koji putuju „balkanskom rutom” nalazi veliki broj terorista pripadnika takozvane Islamske države i tražio da se zatvori granica sa Makedonijom za nelegalni i nekontrolisani ulazak migranata. Najmanje tri hiljade bivših pripadnika takozvane Islamske države, prerašenih u izbeglice, prešlo je preko Srbije na putu ka EU. Šta je to nego početak regрутације velike terorističke armije čiji je cilj da zaposedne evropsko tlo? Uostalom, ozbiljni bezbednosni podaci iz celog sveta, još pre terorističkih napada u Parizu, upozoravali su na takvu opasnost.

#### **Kako ocenjujete migrantsku krizu, sa kojom je, kao tranzitna zemlja, i Srbija suočena?**

SNP je od izbijanja migrantske krize upozoravao da će na kraju, kada zemlje EU shvate da su vodile pogrešnu politiku „dobrodošlice” za migrante, nastradati male, tranzitne zemlje, poput Srbije i Makedonije. EU će pokušati da zadrži migrante u Srbiji. To jasno pokazuje ijava EU zvaničnika o formiranju novčanog fonda sa

of Serbia. Having legal background, it is only logical to fight for consistent respect of the Constitution and the strengthening of all state mechanisms, which will ensure a higher presence of Serbian institutions in Kosmet. We oppose the Brussels agreement, but as responsible people and politicians, we think it would not be wise for Serbia to unilaterally break any international agreement, regardless of which government signed it. That would be a bad message to the whole international community and to present and future foreign investors in our country. Serbia must manouvre within the agreements signed, striving towards solutions that will ensure maximum respect of the Constitution of the Republic of Serbia, protection of human rights of Serbs in KM, safety for Serbs, and maximum protection and verification of Serbs' property. We must urgently demand the establishment of the Association of Serbian Municipalities in KM as minimum preconditions for the protection of the interests of Serbia and Serbs in the southern Serbian province.

#### **The Serbian People's Party is often declared as the pro-Russian party. Is this true?**

First of all, we take care of Serbian national and state interests. We see Russia as a friend who stood by Serbia in its hardest moments throughout history. Ever since the First and the Second World War, and through the best economic cooperation we had during the 1970s and 1980s, to the present support, which Russia has provided in all the most important state and national issues of Serbia, such as Kosovo-Metohija and Republika Srpska. During last year only, Russians showed their love and appreciation for Serbia in two occasions – once when they stopped the British resolution on Srebrenica, by which all Serbian people would have been marked as guilty of genocide, and a second time, when they prevented the accession of the fake country to UNESCO. What could have been Russia's interest in this? There was no interest, they protected us in the way that an older brother protects a younger brother. I have plenty of friends and business partners in the States and the EU, but I have no problem saying that Russia has been the only true friend of Serbia in the world, for centuries now.

#### **Being an expert in Russian external politics, do you expect further strains in their relations to Turkey? What is your point of view?**

Russia is a leader and a key element of the global battle against the nemesis named “Islamic state”. Battles, which, for the past five years, NATO alliance had no intention to end themselves, for some egoistic reasons known to themselves only. Turkey is the civilization boundary line to that terroristic freak created in the territory of Syria and Iraq. But, at the same time, Turkey has its own interests that make this country shift to the zone of “soft alliance” with this Islamic state. There are activities in the background of this, which bring certain people from the top of the Turkish establishment definite economic profit. The moment that Russian military missions in Syria threatened to cut this “golden vein”, Turkey shot down the Russian aircraft, which resulted in the death of one Russian pilot. If there was any responsibility amongst Turkish leadership, they would have resigned instantly, instead of staying in their positions and bringing their people immense economic and political damage. Moscow has nothing against the Turkish people, but it is pure logic not to remain in partnership with Turkish officials, who took part in shooting down the Russian aircraft. In my opinion, in order to even consider the re-establishment of political and

ciljem da se migranti zadrže na Balkanu. Mi smo od početka zahtevali da Srbija, kada su migranati u pitanju, ne čini ni manje, ali ni više od onoga što čine same članice EU. Ako jedna Mađarska podiže zid, ako to zatim čine i Bugarska i Austrija i Slovenija i Hrvatska, ako se od Poljske, Nemačke i Slovačke do Velike Britanije određuju simbolične kvote za prijem, zašto bi Srbija bila toliko otvorena da ugrožava samu sebe. Predložili smo da se, radi sprečavanja nekontrolisanog priliva migranata, postave fizičke barijere i da vojne snage izdaju na granicu s Makedonijom. Trpeli smo zbog takvog stava mnoge napade i uvrede, ali se na kraju čvrsta migrantska politika SNP-a pokazala kao spasonosna u čitavoj Evropi.

#### **Nedavno ste u Vašingtonu sa američkim zvaničnicima razgovarali o migranatima. Kakva su njihova iskustva u tome?**

Mnogi od onih koji su nas napadali doživeli su prvi šok saznavši da Srpska narodna partija ima gotovo iste stavove prema nacionalnoj bezbednosti kao američka vlada. Amerika je izgradila hiljadu kilometara zidova i barijera na granici sa Meksikom, sa blizu dve hiljade osmatračnica i oko 20.000 stražara, sa ciljem da zaštiti teritoriju SAD od nekontrolisanog i nelegalnog ulaska migranata. I pored svih uvreda koje stižu na moj račun, ne stidim se da kažem da podržavam američku migrantsku politiku. Srbija treba da uradi isto što je Amerika uradila na granici sa Makedonijom, odnosno da na granicu za Makedonijom postavi fizičke barijere i izvede vojsku. To je način da zaustavimo migrantski cunami na teritoriji Srbije, s kojim se možemo suočiti već na proleće. Jednostavno, moramo osigurati bezbednost i miran život naših građana i sprečiti ideju EU da postanemo „kamp Srbija” za migrante. Postavljam pitanje pojedinim dušebrižnicima i lažnim humanistima, ako ja kao evroskeptik i političar koji Rusiju smatra najiskrenijim prijateljem Srbije, nemam problem da istaknem pametnu američku politiku zaštite granica od migranata, zašto taj problem imaju ljudi koji otvoreno promovišu američke interese u Srbiji? Mogli bismo mnogo da naučimo i od američkih kompanija, a ne samo političara ili eksperata za nacionalnu bezbednost.

#### **Dajte nam konkretan primer onoga što možemo da naučimo od Amerike kad je reč o razvoju ekonomije?**

Navešću vam jedan primer. Dok je zbog sankcija izvoz Francuske, Poljske, Nemačke i Italije u Rusiju prošle godine smanjen za više od 10 odsto, američki izvoz je u julu 2014, dakle, neposredno nakon pooštravanja sankcija, povećan za rekordnih 48,9 odsto! Dok je EU birokratija vodila veliku politiku, uvodeći sankcije Rusiji, i nanoseći time štetu svojoj privredi, Amerika nije sedela skrštenih ruku, već je razmišljala ekonomski i pragmatično, i praktično odmah po uvođenju sankcija počela da zauzima pozicije evropskih kompanija na ruskom tržištu. Isto tako mora da se ponaša i Srbija.

#### **Insistirate na tome da Srbija iskoristi sankcije uvedene Briselu i Ankari za zauzimanje boljih pozicija na ruskom tržištu. Koliko je to moguće?**

Sankcije koje je Rusija uvela Turskoj i Evropskoj uniji velika su šansa naše privrede za rast izvoza u Rusiju. Turska je bila veliki izvoznik voća i povrća u Rusiju. Mi moramo da zauzmemo deo toga prostora sa našom poljoprivrednom i prehrambenom ponudom. Takođe, stvorile su se prilike da zauzmemo deo tržišta u oblasti turizma, a posebno u građevinarstvu. Turski izvoz u Rusiju

economic relations between Russia and Turkey, these people need to resign from their leadership positions in Turkey.

#### **Are the recent terrorist attacks in Paris just the beginning of conquering European soil by Islamic organizations?**

Since last fall, the Serbian People's Party has warned that among the immigrants, there are a large number of terrorists from the “Islamic State” travelling along “the Balkan route.” For this reason, we requested closing down the border with Macedonia for illegal and uncontrolled entry of immigrants. At least three thousand former members of the “Islamic State,” disguised as refugees, travelled across Serbia on their way to the EU. What is it but the beginning of the recruitment of a huge terrorist army, whose task is to overtake European soil? After all, there has been some serious security information from across the world which warned about such a danger, even before the terrorist attacks in Paris.

#### **How do you estimate the migrant crisis that Serbia, as a transit country, has faced?**

Ever since the outbreak of the migrant crisis, SNP has been warning that in the end, when the EU countries realize that their “welcoming” politics towards migrants was wrong, the small, transit countries, like Serbia and Macedonia will end up hurt. The EU will attempt to keep migrants in Serbia. This is clearly indicated in the announcement by EU officials about establishing a fund aimed to keep migrants in the Balkans. From the very beginning, we requested that Serbia does neither less nor more than the very members of the EU when it comes to the migrant issues. If Hungary builds up a wall, followed by Bulgaria, Austria, Slovenia and Croatia, if there are quota for reception of migrants introduced, why should Serbia be so open to put itself to risks. We suggested setting up physical barriers and sending the military forces to the border with Macedonia, in order to prevent an uncontrolled inflow of migrants. We received many threats and insults for such an attitude, but in the end, the firm migrant politics of SNP proved itself as rescuing across Europe.

#### **While in Washington, you recently spoke to American officials about migrants. What are their experiences on this issue?**

Many of those who attacked us were shocked to find out that SNP has practically identical stands on national security as the American government. America built up thousands of kilometers of walls and barriers on its border with Mexico, set up almost two thousand watchtowers with around 20,000 guards, all aimed to protect U.S. territory from uncontrolled and illegal entry of migrants. Besides all the insults I have been a target of, I am not ashamed to say that I support American migrant policies. Serbia should do the same as America did on its border with Mexico, which is to set up physical barriers and to set up an army at its border with Macedonia. This is the only way to stop the tsunami of migrants that Serbia might face in spring, already. Simply, we must provide security and peaceful life for our citizens and prevent the EU's idea of becoming the “Camp Serbia” for migrants. I am asking some fake humanists and caring souls the question: If I, as an eurosceptic and politician who considers Russia as the most sincere friend of Serbia, do not have a problem with supporting the smart American policies of protecting its boundaries from migrants, why do people who



iznosio je prošle godine oko 7 milijardi dolara. Ako bismo preuzezeli samo 5 odsto tog izvoza, to bi bilo povećanje od 350 miliona dolara u izvozu srpske prirvede na rusko tržište, odnosno povećanje od 30 odsto našeg ukupnog izvoza u Rusiju. Sankcije su istovremeno i šansa za nove investicije, jer Srbija u ovom trenutku predstavlja jedini most preko kojeg evropska roba može da stigne na rusko tržište. Privrednike iz EU ne interesuje politika, oni žele da ostvaruju profit. Afirmacijom ovakve politike, gde bi Srbija praktično bila ekonomski most između Zapada i Rusije, možemo da ostvarimo dvostruku korist: da povećavamo američke i evropske investicije u Srbiji i istovremeno ublažimo pritiske iz Vašingtona i Brisela da uvedemo sankcije Rusiji. Sada nam je takva vrsta mudrosti najvažnija. Pogledajte primer američkog „Majkrosofta“. Ova kompanija u svom razvojnem centru u Beogradu zapošljava više od stotinu mlađih ljudi, razvijajući cirilične softvere namenjene tržištu Rusije. Oni su prepoznali mogućnost da u Srbiji ostvaruju profit zahvaljujući olakšicama za izvoz na rusko tržište. Treba da budemo most, a ne provala između najjačih.

#### **Mnogobrojni analitičari Srpsku narodnu partiju vide kao stranku budućnosti u Srbiji. Šta to novo vaša stranka ima da ponudi?**

Ono što SNP izdvaja od drugih partija jeste naša stručnost i iskušto u rešavanju ekonomskih problema. Mi smo ekonomiju stavili na prvo mesto u našem programu. Osim toga, imamo velik broj mlađih privrednika i preduzetnika, koji su u politiku i našu partiju došli radeći pre toga u privredi. Privrednici su ljudi za koje država i administracija treba da rade, da im omoguće najbolji ambijent za poslovanje, jer oni zapošljavaju ljude i plaćaju poreze. Ako je njima dobro, biće dobro i državi. Svi mi znamo da je pitanje ekonomije ključno za Srbiju. Ne možemo da očekujemo da će postići najvažnije državne ciljeve ako imamo najnižu platu u regionu. Moramo ekonomski da se podignemo, da bi naša državna politika

openly support American interests in Serbia have it? We could learn a lot from American companies, as well, not only from politicians or national security experts.

#### **Give us a concrete example of what we can learn from America on economic development.**

I will give you an example. While the exports from France, Poland, Germany and Italy to Russia was reduced more than 10%, American export for July 2014, right after the sanctions, was increased to a record 48.9%! While EU bureaucracy was all engaged in the politics, introducing sanctions to Russia, damaging their own economy, America did not sit with their arms crossed, but actually thought economically and pragmatically. Almost immediately after the introduction of sanctions, America started to replace European companies in the Russian market. Serbia should behave in the same way.

#### **You insist on Serbia using the sanctions introduced against Brussels and Ankara, for improving its positions in the Russian market. How realistic is this?**

The sanctions which Russia introduced against Turkey and the EU are a great opportunity to increase our export to Russia. Turkey was a large exporter of fruits and vegetables to Russia. We have to take a part in this opportunity with our offer of food and agricultural products. There are also opportunities to take part in the tourist market and especially in construction. Turkish export to Russia for the last year amounted to 7 billion dollars. If we took over only 5 percent of the export services, it would make the increase of 350 million dollars of Serbian export to the Russian market, making the increase of 30%. Furthermore, the sanctions are a chance for new investments, as Serbia presents the only bridge that can take European goods to the Russian market. Businessmen from the EU do not care about politics, they want to make a profit. By affirming this kind of politics, which would make Serbia practically an economic bridge between the West and Russia, we could make double profit: increase American and European investment in Serbia, and at the same time reduce the pressure from Washington and Brussels to introduce sanctions against Russia. At this moment, this kind of wisdom is the most important. Let's look into American Microsoft, for example. This company's development center in Belgrade hires more than one hundred young people, developing cyrilične softveres aimed for the Russian market. They recognized Serbia's capacities to make a profit thanks to benefits we have for export to the Russian market. We should be a bridge, not a gap between the strongest.

#### **There are many analysts who see the Serbian People's Party as the party of the future in Serbia. What is new that your party has to offer?**



What distinguishes the SNP from other parties is our expertise and experience in solving economic problems. We placed the economy as the number one priority in our program. Besides that, we have a large number of young businessmen and entrepreneurs, who joined politics and our party, and who have previous experience of working in economics. Businessmen are people which the state and its administration should work for, to ensure the best business environment, because they are the ones who employ people and pay taxes. If they are fine, the state will be fine. We all know that the economy is the key issue for Serbia. We cannot expect to reach our most important state objectives if we have the lowest average salary in the region. We have to rise economically, so that our state policies have better chances for success. When we are economically strong, we will have a better regulated society, stronger institutions, freedom of speech and media. Citizens will enjoy social justice, as well. The economy is a key to both our society and state progress.

imala veće šanse za uspeh. Kada budemo ojačali ekonomski, imaćemo uređenje društvo, jače institucije, slobodu govora i medija. Građani će tada imati i socijalnu pravdu. U ekonomiji je ključ našeg napretka kao društva i države.

**Koji su razlozi vašeg napuštanja DSS-a, kad se zna koliko ste bili važan funkcioner te stranke dok ju je vodio Vojislav Koštunica?**

Ja sam ponosan na činjenicu da sam bio jedan od najbližih saradnika Vojislava Koštunice i potpredsednik partije u vreme kada je on vodio DSS. Podsećam Vas da sam ja izašao iz DSS-a odmah nakon što se Koštunica povukao sa mesta predsednika, u proleće 2014. godine. DSS je za vreme Koštunice vodio meni blisku demokratsku i nacionalnu politiku. Bez Koštunice – to više nije bilo isto. Dakle, iz te stranke sam izašao mnogo pre nego što je u njoj počela bitka za Koštuničino nasleđe.

**Da li ste posle svega ostali u korektnim odnosima sa Koštunicom?**

Jesam. Često se sretnemo... To je čovek i političar od koga uvek možete nešto mudro i korisno da čujete, da naučite, da proverite i uporedite neke svoje stavove u odnosu na njegove visoke kriterijume demokratije, pravne države i politike.

**Prirodna težnja onog ko se bavi politikom jeste sticanje vlasti. Na kojoj poziciji biste voleli da se nalazite?**

Ja sam čovek privrede, čiji je dobar deo poslova vezan za Rusiju. Diplomirao sam na Mašinskom fakultetu u Beogradu, doktorirao ekonomiju u Moskvi. Kad bih bio u poziciji da biram, birao bih mesto sa kojeg mogu najviše da pomognem Srbiji, svojim sunarodnicima, mesto za koje sam stručan i kvalifikovan, i sa kojeg mogu da postignem pozitivne rezultate koji bi bili vidljivi i opipljivi svim

**What are your reasons for leaving the Democratic Party of Serbia (DSS), given that you were very highly positioned in the party while it was lead by Vojislav Koštunica?**

I am proud of the fact that I was one of the closest associates and vice-president for Vojislav Koštunica at the time of his leadership at the DSS. Let me remind you that I left the DSS immediately after his withdrawal from the position of the president, in the spring 2014. Under his leadership, the DSS had democratic and national policies I was close to. Without Koštunica – this was not the same. So, I left that party long before the struggle for Koštunica's succession began.

**Have you maintained your good relations with Koštunica?**

I have. We often get together... This is a man and a politician from which you can always hear something wise and useful, to learn something new, to verify and compare your opinions with his high criteria of democracy, legal state and politics.

**When one deals with politics, the natural feeling is to strive towards the authority. Which position would you like to be at?**

I am the man by nature, whose large part of business is linked to Russia. I graduated from the Faculty of Mechanical Engineering in Belgrade, and completed my PhD in economics in Moscow. If I were in a position to choose, I would choose the one from which I can provide maximum help to Serbia and my countrymates, a position I am qualified for and from which I can reach positive results, tangible and visible to every citizen. But, first of all, it is necessary to gain the trust of the citizens of Serbia, and that is what we do every day, travelling across the country, holding rallies and meetings mostly on economic issues that affect every citizen, every family in Serbia.

kom našem građaninu. Ali prvo treba pridobiti poverenje građana Srbije, a to je ono na čemu svaki dan radimo, putujući po Srbiji i držeći tribine i skupove uglavnom na ekonomske teme koje danas muče svakog građanina, svaku porodicu u Srbiji.

### Šta biste sa te pozicije prvo preduzel u zemlji?

Kao neko ko dugo radi u Rusiji, mislim da mogu veoma dobro da sagledam koristi koje bi Srbija mogla da ima od jačanja ekonomske i privredne saradnje sa tom zemljom. Ali prvo tu saradnju moramo da postavimo na institucionalne osnove. Na isti način kao što je postavljena i kako se odvija naša saradnja sa EU. U poslednjih 15 godina Srbija je izgradila desetine institucija za razvoj ekonomske saradnje sa EU: od ministra za saradnju sa EU, preko Kancelarije za saradnju sa EU, skupštinskog odbora za evropske integracije, desetine agencija za saradnju sa Evropskom unijom, a zamislite, nemamo niti jednu državnu instituciju za razvoj saradnje sa Rusijom. Podržavam način na koji naša zemlja razvija saradnju sa EU, treba da sarađujemo što više ekonomski sa EU, ali smatram da je logično da Srbija na isti takav način razvija i saradnju sa Rusijom. Rusko tržište je trenutno najveće i jedno od najbogatijih tržišta na svetu. Svi evropski prizvođači hrle u Rusiju, a niko u Evropi nema olakšice za izvoz u Rusiju kao što ima Srbija. Moramo to više da koristimo. Zato treba oformiti Kancelariju za saradnju sa Rusijom koja bi pomagala našim privrednicima da organizovanje nastupe na ruskom tržištu.

### Prema najavama premijera Aleksandra Vučića, Srbiju na proleće očekuje raspisivanje prevremenih izbora. Sa kojom strukom će SNP izaći pred građane?

Još uvek nismo doneli konačnu odluku sa kim ćemo ići u koaliciju. Tu odluku ćemo doneti kada se budemo približili datumu raspisivanja izbora. SNP je partija sa velikim koalicionim potencijalom i ne želimo našim izjašnjavanjem u ovom trenutku da odbijemo potencijalne koalacione partnerne. Birači nas prepoznaju kao partiju sa snažnom nacionalnom crtom, ali za razliku od drugih partija desnice, mi vodimo predvidu i racionalnu politiku, bez ekstremnih i radikalnih stavova. Mi smo sistemska partija, naša politika nije izolacionistička. Prošle nedelje sam se u Moskvi sastao sa najvišim zvaničnicima Rusije za pitanja spoljne politike, a već nekoliko dana kasnije oputovao sam u Ameriku, gde sam se sreo sa zvaničnicima američkog Stejt departmenta, Kongresa i Senata. To je kvalitet SNP-a, spremni smo na dijalog sa svima, u interesu Srbije i njenih građana. Nema dileme da će ishod sledećih izbora odrediti pitanje ekonomije, gde naša partija najveću šansu vidi u razvoju saradnje sa Rusijom, ali pored toga, važno mesto na listi prioriteta građana zauzimaće tema nacionalne bezbednosti. Srbija se suočava sa sve većim prilivom migranata i pretnjom da najveći broj onih koji ne uspeju da se domognu zemalja EU ostane trajno naseljen u Srbiji. SNP to vidi kao opasnost za Srbiju i zato tražimo da se granica sa Makedonijom hermetički zatvori i na nju postave barijere i vojska.

### Iako izbori još nisu ni raspisani, već se prave medijske kalkulacije o vašem ulasku u Vladu. Kako to komentarišete?

To valjda znači da nešto vredimo, da smo se za samo godinu dana

### What would be the first thing to do in the country from that position?

As someone who has worked in Russia for a long time, I believe I am capable to consider all the benefits Serbia could have from strengthening the economic cooperation with this country. But, first we need to set the institutional foundation for this cooperation, in the same way that our cooperation with the EU is established and maintained. In the last 15 years, Serbia built up dozens of institutions for the development of economic cooperation with the EU: the Minister without portfolio responsible for European integration, the European Integration Office, the European Integration Committee, dozens of agencies for cooperation with EU, while, imagine this, we do not have a single state institution for the development of cooperation with Russia. I support the way in which our state develops the cooperation with the EU, we need to cooperate on economic matters with the EU, as much as possible, but I also believe it is reasonable that Serbia maintains such a cooperation with Russia as well. The Russian market is currently the largest and wealthiest market in the world. All the european manufacturers are rushing to Russia, and no one in Europe has such favorable tax regulations for Russia as Serbia has. We must use it

more. That is why we need to set up the Office for cooperation with Russia, which would help our businessmen make a coordinated approach to the Russian market.

### According to the announcements of Prime Minister Aleksandar Vučić, early elections will be held in the spring. Which party will the SNP align itself with and present to the citizens?

We have not made the final decision on which party to form the coalition with yet. It will be decided when we approach the exact election date. The SNP is a party with high coalition

potentials and we do not want to discourage any potential coalition partner with early announcements. The voters recognize us as a party with strong national character, but unlike other parties of the right stream, we run a predictable and rational policies, without any extreme and radical stands. We are a pro-system party, our politics are not isolationist. Last week in Moscow, I had meetings with the highest Russian officials in charge of foreign affairs, and a few days later, I met officials from the US State Department, Congress and Senate. This is the SNP's quality, we are ready for dialogue with everyone, in the interests of Serbia and its citizens. There is no dilemma that the outcomes of the following elections will decide on economic issues, whereby our party sees the best opportunities in cooperation with Russia, but besides that, an important place on the citizens' priority list will be the issue of national security. Serbia faces an increased inflow of migrants, and is under the threat to permanently keep the largest number of those who do not reach EU countries. The SNP sees this as a danger for Serbia, and that is why we request the border crossing with Macedonia to be hermetically closed, with barriers and the army set up.

### Even though elections have not been officially called yet, there are already calculations by the media about your participation in the Government. How do you comment on this?

I guess it means that we are still worth something, that in only one

RUSIJA JE VEKOVIMA  
JEDINI ISKRENI  
PRIJATELJ SRBIJE  
—  
RUSSIA HAS FOR  
CENTURIES ONLY  
TRUE  
SERBIA FRIEND

postojanja pozicionirali, da imamo svoje biračko telo, ljudi koji veruju u našu politiku i da neke druge stranke smatraju da bi i one od koalicije s nama imale neke koristi.

#### **Šta najviše kritikujete u politici ove vlade sa premijerom Aleksandrom Vučićem na čelu?**

Mi smo jedina partija u parlamentu koja žestoko kritikuje aktuelnu vladu u vezi s pet najvažnijih tačaka za našu državu. Pod jedan, sve vladajuće partije i čitava opozicija zalažu se za ulazak Srbije u EU, mi smo evroskeptici, želimo najbolju saradnju sa EU, ali se protivimo članstvu u EU; pod dva, sve partie u parlamentu zalažu se za primenu Briselskog sporazuma, SNP je najveći kritičar Briselskog sporazuma, jer smatramo da se njime krše Ustav i prava Srba na KiM; pod tri, sve partie se zalažu za ulazak u NATO, odnosno nijedna nije pokazala otvoreno protivljenje ulaska Srbije u NATO, dok mi smatramo da Srbija nikada ne treba da postane član pakta koji nas je bombardovao, i koji šalje trupe na granice Rusije; pod četiri, sve partie u parlamentu zalažu se za vođenje „mekane“ migrantske politike, dok se mi zalažemo za čvrstu migrantsku politiku i postavljanje barijera na granici sa Makedonijom; i na kraju, pod pet, kada je u pitanju ekonomija, jedino naša partija redovno piše i stavlja na uvid javnosti svoje stručne analize u kojima žestoko kritikuje ekonomsku politiku vlade.

#### **Da li u nečemu podržavate politiku vlade?**

Podržavamo vladu u vođenju balansirane spoljne politike i njenom odupiranju pritiscima Zapada da uvede sankcije Rusiji. SNP je opozicija sadašnjoj vlasti, ali ne i sopstvenoj državi! Takođe, smatramo da je aktuelna vlada preduzela važne reformske korake u pogledu konsolidacije javnih finansijskih koraka za koje vlade pre nje nisu imale dovoljno hrabrosti. To su reforme koje su bolne i teške, ali dugoročno mogu da donesu samo korist državi i njenim građanima. Kao konzervativna partija centra, mi se zalažemo za razvoj tržišne i socijalno odgovorne ekonomije, koja se zasniva pre svega na razvoju privatnog sektora i preduzetništva. A da bismo imali zdrav privatni sektor, moramo da imamo zdrave javne finansije. Međutim, mi smatramo da reforme treba sprovesti pre svega u gubitakom javnim preduzećima, jer je samo „Srbijagas“ prošle godine iskazao neto gubitak od 45 milijardi dinara ili oko 400 miliona evra. Kada bi gubitak javna preduzeća bila restrukturirana i dovedena u ekonomski održive pozicije, vlada ne bi morala da smanjuje plate i penzije policajcima, profesorima, lekarima i drugim zaposlenima u javnom sektoru.

#### **Kako Srbiju vidite u budućnosti?**

Srbiju vidim kao ekonomski razvijenu, politički uređenu zemlju, sa izgrađenim nezavisnim i efikasnim institucijama koje garantuju pravdu građanima. Zemlju koja je vojno snažna, koja pruža punu bezbednost svim svojim građanima, koja je lider u regionu, a u svetu poštovan partner, podjednako blizak i Moskvi i Berlinu i Briselu i Vašingtonu i Pekingu i svim drugim važnim adresama. Vidim je sa Kosovom i Metohijom u njenim okvirima. Vidim je sa Republikom Srpskom uz sebe. Vidim je kao ostvarenje srpskog nacionalnog i državotvornog sna, kao državu svih njenih, ravnopravnih i zadovoljnih građana. ■

AUTOR / AUTHOR: Kristina Đžoković

FOTO / PHOTO: Nebojša Bradić

year since our functioning, we have established our own constituency, people who believe in our policies, and that some other parties believe that forming a coalition with us would be beneficial.

#### **What is it that you criticize the most in the politics of the current government, headed by Prime Minister Aleksandar Vučić?**

We are the only party in the Parliament that harshly criticizes the current government on the five most important issues for our state. First of all, all the ruling parties and the complete opposition advocate Serbia's accession to the EU, while we are eurosceptics, we want the best cooperation with the EU, but oppose EU membership; number two: all the parties in the parliament support the implementation of the Brussels Agreement, SNP is its biggest critic, because we think its implementation violates the Constitution and rights of Serbs in Kosovo-Metohija; number three: all the parties support joining NATO, or rather none of them showed open resistance to Serbia's entry to NATO, while we think that Serbia should never become a member of the pact that bombed us and sends its troops to Russian borders; number four: all the parliamentary parties support the "soft" policies towards migrants, while we advocate for tough migration policies and setting up barriers on the border with Macedonia; and finally, number five, speaking of the economy, our party is the only one who makes expert analysis with harsh criticism targeted at the economic policies of the government and makes those analysis available to the public.

#### **Is there some part of the government policies that you support?**

We support the government in running a balanced foreign affairs policy and its resistance to the pressures of the West to introduce sanctions against Russia. The SNP is in opposition to the current authorities, but not to its own state! We also believe that the current government has undertaken some important reform steps on consolidation of public finances for which previous governments did not have the courage. These are painful and hard reforms, but in the long run, they can only bring benefits to the state and its citizens. As a conservative party of the center, we promote the development of market and a socially responsible economy, based primarily on growth of the private sector and entrepreneurship. In order to have a healthy private sector, we must have healthy public finances. However, we think that the reforms must be implemented in the insolvent state companies. Only Srbijagas had a net loss of 45 billion dinars or 400 million euro last year. If insolvent public companies were restructured and raised to an economically sustainable position, the Government would not have to reduce salaries and pensions to policemen, teachers, doctors and others working in the public sector.

#### **How do you see Serbia in the future?**

I see Serbia as an economically developed, politically regulated country, with built up independent and efficient institutions as guarantees of justice for citizens. I see it as a militarily strong country, which ensures full security to all its citizens, which is a leader in the region and a respected partner equally close to Moscow, Berlin, Brussels, Washington, Beijing and all other important cities. I can also see it together with Kosovo and Metohija as its constituent part. I see it with the Republika Srpska next to its side. I see it as a Serbian national and state-building dream come true, as a state with all its citizens, equal and happy. ■

## GDUE NATURAL POWER – INDUSTRIJSKA OPREMA

### ECO POWER BOOST JE VAŠ STALNI IZVOR ENERGIJE

SVA ENERGIJA KOJA VAM TREBA. KAD GOD DA VAM TREBA, GDE GOD DA VAM TREBA.

Ukoliko je potrebno provesti energiju na veoma izolovanim ili razorenim mestima, mestima bez dotoka struje, ili gde dopuna goriva nije moguća, EcoPowerBoost je savršeno rešenje. Inovativna tehnologija, koja je ovde primenjena obezbeđuje vredan izvor čiste, potpuno samostalno generisane energije, koja zauzvrat garantuje stalan dotok struje. Zahvaljujući snazi sunca i vetra, EcoPowerBoost može da snabdeva električne uređaje svih vrsta i za bilo koju upotrebu.

Može obezbediti energiju za najudaljenije i teško dostupne lokacije, čime se omogućuje: ispumpavanje vode do površine i njena dalja distribucija, navodnjavanje velikih područja poljoprivrednog zemljišta, uspostavljanje farmi za uzgoj stoke u sušnim područjima; snabdevanje strujom udaljene posmatračke stanice i pomoći pri postavljanju kampova za hitne slučajevе. Ovo su samo neke od niza mogućih upotreba EcoPowerBoost-a.

### OPCIJE I KONFIGURACIJA

#### 1. MODULARNA KONFIGURACIJA

Tamo gde je potrebno više energije, EcoPowerBoost se može modularno povezati na jednu ili više EcoPowerBoost jedinica. U ovakvoj konfiguraciji, proizvodnja struje se povećava prema broju jedinica koje su instalirane i povezane.

#### 2. HIBRIDNA VEZA SA MINI-GENERATOROM NA VETAR

Osnovna EcoPowerBoost jedinica, opremljena fotonaponskim pločama i baterijama, može se proširiti sa mini-sistemom na vетар, koji će koristiti lokalne vremenske uslove i proizvoditi struju upotrebom snage veta.

#### 3. KONFIGURACIJA DALJINSKOG UPRAVLJANJA

EcoPowerBoost-om se može upravljati preko WEB servera, što omogućava da se nadzor elektronske opreme obavlja na daljinu, čime se ukida potreba za stručnom osobom, prisutnom na licu mesta.

#### 4. HIBRIDNA VEZA SA GENERATOROM

Kada primena zahteva zagrantovan stalan rad, čak i tamo gde nema dovoljno sunca ili veta, unutar EcoPowerBoost-a se može jednostavno instalirati strujni generator, adekvatne veličine da zadovolji date potrebe.

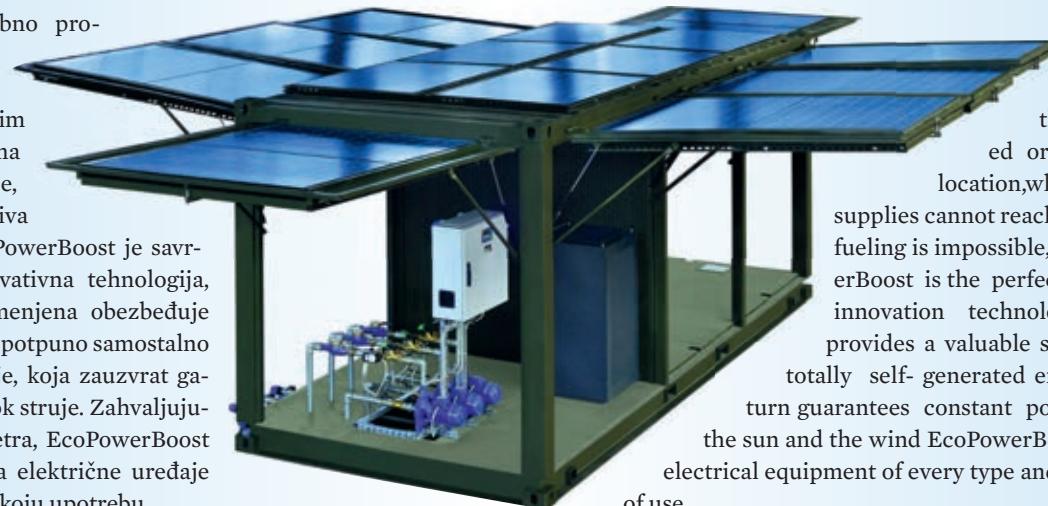
#### 5. GEOPOZICIONIRANJE

EcoPowerBoost se može dopuniti i GPS sistemom, preko kojeg će se nadgledati njegova lokacija i pratiti kretanje.

## GDUE NATURAL POWER – INDUSTRIAL EQUIPMENT

### ECO POWER BOOST IS YOUR CONSTANT ENERGY SOURCE

ALL THE ENERGY THAT IS NEEDED, WHEN YOU WANT IT, WHERE YOU WANT IT



If the aim is to produce energy in the most isolated or devastated of location, where electricity supplies cannot reach, or where refueling is impossible, then EcoPowerBoost is the perfect solution. The innovation technology employed provides a valuable source of clean, totally self-generated energy, which is turn guarantees constant power. Thanks to the sun and the wind EcoPowerBoost can supply electrical equipment of every type and for every type of use.



It can provide energy to the most remote and difficult to access location, making it possible to bring water to the surface and distribute it, irrigate large areas of farmland, start up breeding farms in arid areas; supply remote monitoring stations and assist with the setting up of emergency camps. These are just a few of the myriad of uses that are made possible with EcoPowerBoost

### OPTIONS AND CONFIGURATIONS

#### 1. MODULAR CONFIGURATION

Where there is a need for greater energy, EcoPowerBoost can be connected modularly to one or more EcoPowerBoost units. In this configuration the power produced increases according to the number of units installed and connected.

#### 2. HYBRID CONNECTION WITH MINI-WIND POWER GENERATOR

The basic EcoPowerBoost unit, equipped with photovoltaic panels and batteries, can be deployed with a mini-wind power system that will take advantage of local weather conditions and produce electricity to the action of the wind..

#### 3. REMOTE CONTROL CONFIGURATION

EcoPowerBoost can be operated via WEB Server mode, this allows the electronic equipment to be monitored remotely, eliminating the need for specialist operators on site.

#### 4. HYBRID CONNECTION WITH GENERATOR

Where applications require that continuous operation must be guaranteed, even where there is a lack of sun or wind, an electrical generator, appropriately sized to meet the required needs, can be easily installed inside an EcoPowerBoost

#### 5. GEOPOSITIONING

EcoPowerBoost can be fitted with GPS system that will monitor its location, and keep track of its movements.



# Prof. dr DEJAN S. MILETIĆ

SAD I NATO SU KLJUČ SPASA SRBIJE

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THE USA AND NATO ARE A KEY TO SAVING SERBIA

**P**rof. dr Dejan S. Miletić je srpski ekonomski stručnjak koji godinama kroz različite diplomatske aktivnosti Srbiju predstavlja u svetu. Svest o kontinuiranom propadanju Srbije pretočio je u misiju da Evropa i svet prepoznačaju našu zemlju kao budućeg partnera za važne političke, državne ali i ekonomiske poduhvate koji su joj u ovom trenutku i najpotrebniji. Uspeo je za kratko vreme da postane izuzetno zapažen u inostranstvu i da zadobije poštovanje u visokim krugovima svetske politike. Smatra da će ekonomski oporavak Srbiji doneti samo snažan politički zaokret ka SAD i NATO. Dodatnu ličnu odgovornost vidi u tome što profesor ima priliku da prenosi studentima svoja znanja i profesionalna iskustva stečena po celom svetu. Svestan da srpski narod polako nestaje sa ovih prostora, ne libi se da otvoreno poruči državnom vrhu da mora da pronađe dugoročno rešenje za izlazak zemlje iz krize, koje bi mlade motivisalo da ostanu ovde, jer kako kaže, sve gubi smisao ako ne budemo imali kome zemlju da ostavimo. Siguran je da ništa drugo ne može da zadrži mlade u državi koja se urušava četvrt veka, osim sistemskog oporavka Srbije i realne vizije za sigurnu budućnost, koju pronalaze u razvijenim zemljama sveta.

#### **Kada se osvrnemo na godinu iza nas, kako ocenujete ekonomski napredak koji je Srbija ostvarila?**

Moj odgovor je ambivalentan. S jedne strane svestan sam teškog ekonomskog stanja u društvu, i kao neko ko deli gorki hleb obrazovanja i nauke, ne osećam neke pomake nabolje, stoga nisam zadovoljan ekonomskim napretkom. Drugim rečima, ne primećujem ekonomski napredak u svakodnevnom životu. S druge strane, kao neko ko proučava ekonomske trendove kod nas i u svetu, moram da istaknem da ima značajnih pozitivnih promena koje su plod ozbiljnog suočavanja sa problemima Srbije u kontinuitetu (ovde imam u vidu vreme od 2000. na ovamo, zbog brojnih specifičnosti prethodnog perioda). U tom smislu, moglo bi da se kaže da smo na dobrom putu, ali još uvek dovoljno daleko od željenih ciljeva; da je ove pozitivne rezultate lako moguće neutralisati ukoliko se ne bude nastavilo još odlučnije i snažnije u predstojećem periodu, kada su reforme u pitanju.

#### **Da li su ekonomske reforme koje Vlada Republike Srbije sprovođi urodile plodom?**

Po svemu sudeći, u nekim segmentima i te kako jesu, ali je jasno da je moglo i više. Kada govorim o pozitivnim efektima Vladinog rada, pre svega bih naveo smanjenje fiskalnog deficit-a, usvajanje Zakona o radu u Parlamentu Srbije, stvaranje uslova za reformu javnog sektora i poslednje, ali možda i najvažnije, odgovoran rad Narodne banke Srbije (NBS).

#### **Možete li podrobniјe da nam obrazložite svoje mišljenje?**

Mnogi su bili iznenadeni smanjenjem fiskalnog deficit-a sa 230 milijardi dinara na 160 milijardi dinara, ili drugačije rečeno sa 6,7% na 4,1% BDP-a, posebno ako se ima u vidu da je na početku prošle godine najavljivano smanjenje od 5,3%. Iako se najveći deo ovog

**P**rof. Dr Dejan S. Miletić is a Serbian expert on the economy who has been representing Serbia through diplomatic activities around the world, for years now. He transformed the awareness of the continuous decline of Serbia into a mission to make Europe and the world recognize our country as a future partner for not only important political, state, but also economic ventures, which Serbia needs the most at the moment. In a very short period of time, he stands out as distinguished and highly respected, in the high-level political circles abroad. He thinks that Serbia can reach economic revival only with a strong political turn towards the USA and NATO. He sees his additional responsibility in his profession, and the fact that as a professor, he has an opportunity to transfer his knowledge and professional experiences gained around the world to his students. He realizes that Serbian people are slowly disappearing from this area, and he does not hesitate to send an open message to the top of the state, that they need to find a long-term solution for solving the crisis, which would motivate young people to stay here, because, as he says, nothing makes sense if we have no one to leave our country to. He is convinced that nothing can keep youth in a country that has been deteriorating for a quarter of a century, except a systematic recovery of Serbia and a realistic vision for a secure future that they find in developed countries of the world.

#### **When we review the past year, how would you evaluate the economic progress that Serbia has accomplished?**

My answer to this is ambivalent. On one hand, I am aware of the difficult economic situation in the society, and as someone who shares the bitter bread of education and science, I do not feel improvements, so I am not satisfied with economic progress. In another words, I do not notice any economic progress in everyday life. On the other hand, as someone who studies economic trends here and across the world, I have to point out that there are significant positive changes that are the result of serious and continuous problem-facing of Serbia (here I am thinking about the period from year 2000 onwards, due to various specific circumstances of the years before that). In that sense, it could be said that we are on the right track, but still far away from the planned objectives; that it would be easy to undo the positive results, unless we continue working harder and more decisively on the reforms, in the times to come.

#### **Have the economic reforms introduced by the Government of Republic of Serbia been fruitful?**

Judging by some of the segments, they certainly have, but clearly, it could have been even more. Speaking about the positive effects of the work of the Government, first of all, I would like to mention the reduction of fiscal deficit, the adoption of the Law on Labor in the Parliament of Serbia, the creation of conditions for reform of the public sector, and the last but perhaps the most important, the responsible work of National Bank of Serbia (NBS).

smanjenja direktno pripisuje smanjenju plata i penzija, što je do- nelo trajne uštede od 1,4 procenatna poena BDP-a, preostalo otpada uglavnom na bolju naplatu poreskih prihoda. Jasno je da je ovo nosilo sa sobom izvesnu dozu političkog rizika, odnosno da je bilo neophodno preuzeti odgovornost za takve poteze, a Vlada to je- ste uradila. Ipak, važno je naznačiti da ovaj fiskalni deficit i dalje nije dovoljno smanjen jer ne obara javni dug u odnosu na BDP, što je osnovni cilj započete fiskalne konsolidacije. U tom smislu, projekcija u budžetu za 2016, koja ukazuje na stagnaciju smanjenja fiskalnog deficita, mene baš i nije obradovala. Osim toga, Vlada je uspela da usvoji nov Zakon o radu, što je jedna ozbiljna tekovina koja tek treba da dođe do izražaja u tekućoj godini i onim nared- nim godinama. A zadatak nije bio nimalo lak, budući da su uslovi za radnike u određenoj meri pogoršani u odnosu na položaj poslodavca. Ipak, sada se može reći da su na osnovu Zakona o radu stvoreni uslovi za privredni razvoj kroz jačanje fluktuacije radne snage, stimulisanja zapošljavanja preko rasterećenja poslodavaca, ali na taj način i stvaranja preduslova za razvoj preduzetništva, bez koga nam nema rasta privrede, odnosno standarda.

Važno je naglasiti da je pored prethodno navedenog, Vlada dosta hrabro ušla u direktne pregovore sa Međunarodnim monetarnim fondom kada je reč o planovima za reformu javnog sektora, i čini mi se da bismo već ozbiljno otpočeli da ih realizujemo samo da nam ne predstoje parlamentarni izbori ovog proleća. Kolika je cena svega toga, vreme će pokazati. Ukoliko troškovi od dvadeset miliona evra, koliko koštaju izbori, budu dati za odlučnije delovanje u ekonomskim reformama, a tu pre svega imam u vidu reformu javnog sektora i razvoj preduzetništva, onda će se sve isplatiti, u suprotnom, neka nam je Bog u pomoći.

#### **Pomenuli ste odgovoran rad Narodne banke Srbije tokom spro- vođenja ekonomskih reformi. Na šta konkretno mislite?**

Meni se čini da je najveći pomak u ekonomskim reformama učinjen u monetarnom sektoru, odnosno odgovornom radu NBS. Je- ste po Ustavu Srbije utvrđeno da je NBS nezavisna institucija, ali je ipak činjenica da je guvernerka NBS dr Jorgovanka Tabaković iz najužeg rukovodstva vladajuće partije (SNS), čiji je predsednik upravo premijer Srbije, Aleksandar Vučić, pa je nemoguće njen rad odvojiti od ekonomске politike Vlade, a da je to realno. Jasno je da tu postoji koordinacija i subordinacija, i to u interesu Srbije i njenih građana, kao nikada do sada u novijoj istoriji (od 2000. do danas). Ovo vrlo odgovorno tvrdim, iako ima prigovora među ekonomistima na činjenicu da navodno NBS destimuliše izvoz restringativnom monetarnom politikom, koja se bazira na čvrstoj inflatornoj kontroli, sa težnjom targetiranja inflacije. Moje mišljenje ide u drugom smeru, jer verujem da se na taj način stvaraju uslovi za normalno poslovanje u kome nema velikih iznenađenja, pa stoga ni prostora za spekulacije na finansijskom tržištu, u čemu su u prethodnom periodu najviše profitirali tajkuni. Sklon sam mišljenju da je u Savetu NBS okupljena odlična grupa stručnjaka, koja veoma odgovorno radi svoj posao i na pravi način pristupa problemima sa kojima se NBS suočava, tako da donosioci odluka odlično razumeju probleme i pravilno odlučuju. Međutim, i pored ovih jasnih pozitivnih aspekata u radu Vlade na polju ekonomije, više bih voleo da je ona mogla da se pohvali dobrim rezultatima naše privrede, povećanom proizvodnjom i profitima preduzeća, povećanjem standarda građana, pozitivnim ekonomskim ambijentom i rastućim očekivanjima tržišnih subjekata, itd. Nažalost, tako nešto još nije na vidiku, pa ne mogu suštinski ni da budem zadovoljan...

#### **Can you explain your opinion in more detail?**

Many people were surprised with the reduction of the fiscal deficit from 230 billion dinars to 160 billion dinars, or in percentage, from 6.7% to 4.1% GDP, especially taking into account that at the beginning of the last year, there was 5.3% reduction announced. Although the largest part of this reduction comes directly from reduction of salaries and pensions, which made permanent savings of 1.4% GDP, the rest comes mostly from improved collection of tax incomes. Clearly, this action carried along a certain amount of political risk, as it was necessary to take responsibility for such actions, and the government did. Still, it is important to emphasize that this fiscal deficit is not reduced enough, as it does not decrease the public debt in relation to GDP, which is the main goal of fiscal consolidation that has been started. In that sense, the projections in the budget for 2016, indicating stagnation of the reduction of the fiscal deficit, does not really make me happy. Besides, the government has adopted the new Labor Law, which is a serious legacy that will only stand out in the coming years. This task was not easy at all, given that the workers' conditions have been somewhat deteriorated to the favor of employers. Still, now we can say that the Labor Law creates new conditions for future economic development through the strengthening fluctuation of the labor force, the stimulation of employment by releasing the burden of employers, and in that way, establishing the conditions for development of entrepreneurship, which is a prerequisite for the growth of the economy, or standard.

It is important to point out that, beside the above mentioned, the government has bravely entered direct negotiations with the International Monetary Fund on plans for public sector reform, and it seems had we not had upcoming general elections this spring, we would have seriously started their implementation. What is the price of it, the time will show. If the expenses of around twenty million euro, which is the cost of the elections, were given to stronger action on economic reforms, and I refer to reforms of the public sector and the development of entrepreneurship, then everything would be worthwhile, but if not, so help us God.

#### **You mentioned the accountable work of NBS during the implemen- tation of economic reforms. What precisely are you referring to?**

It seems to me that the biggest move in economic reforms was done in the monetary sector, meaning the accountable work of NBS. The Constitution of Serbia does determine NBS as an independent institution, but still it is a fact that the NBS Governor, Dr. Jorgovanka Tabaković comes from the top leadership of the ruling party (SNS), whose president is the Prime Minister of Serbia, Aleksandar Vučić, so it is impossible to separate her work from the economic policy of the government and make it plausible. Clearly, there is a coordination and subordination, in the interests of Serbia and its citizens, as never before in recent history (since 2000 and onward). I claim this, very responsibly, even though among the economists there are objections to the fact that allegedly NBS destimulates export with its restrictive monetary policies which are based on firm inflation control with tendency to target the inflation. My opinion goes in another direction, as I believe that in this way, we will create conditions for normal business without many surprises, thus without speculations on the financial market, which previously provided profit only for tycoons. I tend to believe that the Council of NBS gathers a great group of experts who work in a very responsible way and deal with problems of the

### **U kom pogledu podržavate premijera Aleksandra Vučića, a koje poteze Vlade ne odobravate kada su ekonomske reforme u pitanju?**

Ovo pitanje je veoma osetljivo, pre svega zbog mogućnosti da se nađem u poziciji „salonskog ekonomiste”, ali i opasnosti da ne upadnem u zamku političkog marketinga bilo koje strane u Srbiji. Međutim smatram da je istina važnija od bilo čije percepcije, stoga ču i preuzeti rizik iskrenosti.

Premijera Vučića podržavam u mnogim aspektima njegovog delovanja kada je ekonomska politika u pitanju. Smatram da se potrudio da ozbiljno razume ekonomske probleme sa kojima se Srbija suočava i da je iskreno posvećen njihovom rešavanju. Posebno mi se sviđa odlučnost da se sa problemima hvata ukoštač i da se populizam svede na najmanju moguću meru. Sviđa mi se i to što premier Vučić od početka svog rada razume značaj MMF-a i potrebu da se naši ekonomski problemi rešavaju kroz zajednički angažman. Mnogi ne razumeju važnost neutralne visokoprofesionalne institucije kao što je MMF, koja postavlja određene mere ekonomske politike, prati njihovu implementaciju i vrši pritisak na odgovorne da se ono što su se dogovorili realizuje. Tako nešto je više nego neophodno posrnuloj ekonomiji, kao što je srpska. Osim toga, mislim da je premier napravio dobar izbor sa ministrom finansija Dušanom Vujovićem, i to je sigurno jedno od boljih kadrovskih rešenja u Vladi Srbije, a po meni i najbolje.

### **A vaša neslaganja na šta se odnose?**

U neslaganjima ču biti mnogo konkretniji i određeniji, zato što smatram da je konstruktivna kritika suštinski važna za pronalaženje pravih rešenja u ne tako zavidnoj realnosti Srbije.

Moje ključno neslaganje se tiče spoljne politike, koja se teško može odvojiti od ekonomije, i to onog sektora koji se tiče investicija i razvoja preduzetništva. Ekonomija i politika su kao dve strane DNK lanca koji se kreće spiralno, pri čemu dolazi do njihovog smenjivanja po važnosti. U jednom periodu je to politika, a u drugom ekonomija. Smatram da je spoljna politika Srbije neodrživa i izuzetno štetna po ekonomski razvoj Srbije, toliko da se veoma lako mogu izgubiti sve dosadašnje tekovine dobrog rada Vlade. Neodrživa je politika oslonca na dva stuba (ona četiri stuba iz Spoljnopolitičke strategije g. Vuka Jeremića ne želim ni da spominjem, jer je deplasirano), odnosno sedenja na dve stolice. Srbija se jasno mora odrediti kom kulturološkom, političkom, ekonomskom, bezbednosnom miljeu želi da pripada, bez ikakvih nadmudrivanja i balansiranja. Ako neko veruje da ćemo kao siromašna zemlja sa oko sedam miliona stanovnika moći da igramo ulogu Jugoslavije u Hladnom ratu, ili je naivan ili bezobrazan prevarant. Prilike u svetu se slabo razumeju, nedovoljno se zna. Verovanje da je moguće biti samostalan igrač u svetu rizika i dinamičnih promena, ravno je nerazumevanju rušenja Berlinskog zida ili ujedinjenja Evrope. Na sreću, imam utisak da premier

NBS in a correct manner, so that the decision makers can understand the issues well and make good decisions.

However, beside these positive aspects in the work of the government in the area of the economy, I would prefer if they could take pride in the good results of our economy, increased production and companies' profits, improvement of the living standard of citizens, positive economic environment and growing expectations of market subjects, etc. Unfortunately, something like that is still not happening, so I cannot be essentially satisfied...

### **In which sense do you support the Prime Minister, and which economic actions of the government do you disagree with?**

This is a very sensitive question, first of all, for the possibility to get into the position of “the showroom economist” but also for the danger of falling into a trap of political marketing of any side in Serbia. However, I believe that the truth is more important than anyone's perception, so I will take the risk of honesty.

I support Prime Minister Vučić in many aspects of his work when it comes to economic policies. I believe that he made efforts to seriously understand the economic problems of Serbia and that he is sincerely dedicated to solving them. I especially like his decisiveness to deal with problems and reduce populism to the least possible amount. I also like the fact that ever since the beginning of his mandate, Prime Minister Vučić has understood the importance of the IMF and the need to solve our economic problems through a joint engagement. Many people do not understand the importance of a neutral, highly professional institution such as the IMF, which negotiates certain measures of economic policies, follows their implementation and puts pressure on the ones in charge of the implementation of the agreed conditions.

This is more than necessary for a stumbled economy, like in Serbia. Besides, I think that the Prime Minister made a good choice in the Minister of Finance, Dušan Vujović and that was certainly one of the better personnel choices in the government of Serbia, in my opinion, the best.

### **And your opposing views, what are they related to?**

I will be more specific and precise about the things I do not agree with, because I believe that constructive criticism has an essential importance in finding the right solutions in a not so desirable reality of Serbia. The key issues I oppose to are related to foreign policy, which is hard to separate from the economy, especially from its important sector of investments and entrepreneurship. Economics and politics are like two sides of a DNA chain, moving spirally and in that way each switching its importance. In one period it is the politics, in another it is economy. I think that the foreign policy of Serbia is unsustainable and extremely damaging for the economic development of Serbia, so much that all the previous



Vučić razume situaciju, ali meni smeta brzina njegovih reakcija i kadrovske ambijenta u kome deluje. Smatram da je malo urađeno u osvećivanju, ili ako hoćete – prosvećivanju građana Srbije.

#### **Ali zar nije strateški cilj Srbije ulazak u Evropsku uniju i zar to nije prirodno s obzirom na to da mi geografski gledano pripadamo Evropi?**

Realnost je da je Srbija okružena zemljama Evropske unije i NATO-a, i stoga nema bliže potencijalne saveznike, saradnike, odnosno prijatelje nego što su nam komšije, a oni su svi već izabrali stranu. Činjenice su da Srbija ostvaruje preko 70% trgovinske razmene sa EU, oko 20% sa susedima, dok na ostale otpada oko 10% (u tu grupu spadaju Rusija, Kina, itd.). Donacije EU od 2000. godine do danas približavaju se brojki od tri milijarde evra, a samo na ime donacija povodom poplava u 2014. iz EU je došlo 150 miliona



evra. Osim toga, nisam primetio da naša omladina odlazi u Rusiju, ili Kinu, u potrazi za boljim životom, već isključivo u zemlje evroatlantske zajednice. Sve to, a i mnogo više od toga, ukazuje na absurdnost politike odbrane ruskih interesa na Balkanu. Smatram da je krajnje vreme da se napravi istorijski preokret u politici Srbije snažnim zaokretom ka SAD i NATO, jer će se na taj način stvoriti uslovi za investicioni bum i značajan ekonomski razvoj kako kod nas, tako i u regionu. Uostalom, ako je neko proslavio politiku pragmatizma, to su Sjedinjene Američke Države. One umeju da se ponšaju interesno i siguran sam da bi se sa njima mogla ugovoriti „cena“ takvog odlučnog delovanja, a sve to bi odvelo Balkan u period trajnog mira i prosperiteta. Očekujem da se nova/stara Vlada Srbije pozabavi tim segmentom delovanja, jer se drugačije ne može obezbediti ozbiljan rast i društveni napredak.

achievements of the government could be lost. Also, the politics of two pillars, (I will not even mention those four pillars of the foreign-policy strategy of Mr. Vuk Jeremić, as they are obsolete), meaning sitting on two chairs, is unsustainable. Serbia has to make a clear decision on which cultural, political, economic, security milleu it wants to belong to, without any outwitting or balancing. If someone believes that we, as a poor country with around seven million inhabitants, will be able to play the game of Yugoslavia in the Cold War, they are either naive or a rude fraud. There is a weak understanding and lack of knowledge about the situation in the world. A belief that it is possible to be an independent player in the world of risk and dynamic changes is equal to non-understanding of demolition of the Berlin Wall or uniting of Europe. Luckily, it is my impression that Prime Minister Vučić understands the situation, but I mind the speed of his reactions and the personnel environment in which he works. I think that little has been done in raising awareness or enlightening, if you will, of the citizens of Serbia.

#### **But, is it not Serbia's strategic goal to join the EU and isn't this natural, having in mind that we belong to Europe, geographically?**

It is a reality that Serbia is surrounded by countries of the EU and NATO, and has no closer potential allies, associates, or friends than our neighbors, and they have already chosen their side. The fact is that Serbia makes over 70% of its trade with the EU, around 20% with its neighbors, while the other 10% goes to others (with Russia, China etc. belonging to this group). The EU donations received since the year 2000 up until today are approaching three billion euro, the EU donated 150 million euro only for flooded areas in 2014. Besides, I have not noticed our youth leaving to Russia or China, or searching for a better life anywhere else but in countries of the Euro-atlantic community. All that, but many other facts, indicate the absurdity of defending the politics of Russian interests in the Balkans. I think the time has finally come to make a historic switch in the politics of Serbia with a strong turn to the USA and NATO, because that approach would create conditions for an investment boom and significant economic development in our country, as well as in the region. Anyway, if anyone promoted the politics of pragmatism, it was the USA. They know how to behave based on interests and I am sure that we could negotiate with them on the “price” of such decisive actions, which would lead the Balkans to a period of permanent peace and prosperity. I expect the new/old government of Serbia to deal with this segment of work, because it is not possible to ensure serious growth and social prosperity in any other way.

#### **Does Serbia not have benefits from export to the countries of the European Union?**

I want to emphasize that Serbia's export this year is close to 12 billion euro, which makes around 40% GDP. This is a very small participation of trade in the GDP, and only Albania has worse participation than us (35% GDP). It seems to me that very little has been done in that segment. I first refer to the development of our economic diplomacy here. I refer to a need for a systematic approach in which the state with coordinated actions of all its institutions will provide a strong logistic support to Serbian potential exporters. Many people connect economic diplomacy only to its dimension within the scope of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, but

### Zar Srbija nema koristi od izvoza u zemlje Evropske unije?

Želim da istaknem da je izvoz Srbije ove godine blizu 12 milijardi evra, što je oko 40% BDP-a. Ovo je veoma malo učešće trgovine u BDP-u i od nas u Evropi lošije stoji samo Albanija (35% BDP-a). Čini mi se da je u tom segmentu veoma malo urađeno. Ovde pre svega imam u vidu razvoj naše ekonomske diplomatiјe. Imam u vidu potrebu za jednim sistemskim pristupom u kome će država preko koordinisanog delovanja svih svojih institucija pružiti snažnu logističku podršku srpskim potencijalnim izvoznicima. Mnogi ekonomsku diplomatiјu vezuju samo za njenu dimenziju u okviru Ministarstva spoljnih poslova, ali nama treba daleko ozbiljnija, opštredruštvena ekonomska diplomatiјa, koja će biti oslonac ne samo državnim preduzećima nego i preduzetničkom sektoru. Nema preduzetništva ukoliko se ne stvore uslovi za izvoz, jer naše tržište je i malo i plitko i veoma je teško napraviti neki ozbiljniji pomak ukoliko to nije izvozno orijentisano preduzetništvo. U tom smislu, po mom mišljenju, neophodno je sve sistemske snage usmeriti u ekonomski prosperitet kroz razvoj izvoznih potencijala, a političke ostaviti za bolja vremena. Smatram da tu premijer nije dovoljno uradio, ili nije mogao, ili nije prepoznao značaj ekonomske diplomatiјe, a budući da sam doktorirao na toj temi, potpuno mi je jasno da to malo ljudi i razume.

### Šta je sa reformama javnog sektora? Koliko se tu uradilo?

Ni približno dovoljno jer se reforme javnog sektora stalno odlažu i to je još jedan propust premijera. Ovoga puta to je zbog parlamentarnih izbora, i to kao građanin razumem, ali kao neko ko se bavi budućnošću Srbije, ne podržavam. Smatram da je to politički mudro, ali da je ekonomski neodgovorno. Javni sektor je svojevrsna rak-rana Srbije. Javna preduzeća su najveći gubitaši, i oni Srbiju koštaju oko milijardu evra godišnje. Državna uprava je neefikasnja i preglomazna (pretežno posledica partijskog zapošljavanja), u njoj je previše zaposlenih (procene su da ima preko 30 000 viška radne snage samo u ovom sektoru) koji su bolje plaćeni nego oni u privatnom sektoru, a rade daleko manje i kvantitativno i kvalitativno. Želim da istaknem da je racionalizacija javnog sektora politički rizična i teška, ali je tehnički posmatrano veoma jednostavna jer država sama diktira pravila, i tu joj нико ne može ništa.

### Ima li Srbija pravi recept za privlačenje stranih investitora?

Iskreno mislim da je dosta urađeno u sistemskom smislu, ali da je to i dalje nedovoljno. Usvojen je novi Zakon o ulaganjima, koji je sadržajno dobro urađen, ali kod nas nije nikada bio toliki problem u kvalitetu tekstova zakona, mnogo je veći problem u njihovoj implementaciji, a tu onda dolaze do izražaja institucije. Osim toga, glavni investitori ipak dolaze sa „razvijenog Zapada“, i to su one investicije koje nam i trebaju, jer one sa sobom nose i „know how“ i nove tehnologije, a to je ono što nama treba „kao voda žednoj zemlji“. Da bi se to desilo, ovi investitori iščekuju jasna pravila igre, razvijene institucije, kao i veliko smanjenje sistemskog rizika, a to je onaj trenutak kada ste nepovratno deo sistema vrednosti koji deli evroatlantska zajednica, odnosno kada se potencijali destabilizacije svedu na razumno meru i energija sa političke konfrontacije preusmeri na razvoj ekonomije. Mislim da je Vlada na pravom putu, ali to još uvek nije dovoljno. Potrebno je da se „zemlja zatrese“, da odjeknu promene i da se naprave ozbiljni „rezovi“, da se sve radi mnogo odlučnije, a to je onda znak za sve da je Balkan pravo mesto za investiranje. Dozvolite da istaknem da ja verujem u re-

we need a far more serious, general socio-economic diplomacy, which will be a support not only to the state companies, but to the business sector as well. There cannot be entrepreneurship, if there are no conditions for export, because our market is small and shallow, and it is very hard to make a significant improvement if the entrepreneurship is not oriented towards export. In that sense, in my opinion, it is necessary to direct all the systematic forces towards economic prosperity through the development of exporting potentials, and leave the political ones for better times. I think that the Prime Minister has not done enough for that matter, either could not have done, or has not recognized the importance of economic diplomacy, and as someone who wrote a dissertation on this topic, I realize that few people can recognize it.

### What about the reforms of the public sector? How much has been done on this matter?

Not nearly enough, with reforms of the public sector being postponed all the time, and that is another oversight of the Prime Minister. This time, it was for general elections, and as a citizen, I understand it. But as someone who is concerned for the future of Serbia, I do not support it. I think it was politically wise, but economically irresponsible. The public sector is some sort of a deadly wound of Serbia. Public companies are the biggest failures, and they cost Serbia around one billion euro every year. State administration is inefficient and too big (mostly as a consequence of employment based on political membership), it has too many employees (some estimations show that there are over 30,000 redundant workers only in this section), who are paid better than workers in the private sector, and work much less, both in terms of quality and quantity of work. I want to emphasize that rationalization of the public sector is politically risky and hard, but technically very simple, as the state dictates the rules by itself, and no one can do anything about that.

### Does Serbia have the right recipe for attracting foreign investors to the country?

I honestly think that a lot has been done, in the systematic sense, but it is still insufficient. The new Law on Investments has been adopted, and it was done well, content-wise. But, our problem was not quality of texts of the laws, as much as their implementation, and that is where institutions stand out. Besides, the main investors still come from the developed “west” and these are the institutions that we need, because they bring along „know-hows“ and new technologies, and that is exactly what we need, like „dry land needs water.“ In order to make this happen, these investors expect clear rules of the game, developed institutions, minimization of systematic risks. That is the moment when you have irreversibly become a part of the system of values shared by the Euro-Atlantic community, when the potential destabilization elements are reduced to a reasonable amount, and the energy is switched from political confrontation to economic development. I think that the government is on the right track, but it is still not enough. It takes some „ground shaking,“ changes to appear, to make some serious „cuts,“ to do everything in a more decisive way, which is a sign to everyone, that the Balkans is a right place to invest into. Allow me to point out that I believe in regional potentials and joint actions in the region, as something that is a key point to the future of all of us. In that sense, foreign countries would consider us as a solid market and good crossroad point for joint efforts,

gionalne potencijale i zajedničko delovanje u regionu, kao u nešto što je odgovor na budućnost svih nas. U tom smislu i inostranstvo bi nas posmatralo kao solidno tržište i dobru čvornu tačku za nastup na Balkanu, jer Srbija jeste prirodni centar regionalne gravitacije. Osim toga, potvrda da smo uspeli da dođemo do pravog recepta za privlačenje investicija prvo će se videti u reakciji naše dijaspore. Niko nam neće doći čistijeg srca i sa većim optimizmom od naše dijaspore. Međutim, njihov povratak i participacija u ekonomskom životu moraju da budu zasnovani na profitnoj osnovi, odnosno na tome da nam oni trebaju kao uspešni preduzetnici, a ne kao preduzetnici u pokušaju, što je bio slučaj do sada. Da ne bude zabune, smatram da je glavni krivac za to bila država Srbija sa svojim ograničenjima. Mnogo puta je Srbija izneverila svoje ljudе iz dijaspore, a posebno onda kada su se oni vraćali u domovinu. Krajnje je vreme da stvorimo uslove zbog kojih će naši ljudi širom sveta videti šansu da u Srbiji uvećaju svoj kapital i sa svojom domovinom podele stečena znanja i umeća. Diaspora koja investira, radi i zarađuje u svojoj matici mogla bi da bude jedan od važnijih razvojnih faktora. Potrudimo se da se to ostvari.

#### **Delite li mišljenje Vlade, koja ima velika očekivanja od tek usvojenog Zakona o ulaganjima?**

Zasada nemam nikakva velika očekivanja, a posebno ne od pojedinih zakona. Nisam baš srećan što to moram da priznam, ali problem nije u sadržaju zakona, već u institucijama koje su važne za njegovu implementaciju. Dozvoliće da primetim, dobre institucije minimiziraju troškove i rizike, a loše ih povećavaju. Prema svim indikatorima kvaliteta institucije do kojih sam došao, mi smo na začelju zemalja centralne i istočne Evrope. Da navedem nekoliko drastičnih primera. Po možda ključnoj stavki, zaštiti vlasničkih prava, Srbija je na poslednjem mestu. Po nezavisnosti sudstva, Srbija je na pretposlednjem mestu (samo je Bugarska iza nas). Evo još jednog dramatičnog podatka kada su institucije u pitanju i njihov značaj za potencijalne investitore, po opterećenosti privrednog života regulativom, Srbija je opet na pretposlednjem mestu, samo je sada Hrvatska u tom pogledu gora od nas. Ima toga još dosta... Znači, hajde da imamo mala očekivanja pa da se kasnije prijatno iznenadimo.

#### **Vlada je optimistična i povodom najnovije *Doing Business* liste Svetske banke, na kojoj Srbija beleži najbolji rezultat za poslednjih 9 godina, skokom sa 68. na 59. mesto. Šta to pokazuje?**

Priznajem da me je ova vest, kada se pojavila, veoma obradovala, ne samo zbog toga što napredak na listi ukazuje na pozitivan pravac kretanja naše države već i zbog činjenice da je to svojevrsno dobar marketing i poruka investitorima da se u Srbiji ozbiljno radi. Međutim, to ne bi trebalo da previše zaokuplja našu pažnju, posebno zato što postoje i drugi slični indikatori koji baš i nisu uvek u našu korist. Ovde imam u vidu „Indeks konkurentnosti“ Svetskog ekonomskog foruma, „Indeks ekonomskih sloboda“ fondacije Heritidž, „Barometar slobode“ fondacije Fridrih Nauman, Bloombergovu listu, itd. Svi oni daju neki uvid u aktuelne pozicije država, ali nisu nikakav čvrst dokaz, već samo putokaz. Često se dešava da se kod različitih indeksa uočavaju značajne razlike za iste ekonomske ili političke aspekte. U tom smislu, drag mi je da ima indikatora koji su svake godine sve bolji, ali mi je mnogo važnije da se sve te pozitivne brojke jasno prepoznaju u svakodnevnoj praksi života u Srbiji.

because Serbia is a natural center of regional gravity. Besides, the confirmation that we managed to find the right recipe for attracting investments will be first seen in the reaction of our diaspora. No one will come to us with a heart as open and full of optimism, as people from our diaspora. However, their return and participation in economic life must be based on profit, on the fact that we need them as successful, not only attempting businessmen, as we have had so far. Not to make any confusion, I believe that the main blame should be placed on the state of Serbia, with its limitations. Many times, Serbia has betrayed its diaspora, especially in situations when they come back to their homecountry. It is finally the time to create conditions that will make our people across the world see Serbia as an opportunity to grow their capital and share their skills and knowledge with their homecountry. Diaspora that invests, works and earns in their country of origins could be one of the more important developmental elements. Let's make it happen.

#### **Do you share the government's high expectations from the recently adopted Law on Investments?**

I do not have any high expectations, especially not from one particular law. I am not happy to admit it, but the problem is not in the content of the law, but in the institutions which are important for its implementation. Allow me to note, good institutions minimize their costs and risks, and bad ones increase them. All the indicators of the quality of institutions, that I have seen, show that we are on the bottom of the list of the countries in Central and Eastern Europe. I should mention a few drastic examples. According to the issue that is probably crucial, the protection of authority rights, Serbia is in last place. Regarding independence of the judiciary, Serbia is in second to last place (only Bulgaria is behind us). Here is one more dramatic piece of information on institutions and their importance for potential investors, by level of stress that regulations place on economic life, Serbia is again second to last place, only this time Croatia is worse than us on this matter. There is much more... So, let's have low expectations, and later have a nice surprise.

#### **The government is optimistic on the latest *Doing Business* List of the World Bank, with Serbia's best score in the last 9 years, jumping from 68th to 59th place. What does it indicate?**

I have to admit I was very happy to hear this news, when it appeared. And not only because the progress on the list shows the positive movements of our country, but also for the fact that this is a sort of good marketing and message to investors that Serbia does its job seriously. However, this should not take much of our attention, especially because of the other similar indicators which are not always in our favor. I am referring to: “Competitiveness Index” of the World Economic Forum, “Index of Economic Freedom” by the Heritage Foundation, “The Freedom Barometer” by Friedrich Naumann Foundation, Bloomberg’s list, etc. They all provide some sort of insight in the actual positions of the states, but they are not any sort of solid proof, just a direction. It often happens that different indices note significant differences for the same economic or political aspects. In that aspect I am glad there are indicators that improve every year, but it is far more important to clearly recognize those positive numbers in everyday practical life in Serbia.

### Kako ocenujete Vladin budžet za 2016. godinu, koji je podržala većina poslanika Skupštine Srbije?

Dobro je poznata istina da se prilikom analize budžeta može dosta toga naslutiti kada govorimo o ekonomiji jedne zemlje za predstojeću godinu na koju se budžet odnosi. Stekao sam utisak da je budžet za ovu godinu i dalje veoma restriktivan, kao i da ima određenu dozu netransparentnosti, sa blagim pogoršanjem u odnosu na budžet iz 2015. Ovo pogoršanje se ogleda u činjenici da se u ovogodišnjem budžetu, za razliku od onog prethodnog, više ne vidi kolike su preuzete pojedinačne obaveze prema stranim investitorima. Što se pak tiče restriktivnosti, ona se ogleda u činjenici da su planirane investicije za ovu godinu projektovane niže, dok se zapaža rast subvencija. Da to ilustrujem podacima – investicije koje se finansiraju direktno iz budžeta biće za gotovo 20% manje nego što je planirano za ovu godinu (40, umesto 49 milijardi dinara), ali i planovi ukupnih javnih investicija se redukuju sa 3%, na 2,8%, što predstavlja malo ali veoma simbolično smanjenje. Kada govorimo o subvencijama, one beleže značajan rast od 1,5 milijardi dinara u ovoj godini, što ukazuje na kontinuitet u netržišnom delovanju.

Ne tvrdim da to u aktuelnoj ekonomskoj situaciji nije nužno, ali u svakom slučaju imam oporukus u ustima kada o njima pričam. Nadam se da će dočekati dan kada ćemo ukinuti subvencije.

U najkraćem, sve je već viđeno...

### Krajem godine od MMF-a nam je stigla poruka da se Srbija oporavlja brže nego što se očekivalo. Ima li razloga za preterani optimizam?

Nažalost, nemam takav utisak. Protekle 2015. zabeležili smo rast od 0,8% BDP-a, što je najniži rast na prostoru Balkana i centralno-istočne Evrope. Iako je taj rast veći od planiranog (0,5%), to je i dalje daleko od proseka u regionu i zemljama koje su prošle kroz tranziciju u poslednjih 25 godina, i on iznosi oko 2,6% rasta BDP-a. Projekcija za narednu godinu je 1,7% rasta BDP-a, ali je nama za ozbiljniji oporavak potreban bar dvostruki rast BDP-a. Interesantno je primetiti da je procena rasta BDP-a za zemlje CiIE i Balkana oko 2,5%, što znači da i dalje zaostajemo. Osim toga, za brz i dinamičan razvoj potrebne su investicije od oko jedne četvrtine bruto domaćeg proizvoda (oko 25% BDP-a), koliko su otprilike imale Slovenija, Češka i Slovačka u periodu visokog razvoja. U poslednjih nekoliko godina investicije u Srbiji kreću se oko 19% BDP-a, što je za nekoliko procenta manje od proseka investicija koje su u istom razdoblju imale zemlje CiIE.

Naravno, mi smo dosta posla uradili da stvorimo uslove za oporavak, ali je još uvek dug put do njega. Znači, biću optimista tek kada vidim da se način razmišljanja i delovanja ozbiljno promenio u korist pragmatičnog delovanja, a ne emotivnog...

### S druge strane imamo podatak da je ukupna privreda Srbije u dugovima dvostruko većim od kapitala. Računi oko 54.500 firmi i preduzetnika su u blokadi. Kako to komentarišete?

Ovi podaci govore sami za sebe, ali će iskoristiti priliku da podvucem da je naša privreda kao mrtvac koji se još uvek nije ohladio i koga je teorijski moguće oživeti. Nažalost, zasada to ne uspevamo. Zbog hronične nelikvidnosti privrede preduzeća se međusobno



### How do you evaluate the budget of the government for 2016, which has been supported by the majority of councillors in the National Assembly of Serbia?

It is a well known fact that many things can be predicted in the budget analysis, speaking of the state economy in the year that the budget is made for. I have the impression that this year's budget is still very restrictive, and non-transparent to a certain degree, with mild decline in comparison to the budget from 2015. This decline can be seen in the fact that this year's budget, unlike the previous one, does not show the individual obligations towards foreign investors. As far as the restrictiveness is concerned, it shows in the fact that investments are planned with decrease, while there is a noticeable increase in subventions. Let me illustrate this with the following data: investments which will be financed directly from the budget will be almost 20% less than planned for this year (40, instead of 49 billion dinars), but plans for the total public investments are reduced from 3% to 2.8%, which represents a small, but symbolic reduction. Speaking about subventions, they had a significant increase of 1.5 billion dinars this year, which indicates continuity in non-market activities. I do not claim that this is not necessary in the current economic situation, but in any way, it gives me a bitter taste in my mouth when I speak of this. I hope for the day that subventions are abolished.

Shortly, we have seen it all...

### At the end of the last year, we received a message from the IMF that Serbia is recovering faster than expected. Are there reasons for this excessive optimism?

Unfortunately, I do not have such an impression. Last year, in 2015, we had growth of 0.8% GDP, which is the lowest growth in the Balkans and Central-Eastern Europe. Even though this growth is higher than planned (0.5%), it is still far from average in the Balkans and countries that went through transition in the last 25 years, which is around 2.6% GDP growth. The projection for the next year is 1.7% growth of BDP, but for a serious recovery, we need at least double growth of GDP. It is interesting to notice that the estimations of GDP growth for countries of CEE and Balkans are around 2.5%, which indicates our further lagging behind. Besides, quick and dynamic development requires investments of around 1/4 of our gross domestic product (around 25% GDP), which was the case in Slovenia, Czech Republic, and Slovakia in the period of their fastest development. In the last few years, the investments in Serbia are around 19% of GDP, which is a few percent less than the average investments that CEE countries had in the same period. Of course, we have done a lot of work to create conditions for recovery, but still, the road taking us there is too long. So, I will be an optimist only when I see that the way of thinking and acting has seriously changed in favor of pragmatic action, not emotional...

### On the other hand, we have information that the total economy of Serbia is in debt, twice higher than the capital. There are around 54,500 companies and businesses whose accounts are blocked. How would you comment on that?

„kontaminiraju“ i „zagađuju“ svojim odnosom i vanprivredni sektor. Za nelikvidnost koja trenutno postoji u Srbiji može se reći da predstavlja svojevrstan dokaz nefunkcionalnosti sistema i raspada pravnog poretka. Mislim da ovde treba tražiti lek na relaciji javnih preduzeća i jačanja institucija. Javna preduzeća su jaka i trajna žarišta nelikvidnosti, i to se mora što pre zaustaviti. Institucije moraju da jačaju u smeru nezavisnosti od dnevne politike, ili ako hoćete, politike uopšte. Neophodna nam je vladavina prava sa akcentom na objektivnost i ravnopravnost, koje moraju biti ne samo većinski odnos prema pravdi već apsolutni princip koji se nikada ne dovodi u pitanje. Državna preduzeća moraju da budu tretirana jednako kao i privatna, i to ne sme da bude predmet rasprave. Nadam se da ćemo ovaj „circulus viciosus“ (začarani krug) uskoro preseći i krenuti napred.

### Kako ohrabriti mlade preduzetnike da pokrenu posao u našoj zemlji?

Znate, reforme javnog sektora, fiskalna konsolidacija, kvalitetna monetarna politika, itd. sve su važne stavke započete ekonomске reforme, ali će sve one izgubiti značaj ukoliko ne pokrenemo privredno delovanje, a to je jedino realno moguće u preduzetničkom sektoru. Srbija, nažalost, tu ima velikih problema jer ne poseduje preduzetničku kulturu. Zbog endemske korupcije i etatističkog pristupa u ekonomiji mala privreda svedena je na trgovinu na malo i sektor usluga u hotelijerstvu i restoranima brze hrane. Proizvodnjom se bavi veoma mali broj ljudi i to spada u veoma rizično poslovanje, gde su ulaganja relativno velika a povraćaj sredstava ne tako brz. Mladi su onaj neiskorišćeni resurs koji rešenja još uvek ne vide u Srbiji. Ako uspemo da ih pokrenemo i pomognemo im da se aktivno uključe u preporod Srbije kroz preduzetništvo, ima nade. Na tome treba dugoročno raditi kroz edukaciju i uključivanje medija u promociju uspešnih poslovnih ljudi koji bi trebalo da predstavljaju paradigmu (primer za uzor), a ne predmet etiketiranja i podsmeha. Za ovo je važno stvoriti jednakе uslove za sve i ne dozvoliti nepotizmu, tradicionalnim prijateljskim vezama, korupciji ili bilo kom obliku moralne divergencije da dođu do izražaja u procesu uključivanja mlađih u preduzetništvo.

### Svet godinama potresa ekonomска kriza, koja se sa velikih država preliva i na manje. Kakve su prognoze, do kada će se njene posledice osećati?

Ekonomска kriza nije u tolikoj meri aktuelna kao što se u medijima potencira, jer se svet ne nalazi u recesiji. Ipak, ona kao „Damoklov mač“ visi svima nad glavom jer živimo u globalnom poretku u nastajanju, koji se odlikuje pojačanim rizicima i nestabilnostima. Svet je odavno zahvaćen globalizacijom, koja je generisana tehnologijom i ekonomijom, a karakteriše se jačanjem međuzavisnosti. U tom smislu, problemi u ekonomiji SAD direktno se reflektuju na EU, a time i na Srbiju i svet. Nama nikako ne može da bude bolje ukoliko je EU i SAD gore. Ovo ističem zbog ostrašenih pojedinaca koji žive u prošlosti. Naša ekonomска „krvna slika“ absolutno zavisi od odnosa sa EU, a dobro bi bilo kada bi to bio slučaj i sa SAD. Smatram da će nestabilnost u svetu potrajati, kako u ekonomiji, tako i u politici, jer su u pitanju dugoročni procesi taktičkog nadmudrivanja u ostvarivanju strateških ciljeva. Verujem da je Kina krajnja destinacija krize i da će ona odrediti budućnost globalnog poretka. Iako je Rusija na prvi pogled glavni takmac, ona je ipak svedena na regionalnu silu koja se nadmeće sa Turskom i EU, a ne sa SAD. S druge strane, Kina je poslednjih godina pojačala globalni

This information speaks for itself, but I will take the opportunity to underline that our economy is like a dead body, which has not cooled down yet, and which is still theoretically possible to be brought to life. Unfortunately, we have not succeeded so far. Chronic insolvency of the economy makes companies “contaminate” and “pollute” the non-economic sector with their relations. Speaking about the insolvency that currently exists in Serbia, it can be said that it stands as a certain proof of unfunctionality of the system and breakdown of legal order. I think we should look for remedies in public companies and strengthening of institutions. Public companies are a strong and permanent center of insolvency, and this has to be stopped as soon as possible. Institutions must develop their independency from daily politics, or, if you will, politics in general. We need the rule of law with an emphasis on objectivity and equality, which must be not only the majority attitude towards justice but the absolute principle that is never called into question.

State companies must be treated equally to private companies, and that cannot be a subject for discussion. I hope we will soon overcome this “circulus viciosus” (vicious circle) and move forward.

### How can young entrepreneurs be encouraged to start up their business in our country?

You know, reforms of the public sector, fiscal consolidation, quality monetary policies, etc. are all important points of the initiated economic reforms, but they will all lose their importance, if we do not start economic activities, which is only realistically possible in the entrepreneurial sector. Serbia, unfortunately, has some major problems, because it does not have the entrepreneurial culture developed. Endemic corruption and an etatistic approach in the economy have resulted in reducing a small economy to the retail and management of hotels and fast food restaurants. The production process is done by a very small number of people, and this comes as very risky business, with relatively high investments and their slow return. Youth are the under-facilitated resource, which still do not see solutions to their problems in Serbia. If we succeed to move them and help them actively get involved in the regeneration of Serbia through entrepreneurship, we can still see the hope. This is a long-term thing that we need to work on through education and media involvement in the promotion of successful business people, who should stand as a paradigm (an example to look up to), and not as a subject of mocking and labeling. In order to realize this, it is important to create equal conditions for all, and not to allow nepotism, traditional friendly connections, corruption or any other type of moral divergence appearing in the process of youth involvement in entrepreneurship.

### For years now, the world has been shaken by the economic crisis which spills over from big countries to the smaller ones. What are the predictions on how long its consequences will last?

The economic crisis is not as present as it is highlighted in the media, because the world is not in a recession. Still, it is like the “Damokles’s sword”, hanging over all our heads for living in an emerging global order, featuring increased risks and instabilities. For a long time now, the world has been caught up in technology and the economy, and is characterized by developing co-dependence. In that sense, problems with the economy in the USA directly reflect to the EU, and by that to Serbia and the rest of the world. There is no way we can get better if the EU and USA get

opseg delovanja i uticaja, ali ne verujem da ima ozbiljnijih šansi da prevlada u svetskoj ekonomiji. Međutim, ni Rusija a pogotovo Kina nisu laci „zalogaji“, već će njihovo nadmetanje sa SAD potrajati, a to znači dalju nestabilnost. Sve u svemu, proces je još uvek na početku, a do kada, zavisiće od mnogih faktora koje je teško iz moje pozicije predvideti.

#### **Na koju bi državu u svetu Srbija mogla da se ugleda? Čiji bi model po vašem mišljenju trebalo da primeni?**

Ovakva pitanja su veoma nezahvalna iz prostog razloga što mi verujemo da je naš slučaj uvek jedinstven, a ovog puta po mom mišljenju to zaista i jeste. Nijedna zemlja koja je prelazila iz socijalizma u kapitalizam nije ni približno prolazila srpsku golgotu. Stojan Stamenković je izračunao u jednoj svojoj analizi da izgubljeni BDP Srbije u poslednjih 25 godina iznosi 750 milijardi evra. To je u proseku 30 milijardi evra godišnje, što znači da je Srbija svake



godine gubila po jedan svoj današnji BDP. Ako je i od nas, mnogo je... Ovo je samo jedna mala slika o dramatičnoj situaciji u kojoj se Srbija nalazila i kroz šta je prolazila, ali je i to dovoljan dokaz o našim specifičnostima, nažalost, krajnje negativnim.

Međutim, ako bih se ipak opredeljavao za neki uspešan model rasta u Evropi, onda bih poželeo da to bude onaj irski iz sredine osamdesetih godina XX veka. Irska je danas opet u ozbiljnim ekonomskim problemima, ali je to posledica nesnalaženja u globalnoj finansijskoj krizi iz XXI veka, a ne dešavanja iz perioda o komе ja pričam, kada je beležila visoke stope nezaposlenosti i vodila se kao jedna od najsiromašnijih zemalja u tadašnjoj EU.

#### **Ušli smo u novu 2016.godinu. Još uvek je rano za prognoze kakva će godina biti, ali recite nam kakva su vaša očekivanja?**

Iskreno, nemam utisak da će se desiti neka posebna iznenađenja. Očekujem i ove godine niske cene energenata i sirovina, a podsetiću da je cena nafte u prošloj godini pala za 60%, a sirovina u

worse. I point this out for some passionate individuals who live in the past. Our economic “blood levels“ are absolutely co-dependent on our relations with the EU, and it would be good if that was the case with the USA, as well. I think that the world's instability will last, both in the economy and politics, because these are the long-term processes of tactical outwitting in achieving strategic goals. I believe that China is the final destination of the crisis and it will decide the future of global order. Although Russia appears as the main competitor for this position, at first glance, but still it has been reduced to a regional force that competes with Turkey and the EU, not with the USA. On the other hand, in the last few years, China has expanded its global scope of action and influence, but I do not believe it has a serious chance to dominate in the world economy. However, neither Russia, nor China are easy “bites to chew,” and their competition to the USA will last, and that means further instability. All in all, the process is still in its initial phase, and for how long, it depends on many factors that are hard to predict from my position.

#### **Which country in the world could Serbia look up to? In your opinion, whose model should be applied?**

This type of question is very difficult, for a simple reason that we believe our case is always unique, and this time, I believe it really is. There is no country that shifted from socialism to capitalim and went through the Serbian “Golgotha“. In one of his analysis, Stojan Stamenković calculated the GDP that Serbia lost was 750 billion euro over the past 25 years. In average, that makes 30 billion euro annually. This means that every year Serbia lost its current annual GDP. That is a lot, even for us... This is just a little image of how dramatic the situation Serbia was in and what we went through, and that is sufficient proof of our characteristics, unfortunately, extremely negative. But, if I were to choose a succesful growth model in Europe, then I would choose the Irish one, from the mid-1980s. Today, Ireland is again facing serious economic problems, but that has come as a consequence of poor management in the global financial crisis from the 21st century, when they recorded high unemployment rates and were among the poorest countries in the EU. This is not the period I am talking about.

#### **The year 2016 has started. It is still early to predict how the year will be, but tell us, what are your expectations?**

Honestly, I do not have a feeling that some special surprises will come up. This year, I also expect low prices of energy and raw materials, and I will just remind you that last year, the oil price dropped down 60%, and raw materials 20% in average. This is all a consequence of global clashes of the great powers, and situations like this mostly hit oil producers and countries from the former USSR, which were large producers of raw materials. Clearly, politics have a strong influence, but we have already concluded on this issue. Still, global growth will be approximately the same as last year, when we had 2.4% of global GDP. Of course, we have some projections that indicate that the growth in 2016 will reach 3%, but I am not sure it is certain that there will be any growth at all, so I would rather predict a minor decline, but nothing significant. There is an ongoing strategic struggle for influence and resources, and that will not be solved with a big war, but rather with tactical maneuvering and conflicts in third world countries, until one side gets exhausted and gives up. The final outcomes are pretty clear to me, but we will not achieve them in 2016.

prosek 20%. Sve ovo je posledica globalnih sukobljavanja velikih sila i takva situacija najviše pogađa proizvođače nafte i zemlje bivšeg SSSR-a, koje su veliki proizvođači sirovina. Jasno je da politika ima snažan upliv, ali to smo već apsolvirali. Ipak, globalni rast će biti približno isti kao protekle 2015. godine, u kojoj je bio 2,4% globalnog BDP-a. Naravno, imamo projekcije koje ukazuju da će rast u 2016. biti oko 3%, ali nisam siguran da će izvesno doći do bilo kakvog rasta, pre sam sklon proceni da će doći do blagog pada, ali ništa značajno. U toku je jedna strateška borba za uticaj i resurse, a to se neće rešavati velikim ratom, već taktičkim nadmudrivanjem i sukobima na prostoru trećih zemalja, dok ne dođe do iscrpljivanja i popuštanja neke strane. Meni je krajnji rezultat dosta jasan, ali do njega nećemo doći u 2016.

#### **Ima li razloga da građani Srbije budu optimistični?**

Mislim da ima. Ovo stoga što je kontinuitet aktuelne ekonomске politike gotovo izvestan. Smatram da je to društveno odgovorno, odnosno da je to jedini pravi put koji može da dâ rezultate. Pored toga, verujem da će Srbija praviti ozbiljnije političke zaokrete, koji će nam otvoriti vrata za povratak na nebo evroatlantske zajednice u punom sjaju. Na osnovu dešavanja u svetu i izazova sa kojima se Srbija sreće, stekao sam utisak da se pravi ambijent za „globalnu trgovinu“ interesima. Glavna bitka sledeće godine vodiće se u sferi povećanja domaće proizvodnje, a to je realno očekivati samo uz snažno prisustvo stranih direktnih investicija, jačanja izvoza i daljeg institucionalnog razvoja. U tom smislu, predstoje nam veliki stresovi prouzrokovani promenama, ali i veliki posao ukoliko optimizam želimo da pretočimo u lični i opštedruštveni boljitet.

#### **Koji su vaši planovi na profesionalnom polju za ovu godinu?**

Ova godina treba da bude prekretnica u mnogim aspektima moje profesionalne karijere. Budući da se moj društveni angažman sastoji iz tri segmenta: obrazovnog, naučnoistraživačkog i aktivističkog, biće veoma važno sve to uskladiti u delovanje usmeno ka opštedruštvenom napretku Srbije i regiona Balkana.

#### **Da li ste zadovoljni dinamikom lične profesionalne karijere kojom ste se ostvarili ne samo u Srbiji već i van granica naše zemlje?**

Na ovo pitanje je nezahvalno odgovoriti, jer sam od ljudi koji veruju da mogu i treba da urade mnogo više nego što su uredili. Iako sam vanredni profesor ekonomije, smatram da nisam ni približno dovoljno učinio da se ekonomski teorijska, a pogotovo praktična, u dovoljnoj meri osnaži u Srbiji. Razlog leži u tome što se moja uverenja i spoznaje nisu poklapale sa pristupima naših elita, ili se dešavalo da ja nisam imao nikakvu želju da sa njima preuzmem odgovornost za boljitet Srbije. Predajem dva predmeta na MA Filološkog fakulteta Univerziteta u Beogradu, kao i na još nekim privatnim fakultetima, i trudim se da izađem u susret svim zah-

#### **Do citizens of Serbia have reason to be optimistic?**

I think they do. Particularly due to the evident continuity of economic policies. I think that this is socially responsible, meaning that this is the right path to achieve results. Besides, I believe that Serbia will make more serious turnovers which will open our door to return fully shining to the Euro-Atlantic skies. I get the impression that what happens in the world and challenges that Serbia meets, make a good environment for “global trade” of interests. The main battle next year will be fought in the sphere of increasing the domestic production, which is realistic to expect only with a strong presence of direct foreign investments, developing our export and further institutional development. In that sense, we have major stress ahead, caused by changes, but also a lot of work to do if we want to turn optimism into personal and overall social prosperity.

#### **What are your professional plans this year?**

This year should be a crossroad in many aspects of my career. Given that my social engagement comprises of three segments: education, scientific research and activism, it will be very important to balance these in actions directed toward overall social progress of Serbia and the Balkans.

#### **Are you satisfied with the dynamics of your personal career which you accomplished not only in Serbia but also outside our country?**

It is not easy to answer this question, as I am one of those people who believe that they can and should do more than they did. Although I am an associate professor of economics, I do not think I have done nearly enough for economic theory, and especially practice to be endorsed in Serbia. The reason for this is in the fact that either my beliefs and my knowledge did not cor-



respond to the approaches of our elites, or I had no desire to take part in responsibility for progress together with them. I teach two subjects in the Faculty of Philology of the University of Belgrade, as well as in some other private universities, trying to meet all the educational requirements of all the students and student organizations. Besides, I am the president of the Center for Globalization Studies (CGS), which I represent both in Serbia and in the world with absolute freedom of thought and without any pressure. It is operated by a small, but selected team of enthusiasts – quality personalities, bright and self-aware people who understand the responsibility of our research and work for the future of Serbia and the region. Although not being in a favorable environment, we continue our struggle for modernization of our social atmosphere, striving to join Serbia with the Euro-Atlantic community as much and as fast as possible. We have started the initiative SPAS, which

tevima studenata i studentskih organizacija u njihovoj edukaciji. Osim toga, predsednik sam Centra za proučavanje globalizacije (CGS), sa kojim potpuno slobodno misleći i bez opterećenja nastupam kako kod nas tako i u svetu. U njegov rad je uključena jedna mala, ali odabranog grupe entuzijasta – kvalitetnih ličnosti, bistrih i samosvesnih ljudi koji shvataju odgovornost našeg istraživanja i rada za budućnost Srbije i regiona. Iako u ne baš povoljnem okruženju, mi istrajavamo u borbi za modernizaciju našeg društvenog ambijenta sa težnjom da Srbiju što više i brže priključimo evroatlantskoj zajednici. Pokrenuli smo i inicijativu SPAS, što je akronim od naziva „Sloboda i Pravda za Sve”, posvećenu široj populaciji koja veruje da Srbija može i mora mnogo više da uradi u saradnji sa SAD i EU, zato što da delimo isti sistem vrednosti i izazove, a da je budućnost naše zemlje neraskidivo vezana za njihovu budućnost. Takođe, član sam i nekoliko međunarodnih profesionalnih udruženja, među kojima je i International Counter-Terrorist Academic Community (ICTAC). Ono je osnovano u Atini 2004, a ja sam jedan od osnivača i imam mogućnost da steknem ozbiljan uvid u bezbednosne probleme sa terorizmom sa kojima se svet suočava, ali i mogućnost da budem ugledan član globalne mreže akademaca, obaveštajaca i bezbednjaka sveta koji se bave tom problematikom. Aktivan sam član u još dve organizacije, što odražava moju svestranost. To su International Negotiation Training and Research Association (INTRA), organizacija osnovana u Atini 2013. godine, koja predstavlja svojevrsno strukovno udruženje ljudi posvećenih problemima pregovaranja u istraživačkom i u obrazovnom smislu. Druga je International Intelligence History Association (IIHA), koja spaja teoretičare i praktičare iz ovog podlja i beleži rastući ugled u svetu.

**Radite kao profesor na fakultetu i često ste viđen govornik na različitim skupovima kojima motivišete buduće mlade lidere da se profesionalno ostvaruju. Šta im poručujete?**

Mladi su moja preokupacija i inspiracija, stoga što sam stekao utisak da je omladina u Srbiji kao i širom Balkana prilično zapostavljena, umrvljena, odsutna duhom i već na „putu” za „razvijeni Zapad”, bez želje i volje da se ovde bore i izbore za bolju budućnost. Verujem da odgovor na uspeh ekonomskih i političkih reformi, tako i društva uopšte, leži u radu sa omladinom, ozbiljnoj posvećenosti njihovom razvoju i neprestanoj edukaciji i interakciji tokom procesa obrazovanja, ali i kasnije tokom života. Kada sam u direktnom kontaktu sa studentima, pokušavam da im prenesem pozitivne stavove prema svetu u kome živimo, da im ukažem na to su odgovorni za budućnost kako Srbije, tako i sveta; da je mnogo globalnih izazova u budućnosti čovečanstva, ali i da oni mogu značajno da doprinesu u njihovom prevazilaženju, jer svet nije idealno mesto (raj), već je prostor na kome mogu da deluju i razvijajući sebe pomognu razvoju društva u celini. Učim ih da uočavaju lepotu raznolikosti i važnost znanja za njihovu i našu budućnost. Nastojim da im objasnim da u društvenim naukama nema konačnog znanja, već da moraju celog života da se obrazuju i imaju svest da se teorije i društvene percepcije tokom vremena menjaju, te da je tolerancija neophodan uslov da postanu i ostanu intelektualci. Učim ih da budu otvoreni za nove ideje i pristupe društvenom razvoju, da izgrađuju svoje instinkte i nauče da ih prate, da veruju u ljude, vole ih i nauče da praštaju.

Iskreno, verujem u naše mlade ljude. Osećam da su oni ključ za izlazak iz krize kako kod nas, tako i sire, i nemam nameru da odustanem od njih. ■

is an acronym for a title in the Serbian language that says „freedom and justice for all,” dedicated to a wide population believing that Serbia can and must do more in cooperation with the USA and EU, for the fact that we share a system of values and challenges, and that the future of our country is inseparably connected to their future. I am also a member of several international professional associations, among them is the International Counter-Terrorist Academic Community (ICTAC), founded in Athens in 2004, where I am one of the co-founders, which not only has enabled me to have an important insight into security problems of terrorism that the world currently faces, but also has enabled me to be a respected member of the global network of academics, intelligence and security officers of the world, who deal with these issues. I am also an active member in two more organizations, which nurtures my diverse interests. One is the International Negotiation Training and Research Association (INTRA), founded in Athens in 2013, which presents a sort of professional association of people dedicated to solving problems of negotiations in a research and education sense. Another one is the International Intelligence History Association (IIHA), which brings together theorists and practitioners from this field and gains more and more respect in the world.

**You work as a university professor, and you are often seen as a speaker in many events where you motivate young leaders to succeed in a professional sense. What is the message you send them?**

Youth is my preoccupation and my inspiration. I say this because I have an impression that youth in Serbia, as well as across the Balkans, are significantly neglected, numb, spiritually absent, and already on their “way” to “the developed west,” without any desire and willingness to struggle here, and fight for their better future. I believe that the answer to the success of economic and political reforms, and society in general, is in the work with youth, in serious dedication to their development and continuous education and interaction during the education process, but also later in life. When I am directly in contact with students, I try to carry positive attitudes towards the world we live in, to point out the fact that they also have a responsibility for the future of Serbia, and world as well; that there are many global challenges in the future of mankind, but they can make an important contribution in overcoming them, because the world is not an ideal place (paradise), but a space in which they can act, by developing themselves help the development of society as a whole. I teach them to notice the beauty in diversity and importance of knowledge for their and our future. I try to explain that there is no finite knowledge in social sciences, instead, they have to get educated throughout life, and have awareness that theories and social perceptions change over time, and that tolerance is a prerequisite for them to become and remain intellectuals. I teach them to be open to new ideas and approaches to social progress, to build their instincts and learn to follow them, to believe in people, love them and learn to forgive. Honestly, I believe in our youth. I feel they are the key to exit the crisis, both here and elsewhere and I have no intention to give up on them. ■

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Kristina Đoković



**EP  
ENERGOPROJEKT**

zgradnja železničke stanice Beograd Centar ili popularno nazvane Prokop, počela je još sredinom sedamdesetih godina prošlog veka. Energoprojekt je svoj angažman na izgradnji Prokopa otpočeo u julu 1996. godine, kada je kao generalni izvođač sa firmama Trudbenik, Rad i Mostogradnja potpisao ugovor za izvođenje radova na konstrukciji ploče na koti 105, koja natkriljuje stanicu. Radovi su se u kontinuitetu izvodili do početka 2001. godine, a obim posla je proširivan, tako da su u trenutku prekida radova, pored ploče na koti 105 bili izvedeni i objekti podzemne infrastrukture, kao i prilazna saobraćajnica, putnički vestibil i dva koloseka. Nakon prekida, radovi su u nekoliko navrata nastavljeni u manjem obimu i kraćem trajanju, od 2002. do 2003. godine, kada su izvedeni radovi na zaštiti objekta, od 2005. do 2006., kada su započeti radovi na konstrukciji čeonog dela stanične zgrade i u 2010. godini kada su izvedeni koloseci 5 i 6.

Ponovni nastavak radova usledio je početkom decembra 2014. godine na osnovu Ugovora potписаног 30.07.2014 sa Železnicama Srbije a.d. za Rekonstrukciju kapaciteta za prijem, otpremu i upravljanje saobraćajem vozova u železničkoj stanici Beograd Centar – Faza I. Radovi su završavani suksesivno do 25.01.2016. a trajali su 418 dana, dva dana kraće od ugovorenog roka. U ovoj prvoj fazi, završeni su svi ranije započeti objekti podzemne infrastrukture, izgrađen jedan peron, izgrađena četiri nova koloseka, rekonstruisana dva koloseka, izvršeno osiguranje stanice savremenim elektronskim signalno-sigurnosnim sistemom, prilazni platoi stanicu opremljeni su sa 39 novih skretница, zanatski je obrađeno pet perona i dva pothodnika, ugrađena nova linjska i panik rasveta, nova rasveta pothodnika, ugrađena nova elektroenergetska instalacija, telekomunikacioni sistemi (ozvučenje, CCTV, informacione table, satovi) na peronima i u pothodnicima, izvršena je sanacija hidroizolacije ploče na koti 105 i rekonstruisan objekat stanične postavnice i vestibila.

#### KOMPLEKSНОСТ ОВОГ ПРОЈЕКТА ОГЛЕДА СЕ НАЈМАЊЕ У СЛЕДЕЋЕМ:

- Širokoj lepezi različitih tehničkih disciplina koja je i zahtevala nastup u Konzorcijumu kako tri kompanije iz sistema Energoprojekt (Oprema, Visokogradnja i Niskogradnja), tako i specijalističkih partnera, i to: za remont i održavanje pruga (ZGOP a.d., Novi Sad), kontaktну mrežu (ATM BG d.o.o.) i signalno-sigurnosne sisteme za upravljanje saobraćajem (AŽD Praha s.r.o., Prag, Češka Republika).

- Veličini gradilišta, gde treba imati na umu da su se radovi izvodili u centru grada, na potezu od prostora iza stanice Vukov spomenik (ka stanici Karadorđev park) pa do kraja mosta preko reke Save prema stanici Novi Beograd što je više od 3km. Takođe, veliki deo radova se

**C**onstruction of the train station Belgrade Center or widely known as Prokop, had begun since the mid 1970s. Energoprojekt started with its engagement in July 1996, as the main constructor with companies Trudbenik, Rad and Mostogradnja, signing a contract for construction of the slab at Kota 105, covering the station. The works were continuously performed, since the beginning of 2001, while the scope of work expanded. Thus, at the moment of the break, besides the concrete slab at Kota 105, underground infrastructure facilities, the access road, as well as the passengers' vestibule and two railway tracks were constructed. After the break, the construction work continued to a smaller extent and in shorter duration: from 2002 to 2003 finishing the work on the building protection; from 2005 to 2006 starting the reconstruction of the front part of the station building and in 2010 the construction of railway tracks 5 and 6. In the beginning of December 2014, the work resumed, according to the Contract signed on 30.07.2014 with Serbian Railways for the project of reconstruction of capacities for reception, dispatch and traffic control in the railway station Belgrade Center – Phase I. The work was completed successively by 25.01.2016, and lasted for 418 days, two days less than agreed by the contract. In this Phase I, we completed all the projects we started earlier, such as the underground infrastructure, the construction of one platform, the building up of four new tracks, the reconstruction of two tracks, the setting up of a modern electronic signaling security system, the equipping of the access plateau with 39 new switches, the crafting of five new platforms and two underpasses, the constructing of new electric installations, the telecommunication systems (sound system, CCTV, information boards, clocks) on the platforms and in the underpasses; the constructing of the hydro-isolation of the slab on the level 105 as well as the station building and the vestibule.

#### THE COMPLEXITY OF THE PROJECT IS REFLECTED IN THE FOLLOWING:

- The wide range of various technical disciplines, which required the involvement of the three companies from the Energoprojekt system (Oprema, Visokogradnja I Niskogradnja companies), as well as the specializing partners for: reconstruction and maintenance of the railroad (ZGOP a.d. Novi Sad), contact network (ATM BG d.o.o) and signaling-security systems for traffic control (AŽD Praha s.r.o., Prague, Check Republic).
- The size of the construction site, keeping in mind that work had to be done in the center of town, covering the area behind the station Vukov spomenik (towards the station Karadjordjev park) all the way to



izvodio u tunelima čija je ukupna dužina preko 7km. Sve ovo predstavljalo je poseban napor i izazov kako za ljudе koji te radove izvode tako i za obezbeđivanje svih potrebnih preduslova da se ti radovi izvedu i potom izvedeni radovi obezbede od otuđenja.

• Nezaustavljanju saobraćaja kroz stanicu, tj. odvijanju radova pod saobraćajem sve vreme trajanja radova, kao i činjenici da je sam projekt – projekat rekonstrukcije, koja kao i uvek nosi sa sobom posebne načine pripreme za nastavak ranije započetih radova i za izvođenje novih radova koji moraju da budu u skladu sa već izvedenim, kao i nepredvidivost zatečenog stanja ranije izvedenih radova u momentu otpočinjanja onih novih.

Pored savladavanja ovih kompleksnosti, izazov je bio i realizovati ugovor u izuzetno kratkom roku, bez dana kašnjenja, poštujući procedure kako Naručioca tako i Kreditora (Kuvajtskog Fonda za Arapski razvoj) i tu u uslovima transformacije Železnica Srbije iz jednog u četiri nova preduzeća uz promenu njihovih poslovodstava.

Mnogo je bilo izazova, uigrati tim iz različitih preduzeća u kratkom roku da savladava sve zadatke sinhronizovano kao jedan, da se izgrade odnosi uzajamnog poštovanja i poverenja sa svim resorima Naručioca (Nadzornim organima, Koordinatorima i različitim Komisijama koje su formirane za potrebe realizacije ovog projekta), i sve to pod budnim okom javnosti. Verujem da se nismo obrukali i da smo ponovo pokazali da domaća operativa, uz jednog inopartnera, uz dobru volju, maksimalno zalaganje i naravno predvođena iskusnim profesionalcima i mladim snagama može sve.

Energoprojekt je svojevremeno i formiran zarad složenih infrastrukturnih i drugih projekata u zemlji i regionu, i do danas je ostao vodeća kompanija u regionu koja ovakve izazove savladava kako na svoje, tako i na zadovoljstvo Naručioca, Kreditora, svih učesnika u poslu, a nadam se i šire zajednice.

### **1. Zbog čega je ovo važan projekat za EP**

Uspešno savladavanje ovako izazovnog projekata u Srbiji, pokazalo je sposobnost Energoprojekta da se izbori sa svim kompleksnostima zajedničkog rada u kratkim rokovima, njegov liderски kapacitet da okupi srpsku građevinsku operativu i pokaže da udruženim, organizovanim delovanjem može da se postigne i ono što mnoge inokompanije nisu bile spremne da ponude.

BG Čvor Zoran Petrović, glavni koordinator, 064/865-27-37

the end of the bridge across the Sava river towards the Novi Beograd station, which makes it over 3 km long. Also, a large part of work was done in the tunnels, 7km long in total. All this required a special effort and represented a challenge, both for the people who performed the work, and for the people who had to ensure all the prerequisites for the realization of the work and for the further security of the work.

• The constant flow of traffic through the station, meaning the realization of the work with ongoing traffic, and the fact that the project is a reconstruction project, which brings along some special preparation processes to continue work that had been previously started, as well as performing new work that had to go in line with previous work, and the unpredictability of the state of the previous work at the moment of starting the new ones.

Besides overcoming these complexities, the challenge was to implement the contract in an extremely short period of time, without a day of delays, respecting the procedures both of the Investor and the Creditor (Fund for Arabian development Kuwait), which all happened during the transformation of the Serbian Railways from one into four new companies, with completely new management.

There were many challenges: how to quickly synchronize a team composed of different companies in order to overcome all the tasks working as one body, to build mutual respect and trust with all the resources of the Investor (Supervisory bodies, Coordinators and various Commissions established for the implementation of this project), all under scrutiny of the public. I believe we have not disgraced ourselves, and once again, we have shown that domestic operations, supported by one foreign partner, with good will and maximum engagement, led by experienced professionals and young forces, can do everything.

Energoprojekt was once established for complex infrastructure and other projects in the country and region, and up until today, it remained a leading company in the region, accomplishing these challenges, not only to its own satisfaction, but also to the pleasure of the Investors, Creditors, all participants in the process, and I hope the wider community.

### **Why is this such an important project for EP?**

The successful accomplishment of such a challenging project in Serbia has presented the capacities of Energoprojekt to be able to deal with all the complexities of joint work in short deadlines, its leadership qualities to bring together the Serbian construction capacities and show that with joint, organized efforts, we can reach the outcome that many foreign companies were not able to offer.

BG Knot, Zoran Petrović, Head Coordinator, 064/865-27-37



# JASMINA STOJANOV

ČELIČNA LEDI SPPSKOG PR-a

THE IRON LADY OF THE SERBIAN PUBLIC RELATIONS

Jasmina Stojanov Džesi je uspešna poslovna žena, koja je nekada važila za strah i trepet „sedme sile“. Iako smatra da nije bilo razloga za to, novinari su je doživljavali kao Čeličnu Ledi predsednika Republike. Kaže da je izuzetno odgovorno i savesno pristupala obavljanju tako važnog posla, zbog čega je i sa novinari komunicirala isključivo poslovno, što su neki često pogrešno tumačili. Po izlasku iz kabineta Predsednika države svoju profesionalnu karijeru je nastavila kao direktor PR agencije, što je uz novinarstvo njena velika ljubav. Danas je vlasnik i direktor marketinške agencije „Nova PR“, kojom potvrđuje da žena može da bude uspešna i na čelu firme, a da pritom iza sebe nema podršku nekog muškarca niti političku zaleđinu. Upravo zbog toga joj se mnogi i dive.

Jasmina Stojanov Jessy is a successful business woman, who once was considered to be a domineering figure of "the seventh force". Even though she thinks of it as ungrounded, journalists considered her to be "the Iron Lady" of the President's cabinet. She says that she approached this important job with an extremely high level of responsibility and conscientiousness. This is why she contacted journalists only on business matters what was often misunderstood. Upon withdrawal from the Cabinet of the President, she continues her career as the director of a public relations agency, which is her greatest love, next to journalism. Today, she is the owner and director of the marketing agency "Nova PR", which confirms that a woman can be successful leading a company, without the help of a man or political backup and this is exactly why many admire her.

**Bili ste godinama na čelu PR tima nekadašnjeg predsednika Republike Srbije Borisa Tadića. Šta vam je obavljanje tako važnog posla donelo u životu?**

Donelo mi je izuzetno i jedinstveno iskustvo. Tokom osam godina rada u predsednikovom kabinetu, zajedno sa predsednikovim savetnikom Nebojšom Krstićem, imala sam prilike da radim neprekidno, 24/7/365 krizni PR. To što je predsednik tokom tih osam godina i pored ekonomske krize i nepopularnih poteza, kao što je završetak saradnje sa Haškim tribunalom, bio najpopularniji političar u Srbiji činjenica je koju računam u naš ogroman uspeh. Kad sve saberem, rad u pet izbornih kampanja u kojima smo pobedili i svakodnevni posao u kabinetu, nalazim da ne postoji niko među PR profesionalcima ko bi se po efektu i dometima svog rada mogao meriti sa Nebojšom i sa mnom, ne samo u Srbiji već i u regionu.

**Šta ste naučili dok ste obavljali tako važnu funkciju?**

U predsednički kabinet sam 2003. godine ušla kao novinar, a 2012. izašla kao u visokoj peći pečeni PR profesionalac. Naučila sam da politički razmišljam, da sagledavam kontekst, da predviđam krizu, ali i da je preveniram i izborim se sa njom smanjujući njen štetan efekat na najmanju meru. Rado ističem da sam dobila zahvalnicu od potpredsednika Sjedinjenih Američkih Država Džozefa Bajdena, ali i pohvale iz kabineta predsednika Ruske Federacije Vladimira Putina za uspešnu saradnju.

**Nakon isteka Tadićevog manda-ta, po pisanju medija, vaš dojurašnji šef je prestao da komuni-cira sa vama. Šta je istina?**

Ja sam radila u kabinetu predsednika Tadića sve dok je on bio predsednik Republike. Posle toga sam otišla svojim profesionalnim putem. Mi nikada nismo bili drugari, već smo imali profesionalan odnos u kome je on bio moj šef.



**For years, you were the head of the PR team of the former President of Serbia, Boris Tadić. What has the performance of such an important job given you in life?**

It gave me an exceptional and unique experience. During the eight years of working in the president's cabinet, together with the President's advisor Nebojša Krstić, I had the opportunity to work constantly, 24/7/365, on the so called crisis PR. The fact that the President remained the most popular politician in Serbia throughout the period, despite the economic crisis and very unpopular moves, such as the termination of cooperation with the International Court Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia, is the fact I count as our huge success. When I summarize it all, work in five pre-election campaigns in which we won and everyday work in the cabinet, I think that there is no one among PR professionals in Serbia and on the regional level, who could measure up to Nebojša and me, neither by effects nor by the range of work.

**What have you learned through your work at such an important position?**

I joined the presidential cabinet as a journalist in 2003, and left in 2012, as a "case-hardened" PR professional. I learned to think politically, I learned to analyze the context, and to predict crisis. I also learned to prevent the crisis, and to fight it, diminishing its consequences to the least possible level. I like to take pride in my Letter of Appreciation received from the Vice-President of United States of America, Joseph Biden, as well as compliments for successful cooperation from the cabinet of the Russian President, Vladimir Putin.

**According to the media, after the cessation of mandate of President Tadić, your former boss stopped his communication with you. What is the truth?**

I worked in the cabinet of President Tadić as long as he was the President of the state. After that, I went down my professional path. We were never friends, but had a professional relation, in which he was my boss.

**Danas ste vlasnik i direktor agencije za PR i oblasti konsaltinga. Da li vam je bilo lako da prokrčite sebi put na tom polju, s obzirom na to da je konkurenca u Beogradu velika?**

U pravu ste, konkurenca jeste velika, ali mi u „Novoj PR“ gradićemo ime uz veliko zalaganje, uz znanje koje imamo i brigu za svoje klijente. A klijenti kvalitet brzo prepoznaju.

**Koliko Srbija zaostaje za svetskim standardima u toj oblasti?**

Marketing i PR su relativno novije discipline u celom svetu, a Srbija, po mom mišljenju, ne zaostaje nimalo. U marketingu ima mnogo mlađih ljudi i profesionalaca, kreativnih i talentovanih... Pravo mi je zadovoljstvo da ih otkrivam i uključujem u kampanje koje radimo kao što je „Budi odgovorna“, kampanja za prevenciju raka grlića materice, koja je našla na ogroman odjem.

**Prethodnih godina su vam se pružale prilike da ostanete u svetu politike, ali vi ste to odlučno odbijali. Zašto?**

Mislim da je svaki građanin Srbije, hteo – ne hteo, u svetu politike čak iako se njome ne bavi profesionalno. Ja politiku volim i ponekad imam utisak da je razumem. U svemu što čovek radi kada se bavi PR-om ili marketingom ima i politike, tako da se ja njome u stvari bavim, samo na drugaćiji način nego što to rade političari.

**Mediji su vas opisivali kao savetnika „iz senke“ sadašnjeg premijera Aleksandra Vučića. To ste odlučno demantovali. Odakle takve tvrdnje?**

Veoma cenim premijera Vučića zato što je jedan od retkih ljudi u politici koji je priznao svoje greške i radi na tome da se promeni nabolje. Samo slep ili zlonameran čovek može da kaže da to nije tačno. Takođe, on ulaže ogromnu energiju u posao koji radi, i to je očigledno. Treće, strateške tačke politike koju on vodi jesu one za koje sam se i ja zalagala čitavog života. Kada bih sada Vučićevu politiku omalovala i kritikovala samo zato što je sprovodi Vučić, osećala bih se kao licemer. Zato ću podržava-

**Today, you are the owner and manager of a PR and consulting agency. How easy was it for you to clear your path in this field, having in mind the strong competition in Belgrade?**

You are right, the competition is strong, indeed, but at “Nova PR”, we have built our name with great dedication, knowledge and care for our clients. And clients can easily recognize the quality.

**How far is Serbia behind the world standards in this area?**

Marketing and PR are relatively new disciplines, looking globally, and in my opinion, Serbia does not fall behind at all. There

are a large number of young people and professionals, creative and talented people working in marketing... It is my true pleasure to discover them and include them in campaigns we do, such as the “Be Responsible” campaign for cervical cancer prevention, which was received very well.

**In past years, you had opportunities to stay in politics, but you refused it decisively. Why?**

I believe that every citizen of Serbia, wanting it or not, is involved in politics, even if they do not do it professionally. I like politics and sometimes I feel that I understand it. Everything you do in PR or marketing, contains politics, so I still deal with it, only in a different way than the politicians do.

**The media has claimed you to be an advisor “from the shadows” of the current Prime Minister, Aleksandra Vučić. You denied it decisively. Where do these claims come from?**

I highly respect Prime Minister Vučić, for being one of the rare people in politics who has admitted his mistakes and works on improvements. Only a blind or malicious person can say this is not true. Also, he gives an enormous amount of energy in the work he does, and that is obvious. Third, the strategic points of politics that he runs are those I dedicated my whole life to. If I were to disrespect or criticize his politics, only because it is run by Vučić, I would feel hypocritical.





ti gospodina Vučića sve dok on vodi jasnu proevropsku politiku, politiku mira i pomirenja u regionu, politiku dijaloga sa Albancima i reformi privrednog i političkog sistema Srbije.

**Svojevremeno ste izjavili da vam je politika strast. Da li vas za koju godinu možemo očekivati na nekoj važnoj državnoj funkciji?**

Nikako. Nije to za mene. Baviću se svojim PR poslom i u godinama koje dolaze.

**Koliko je marketing važan za politiku?**

Marketing je nerazdvojni deo politike kao što je i deo privrede. Samo neznanice mogu nekog političara da optuže „da se bavi marketingom” jer je deo posla svakog političara da se njime bavi. E sad, ima neznanica koje, kad kažu marketing, misle „laž, obmana, prevara”... a ja kada kažem marketing, imam na umu definiciju po kojoj je to „lepoto izrečena istina”.

**Koji političar na svetskoj političkoj sceni, po vašem mišljenju, ima najbolji PR, a koji u Srbiji?**

Predsednik Ruske Federacije Vladimir Putin ima izvanredan marketing. Poglavar Rimokatoličke crkve papa Franja takođe.

**Da li je u Srbiji teško biti samostalna uspešna žena, iza koje ne stoji muškarac?**

Jeste. Zato imam u planu da svom profesionalnom snagom podržim žensko preduzetništvo jer mislim da su žene jedan od veoma potcenjenih i neiskorišćenih resursa koje Srbija poseduje.

**Imate li dovoljno vremena za privatni život?**

Vremena imam, ali posle napornog dana nedostaje mi volje za to. Srećom imam psa, koji me natera da mu posvetim vreme bez obzira na to kakve sam volje.

**Zašto se muškarci plaše uspešnih žena?**

Zato što im to obara koncept patrijarhalnih vrednosti na koji su navikli. Arhetipska slika „muškarac lovac i žena domaćica” ne samo da je predrasuda već, što bi predsednik Nikolić rekao, deo srpskog genetskog koda. Ali i on se može s vremenom menjati.

**Kad se osvrnete iza sebe, koji period života smatraste najlepšim?**

Najlepše mi je bilo dok sam kao novinar radila u „Radio Pančevu”, potom na „B92”, zatim u novinskim agencijama „Beta” i „Fonet” itd. Bila sam dopisnik sa četiri ratišta i radila u izuzetno teškim uslovima... ali mi i to u poređenju s radom u kabinetu predsednika Srbije deluje kao Diznilend.

**Kako vidite Srbiju u bližoj, a kako u daljoj budućnosti?**

Želim da vidim Srbiju kao uređenu i pristojnu zemlju koja je ušla u Evropsku uniju i u kojoj je pomalo dosadno jer nam je glavna dilema da li ćemo za vikend otići na Zlatibor ili na Tara.

**Šta želite da vam se ostvari u 2016. godini?**

Želim da „Nova PR” bude najbolja PR agencija u Srbiji. ■

AUTOR / AUTHOR : Kristina Đžoković

FOTO / PHOTO: Miša Obradović

cal. Therefore, I will support Mr. Vučić as long as he runs a clear, pro-European politics, politics of peace and reconciliation in the region, politics of dialogue with Albanians and reform of the economic and political system of Serbia.

**Some time ago, you stated that politics is your passion. Can we expect you to reach an important state position in few years' time?**

By no means. That is not for me. I will do my PR job in the coming years, as well.

**How important is marketing for politics?**

Marketing is an inseparable part of politics, as well as a part of the economy. Only ignorant people can accuse a politician for “doing marketing,” while the part of every politician’s job is to do it. Now, there are ignorant people who identify marketing with “lie, deception, fraud”... but I have a definition of marketing in my head saying that it is “the truth, nicely said.”

**In your opinion, who is the politician in the world political scene with the best PR, and who is it in Serbia?**

Russian President, Vladimir Putin, has excellent marketing. So does the Pope of the Catholic Church, Pope Francis.

**Is it difficult to be an independent successful woman in Serbia, who does not have a man as a back up?**

Yes. That is why I have a plan to use all my professional power to support women’s entrepreneurship, because I believe that women are very underestimated and under-utilized resources of Serbia.

**Do you have enough time for your private life?**

I do have time, but after a hard working day, I lack the mood for that. Luckily, I have a dog who forces me to dedicate my time to him, regardless of my mood.

**Why are men afraid of successful women?**

That happens because it knocks down the concept of patriarchal values they are accustomed to. The archetypal image of “man the hunter and woman the housewife” is not only a prejudice, but, as President Nikolic would say, a part of the Serbian genetic code. However, it can change in time, as well.

**When you look behind, what part of your life do you find to be the best?**

The nicest period of my life was my work at Radio Pančev, then at “B92”, then my work at the new agencies “Beta” and “Fonet” etc. I was a reporter at different war sites, and worked in unbelievably difficult conditions... but when compared to work at the cabinet of Serbian President, these looked like Disneyland.

**How would you see Serbia both in the near and distant future?**

I want to see Serbia as a more arranged and more respectable country, a part of European Union, and even a little tedious country, in which people’s biggest problem is where to spend their weekend, in Zlatibor or Tara.

**What would you like to realize in 2016?**

I want “Nova PR” to be the best PR agency in Serbia. ■

ŠEF PREGOVARAČKOG TIMA ZA VOĐENJE PREGOVORA O PRISTUPANJU  
REPUBLIKE SRBIJE EVROPSKOJ UNIJI / PROF. TANJA MISCEVIC, PHD,  
HEAD OF THE NEGOTIATING TEAM FOR THE ACCESSION OF THE  
REPUBLIC OF SERBIA TO THE EUROPEAN UNION

# Prof. dr **TANJA MIŠCEVIĆ**

OČEKUJEM U 2016. VELIKI PROBOJ U  
PREGOVARAČKOM PROCESU

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I EXPECT A BIG BREAKTHROUGH IN THE  
NEGOTIATION PROCESS IN 2016.





**P**rof. dr Tanja Miščević živi na relaciji između Beograda i Brisela. Vremena za privatni život nema, čak je i roditelji mogu videti samo na televiziji. Lako su oči javnosti usmerene ka njoj svaki put kada se spomene Evropska unija, a i sama je svesna ozbiljnosti pozicije na kojoj se nalazi, uvek je nasmejana. Bez obzira koliko umorna i iscrpljena bila čestim putovanjima i celodnevnim sastancima, nikada nije mrzovoljna. Po prirodi je optimista i kako kaže mnogo je bolje kad ljudima pridete sa osmehom. U intervjuu za The Globe Magazine kroz osmeh nam je otkrila da očekuje da 2016. bude godina velikog napretka u pregovaračkom procesu Srbije i Evropske unije.

#### **Srbija je nakon dve godine u decembru otvorila poglavlje 35 o Kosovu i Metohiji. Pregовори idu sporo i teško. Ima li razloga za optimizam?**

Oko poglavlja 35, koje se odnosi na praćenje normalizacije odnosa između Beograda i Prištine imali smo ozbiljnih problema imajući u vidu da metodologija pregovora u okviru ovog poglavlja nije bila sasvim definisana. Međutim, u decembru smo otvorili ovo zajedno sa poglavljem 32 o finansijskom nadzoru tj. kako se interno i eksterno prati trošenje budžetskih sredstava, a koje je bilo spremno od leta 2014. godine. Smatrali smo da je veoma važno otvoriti i ovo poglavlje, jer nema uspešne borbe protiv korupcije bez takve kontrole, nema finansijske konsolidacije, nema poštovanja ni vladavine prava ukoliko na početku nemate kontrolu, odnosno stvaranje kontrole ove vrste.

**P**rof. Tanja Miscevic, PhD, lives somewhere between Belgrade and Brussels. She has no time for personal life as even her parents can see her only on television. Although the public eye is fixed on her whenever you mention the European Union, and she herself is aware of the seriousness of the position to which she was appointed, she is always smiling. No matter how tired, exhausted by frequent trips and day-long meetings, she is never frowning, by nature being optimistic and as she says, it is a lot better when you approach people with a smile. During the interview for The Globe she is smiling to us and reveals that she expects 2016. to be the year of the great breakthrough in the negotiation process.

#### **After two years, Serbia opened negotiations on Chapter 35 in December last year. Negotiations are slow and difficult. Is there a reason for optimism?**

Around Chapter 35, which concerns the monitoring of the normalization of relations between Belgrade and Pristina, we had serious problems bearing in mind that the methodology of negotiations under this chapter has not been completely defined. However, in December last year, we opened this together with the chapter 32 on Financial control which refers to how to internally and externally monitor the spending of the budget and which was ready for opening since summer 2014. That's why we thought this was a very important Chapter to be opened. There can be no successful fight against corruption without such control, no financial consolidation, no respect for the rule of law, and if at the beginning you have no control, i.e. the creation of this type of control.

According to the Negotiating Framework, Chapter 35, and Chapters 23 and 24, which we call the Rule of Law, if we look from the broader perspective, must be among the first ones to be opened. At this moment, we are working intensively on Chapters 23 and 24 as well as on preparation of documents for several more chapters. We have completed Action Plans for Chapters 23 and 24, including a dedicated Action plan for improving the position of national minorities in the context of Chapter 23, while preparations of negotiating positions are in progress. We work very

Prema Pregovaračkom okviru, poglavlje 35 i poglavlja 23 i 24, koja mi zovemo vladavina prava, šire posmatrano, moraju biti među prvima otvorena. U ovom momentu intenzivno radimo na poglavljima 23 i 24, ali i na pripremi dokumenata za još nekoliko poglavlja. Završili smo akcione planove za poglavlja 23 i 24, uključujući i poseban Akcioni plan za unapređenje položaja nacionalnih manjina u okviru poglavlja 23, a u pripremi su i pregovaračke pozicije. Veoma aktivno radimo kako bismo ova poglavlja otvorili do kraja holandskog predsedavanja EU o čemu države članice moraju doneti jednoglasnu odluku.

actively in order to open these chapters by the end of the Dutch presidency of the EU on which the Member States have to make a unanimous decision.

#### **What are the most important steps towards the European Union that Serbia should take and goals to achieve?**

It would be more than wrong to think only about the course of the negotiations, because it is the technical part of the job. Essentially the most important things, which lead us into the European Union, which is of paramount importance to us as citizens,



#### **Koji su najvažniji koraci ka Evropskoj uniji koje Srbija treba da ostvari?**

Bilo bi jako pogrešno razmišljati samo o samom toku pregovora, jer to je tehnički deo posla. Suštinski najvažnija stvar, ono što nas vodi u Evropsku uniju, ono što je od najvećeg značaja za nas kao građane, jesu unutrašnje reforme, koje sprovodimo po standardima Evropske unije, koje mi svi, zapravo najviše kao građani, i očekujemo. Uspeh u sprovođenju tih standarda i reformi u oblastima kao što su reforma državne uprave, reforma administracije, reforma policije, ali i neki drugi segmenti reforme, koji su manje vidljivi kao što je recimo reforma sistema bezbednosti proizvoda ili bezbednosti hrane, zaštita životne sredine i izmene koje moramo svestri do momenta ulaska u Evropsku uniju, tu će najpre i biti vidljive.

#### **Šta Srbija dobija a šta gubi članstvom u Evropskoj uniji, kada je ekonomija u pitanju, a šta na širem planu?**

- Isto kao i svaka država članica Evropske unije – ulaskom u nadnacionalnu organizaciju neki segmenti se izmeštaju u Brisel i više nisu u domenu država članica. Na primer, sektor zajednič-

are internal reforms undertaken in line with the standards of the European Union, and which our people as citizens actually mostly expect. Success in implementing these standards and reforms in areas such as public administration reform, administrative reform, reform of the police, but also some other segments of the reforms, which are less visible, such as, for example, the reform of the products security and food safety, environment protection and changes that we have to implement until the moment of entering into the European Union, will be first visible in these areas.

#### **What does Serbia win and what does it lose by gaining the membership in the European Union when it comes to the economy, and what if we speak of a broader perspective?**

Just like any other Member State of the European Union – upon entering into a supranational organization some segments are being moved to Brussels and are no longer in the domain of Member States. For example, the sector of joint external trade policy. This means that standards in trade or free trade with the third parties are no longer negotiated by the Member State

ke spoljne trgovinske politike. To znači da standarde u trgovini ili slobodnu trgovinu sa trećima više ne pregovara država članica sama za sebe već Brisel, odnosno predstavnici Evropske unije. Dakle, gubimo te instrumente. Nama je to najvidljivije kroz gubitak Sporazuma o slobodnoj trgovini sa Ruskom Federacijom. Dakle, kao članica Evropske unije mi pratimo politiku Unije u spoljnoj trgovini i nemamo pravo na samostalno vođenje. Ali opet, to je jedna od najznačajnijih stvari zbog koje države, koje su krajnje evroskeptične kao recimo Velika Britanija gde ne postoji takav entuzijazam za evropskom integracijom, jesu u EU. Upravo je to razlog, ta zajednička spoljna trgovina. Unutrašnje tržište je razlog koji drži Britaniju i njenu privredu toliko blizu. Ako bih morala obračunavati troškove i koristi, mnogo više i ekonomskih i političkih koristi se dobija ulaskom u Evropsku uniju. Da sam u pravu govorim činjenica da se Evropska unija svake godine dodatno dograđuje u jačem povezivanju država članica.

**Koliko ste optimistični kada je u pitanju približavanje Srbije Evropskoj uniji? Kako vreme odmiče Brisel sve više podiže rampe za prijem novih članica. Da li vas to obeshrabruje?**

Nikako. Naprotiv, mi nismo na nivou na kom su bile države u prethodnim talasima proširenja. Mi od 2004. godine usklađujemo svoje pravo. Za deset godina mi smo dosta toga uradili. Nije to lestvica koja je za nas neostvariva i jako je važno tako razmišljati. Ono u čemu se svi mi u Pregovaračkom timu slažemo, a manje - više to je i generalni konsenzus u Srbiji, jeste da je put, putovanje do članstva zapravo najvažnija stvar. I da mi, kako to često govorim, nemamo mandat da „prelamamo stvari preko kolena“ i da prihvatom rešenja koja nisu u najboljem interesu Srbije. Ako to znači koju godinu duže do članstva, nije nikakav problem. Nama je zaista u interesu da, kada postanemo članica EU, budemo članica u potpunom kapacitetu, koja će učestvovati u izgradnji evropskih politika. Jedan rok smo definisali - to je kraj 2018. godine. Morali smo definisati ono što se naziva "ciljni datum" da bismo znali obračunavati sve obaveze u pregovaračkom procesu.

**Kada govorimo o uslovima koje sve Srbija treba da ispuni i koji se traže od nje, nameće se pitanje da li je Brisel dovoljno korektan prema Srbiji?**

Kada se kaže Brisel, mora se napraviti jasna razlika u odnosu na države članice. Brisel, odnosno Evropska komisija, su naši partneri. Gotovo svakodnevno smo u kontaktu. Razmenjujemo informacije i oni jako dobro znaju šta mi radimo, kako radimo i koliko napredujemo. I to napišu svake godine u tim godišnjim izveštajima. Naravno, kao svaki dobar prijatelj sa jasnom preporukom što vidi da bi trebalo da se uradi. Tako je bilo i prošle godine. Ali, sa druge strane imate države članice kojih je 28, svaka sa sopstvenim nacionalnim interesima, sa pitanjima koje one smatraju da je važno da budu posebno naglašena. Da se ne razumemo pogrešno, svaka pojedinačno ima svoj interes, sopstveno javno mnenje, sopstveni politički proces. A politika proširenja, odnosno širenje Evropske unije ovom momentu uopšte nije na dobrom glasu u Evropi. Dakle sve to zajedno vrlo često rađa "kalimero" efekat, zbog kojeg kažemo da je zapravo nepravda to što nam se ne priznaje da smo neke stvari na dobar način uradili. Nema tu zle namere prema Srbiji, nego ima puno elemenata unutrašnje politike i iskustava. Nemojte to zaboraviti - loših iskustava prethodnih proširenja za koja mnogi građani Evrope i danas

for itself but by Brussels, i.e. the representatives of the European Union. So we lose these instruments. To us this is the most visible through the loss of the Free Trade Agreement with the Russian Federation. So, as a member of the European Union we follow the policy of the Union in foreign trade and do not have the right to perform independent conduct. But then again, this is one of the most important reasons why any of the states which are extremely eurosceptic, as, for example, the United Kingdom, where there is no such enthusiasm for European integration, still are in the European Union. That is the very reason, the common external trade. The internal market is the reason for keeping Britain and its economy so close. If I had to make the costs and benefits analysis, I would say that much more economic and political benefits can be obtained by joining the European Union. The fact that the European Union further builds its capacity to maintain and establish stronger ties among the Member States year in year out is what proves that I am right.

**How optimistic are you when we speak of bringing Serbia closer to the European Union? As time goes Brussels more and more raises the ramp for the admission of new members. Does that discourage you?**

No, not by any means. On the contrary, we are not at the level at which states in previous waves of enlargement were. Since 2004 we have been adjusting our legislation. We have done a lot of work for ten years. It is not the scale that is unfeasible for us and it is very important to think so. What we all in the Negotiating team agree upon, and it is more - less the general consensus in Serbia, is that the journey to the membership is in fact the most important thing. And we, what I often repeat, do not have the mandate to "make hasty decisions" and accept solutions that are not in the best interest of Serbia. If that means a few years longer until we obtain the membership, it is not a problem. It is really in the interest of ours to, when we become member of the European Union, be the full capacity member that will participate in the construction of European policies. We have defined one term - it is the end of 2018. We had to define what is called a "target date" that we know how to calculate all the obligations in the negotiating process.

**When we talk about all the conditions Serbia needs to fulfil and which are required, the question arises whether Brussels is sufficiently fair to Serbia?**

When we say Brussels, clear distinction has to be made in relation to Member States. Brussels, i.e. the European Commission are our partners. We are in contact almost every day. We exchange information and they know very well what we do, how we work and how much we advance. And they write it every year in their annual reports. Of course, like any good friend's reports, they contain a clear recommendation of what should be done. Such was the case last year as well. But, on the other hand you have 28 Member States, each with its own national interests, the issues they consider important to such an extent, that they have to be especially emphasized. Do not misunderstand me, each of them has its own interests, its own public opinion, its own political process. The policy of expansion, i.e. enlargement of the European Union at the moment does not have good reputation in Europe. Therefore it all together very

sebi ne mogu da objasne zašto su se dogodila, zašto su neke od država postale države članice. I onda imaju taj stav: „ove ćemo sad čvrsto da stegnemo“. Sa druge strane, imate ceo Zapadni Balkan ili države bivše SFRJ, koje su u odnosu na ove države iz prethodna dva proširenja, pre devedesete godine bile mnogo naprednije, da tako kažem. I mi još uvek ne možemo da shvatimo što mi sad treba da se menjamo kad smo mi bili bolji od njih. A zaboravljamo na devedesete koje su u potpunosti uništile sistem, strukture, funkcionisanje i napravile jako lošu sliku o svima nama. Sve to sad treba ispraviti.

**Već godinama unazad aktivno ste prisutni na političkoj sceni Srbije, a niste član nijedne stranke. Kako je to moguće?**

Nije neuobičajeno u regionu u kome živimo da oni koji dolaze iz civilnog sektora uđu u jednom momentu u vlast, odnosno u Vlade ili izvršnu vlast pa čak i naravno u Parlamente na različite načine kao članovi posebnih stranaka. Ja sam se opredelila da prosto nemam svoju političku afilijaciju i zato sam i ponudila svoje usluge, svoje znanje o Evropskoj uniji, o procesu proširenja da ga iskoristimo na način na koji je to najbolje moguće uraditi. Smatram da je naša odgovornost, odgovornost intelektualaca, svih onih koji ne spadaju u taj politički život države, da pomognu svojim stručnim znanjem. Jer to i jeste savremena politika. Zapravo mnogo više je neophodna specijalizacija nego opšta politika kao takva. Jako sam ponosna na činjenicu da je oko mog imenovanja postojao jasan konsenzus i da i dalje taj konsenzus postoji i to mi daje mogućnost da se obratim svim stranama, kada do problema dođe.

**Dugo ste vanredni profesor Fakulteta političkih nauka u Beogradu. Kakvu komunikaciju imate sa studentima?**

Komunikaciju sa studentima, što bivšim što sadašnjim, imam. Na to sam jako ponosna. Imali smo veoma lep sastanak sa sadašnjim studentima koji pohađaju kurs „Primenjena diplomacija“ i žele da čuju šta radimo. Oko mene ima puno mojih bivših studenata koji su sada ljudi sa kojima vrlo aktivno radim. Ponosna sam na činjenicu da su neki od crnogorskih pregovarača,

often causes “kalimero” effect, because of which we say that it is actually an injustice that some things which we have done in a good way are not recognized. There is no evil intention towards Serbia, but there are a lot of elements of internal policies and practices. Do not forget – bad experiences having stemmed from previous enlargements and for which many people in Europe today cannot explain themselves why they occurred, caused some of them not to understand why some of the countries became members. And then they have this attitude: “We will now firmly tighten these ones.” On the other hand, there are all Western Balkan countries or the former Yugoslavia countries, which, when compared to the states from the previous two waves of enlargement, were much more advanced before the nineties, so to speak. And we still cannot figure out why we have to change when we were better than them. And we are forgetting the nineties during which the system was completely destroyed, as well as the structure, functioning and a very poor image of all of us which was created. All that now needs to be corrected.

**You have been actively present on the Serbian political scene for many years and yet you are not the member of any political party...**

It is not uncommon in the region in which we live, that those who come from the civil sector become at one point part of the authorities, i.e. of the Government or executive authorities and even of course of Parliaments in various ways as members of

specific parties. I have opted to simply not have my political affiliation and that's why I offered my services, my knowledge about the European Union, about the enlargement process to be used in the best possible way. I believe that it is our responsibility, the responsibility of intellectuals, all those who do not belong to the political life of the country, to help by their expertise. Because that is what the contemporary politics is. In fact, what is much more necessary is the specialization, expertise, than general politics as such. I'm very proud of the fact that there was a clear consensus about my appointment and that this consensus still exists and it gives me the opportunity to speak to all parties when a problem occurs.



takođe, moji studenti, tako da ih i na toj strani imam. Nećete verovati da i u Evropskoj komisiji ima mojih studenata, jer sam predavala i u inostranstvu. Sve to pomaže, kako pomaže, jer ljudi vas znaju. Uvek sam važila za vrlo strogog profesora. Ali se kod mene zna da je važno naučiti logiku procesa. Sitnice, datume i informacije možete naći na internetu, ali razumeti zašto se nešto i zašto baš na taj način dogodilo, e to je zapravo početak analize svega.

#### **Koliko vaš privatni život trpi zbog ozbiljnosti i posvećenosti poslu kojim se bavite?**

Privatni život, šta je to? U ovoj fazi je svakako sve podređeno poslu. Tokom dve i po godine dana stalnih putovanja u Brisel, čak i moji roditelji kažu da me viđaju samo na televiziji. Eto toliko o mom privatnom životu.



#### **Priroda vašeg posla nalaže da često putujete po inostranstvu. Koliko Beograd odudara od drugih svetskih prestonica i da li mozemo da se pohvalimo da nečim možemo da pariramo svetskim metropolama?**

-Apsolutno ne odudara. Ono na šta može čovek da stavi zamerku to je nekultura u saobraćaju koja je ovde evidentna. Nju mi vidimo svaki dan, ali je posebno vidimo kada odemo negde u inostranstvo. Naravno i nečistoća, da ne kažem prljav grad. To me uvek jako rastuži. Zato što je Beograd zaista predivan grad i svaki dan je sve lepsi i lepsi. Ima divnu kombinaciju modernog i starog. Mi zaista imamo čime da se pohvalimo. Neću govoriti o noćnom životu, već o koncertnim salama, Beogradskoj filharmoniji, nažalost muzejima na koje ne obraćamo puno pažnju i ne možete ljude ni uputiti da posete to blago. A to zaista jeste blago. Etnografski muzej je renoviran i jako je interesantan za strance. Kada dođu u naš grad, on im je nekakva osnova. Ali imamo i Muzej moderne umetnosti u kom je u toku rekonstrukcija. Nemar prema gradu koji svi imamo je ono što mene uvek rastuži, a sa druge strane upravo su to vrednosti koje bi Beograd mogao da predstavi na najboji način u svetu.

#### **You have been an Associate Professor at the Faculty of Political Sciences in Belgrade for a long time. What kind of communication do you have with your students?**

I maintain communication with the students, both with the current ones and with my former students. I am very proud of that. We had a very nice meeting with the students attending the course "Applied Diplomacy" and want to hear what we are doing. There were a lot of my former students around me who are now the people with whom I work very actively. I am proud of the fact that some of the Montenegrin negotiators were also my students, so that I have my students on that side as well. You will not believe that there are my students in the European Commission also, because I used to teach abroad as well...All of this helps, really helps, because people know you. I was always known as a very strict teacher. But with me it is important to learn the logics of the process. Trinkets, dates and information can be found on the Internet, but to understand why something is and why something happened in that way exactly, this is actually worth analyzing and that is the beginning of analyzing everything.

#### **To what extent does your private life suffer because of the seriousness of your job and your commitment to the work you do?**

Private life, what is that? At this stage everything is certainly

subordinated to the job. After two and a half years of travelling to Brussels even my parents say to me that they only see me on television. So much about my private life.

#### **The nature of your job is such that you have to travel abroad frequently. In what way does Belgrade differ from other world capitals, and can we say that we can compete at something with world capitals?**

It is absolutely not different. What man can put objection to is the lack of culture in traffic which is evident here. We see it every day, but we especially notice this when we go somewhere abroad. Naturally, there are also pollution and impurities, not to say dirty city. It really makes me sad always, because Belgrade is really a beautiful city, and each day it is more and more beautiful. It has a wonderful combination of modern and old. We really have something to be proud of. I'm not talking about the nightlife, but of concert halls, the Belgrade Philharmonic Orchestra, unfortunately museums that we do not pay a lot of attention to and thus you cannot send people to visit this treasure. And it really is a treasure. Ethnographic Museum is very interesting to foreigners. When they come to our town, it is

### **Da li u pauzi važnih poseta imate vremena i za bolje upoznavanje grada u kojem boravite? Nađete li vremena za kulturna dešavanja ili slobodno vreme koristite na drugi način? Da li ga imate uopšte?**

Jako, jako malo. Imam u proseku dva-tri sata slobodnog vremena, koje iskoristim za šetnju, jer to je prosto nešto što moram da uradim, nakon višečasovnog sedenja u kancelariji. Šta da vam kažem? Veoma često sam u Briselu. Nećete verovati, ali jednu znamenitost Brisela, čuveni Atomijum, nikada nisam posetila. Zato što nisam imala vremena da ga obiđem. Imala sam sreće da sam ranije imala priliku da malo više vremena provedem u nekom od ovih velikih gradova i tada sam nešto i videla, ali sa ovim poslom, to je jako teško. To je možda teško i objasniti ljudima. Stalno ste na putu, a ne vidite ništa veliko. Toliko se kratko zadržim u gradu da ne mogu recimo u Londonu otići da pogledam pozorišnu predstavu ili u Rimu operu ili čak da uđem u neki od važnijih muzeja, jer za sve to vam je potrebno vreme. Posete svetskim metropolama traju dva-tri dana. Jedino gde se zadržavam to je Brisel, ali tamo sam od devet do šest popodne u sali za sastanke.

### **Kakva je Tanja Miščević privatno?**

Uvek ista. Samo što sam možda malo veselija privatno, nego što to izgleda u javnosti. Trudim se da sam privatno opuštena. Ovo je ipak drugačija vrsta komunikacije. Ali nemam privatno i javno lice. To je jedno te isto. Mislim da ljudi potpuno prepoznaju iskrenost i ona ne može da se sakrije ni ovako u javnosti. Uvek me strašno iznenadi kada ljudi komentarišu kako to da sam ja uvek nasmejana. Jesam optimista po prirodi, a i mislim da je mnogo lepše kada ljudima priđete sa osmehom nego namrštenog lica.

### **Vaša očekivanja u ovoj godini, kako na poslovnom tako i na privatnom planu?**

Privatno mi je želja da u porodici sve ide kako valja, da su svi zdravi. To je za mene, u ovoj fazi, potpuno dovoljno. A što se poslovnog tiče, iskreno se nadam da će ova godina, biti godina velikog probora u pregovaračkom procesu. Imamo jasnu ideju i plan o broju Poglavlja koja bismo voleli da otvorimo tokom ove godine i to je dosta ambiciozan plan, ali nije nerealan. Ostaje, naravno, politička procena država članica. Jako, jako važno će nam biti da vladavina prava, reforma pravosuđa, borba protiv korupcije, organizovanog kriminala, zaštita osnovnih prava kao i pitanja reforme policije napreduju, ne samo u smislu naših pregovora, već suštinski. Jer bez toga nema svih onih daljih poslova koje treba da uradimo. Dakle ambiciozna, ali realistična, ostvariva agenda koju imamo i koja je naravno jako uslovljena pre svega ekonomskim razvojem ili stabilizacijom ekonomskih prilika u našoj državi, što je jedno od najvažnijih pitanja trenutno. ■

AUTOR / AUTHOR :  
Kristina Džoković

something basic to be seen. But we also have a Museum of Modern Art, which is under reconstruction. Negligence towards the city that we all show is what makes me sad always, and on the other hand these are the values that could present Belgrade in the best way to the world.

### **Do you have time during the breaks in the course of important visits to get to know better the city in which you reside? Do you find time for cultural events or you use your leisure time in any other way? Do you have it all?**

Very, very little. I have, on average, two to three hours of free time, which I use to walk, because it's just something I have to do after many hours of sitting in the office. What can I say? I am in Brussels very often. You will not believe this, but I have never visited one of the Brussels attractions, the famous Atomium, because I did not have time to see it. I was lucky to have had the opportunity earlier to spend a little more time in one of these cities and then I managed to see something, but in this type of work, it is very difficult. It may be hard to explain to people. You are constantly 'on the road', and yet you do not see anything great. I stay there for such a short time, that I, for example, cannot go to see a theater play in London or an opera in Rome or even to get into some of the most important museums, because you need time for all of that. Visiting world capitals lasts two-three days. The only place to linger is Brussels, but there I spend time from nine to six in the afternoon in the meetings hall.

### **What is Tanja Miščević like in her private life?**

Always the same. It's just...I might be a little more cheerful in my private life than it looks in public. I try to be relaxed when I am not at work. This is however a different kind of communication. But I do not have a private and a public face. It's the same thing. I think people fully recognize the sincerity and you cannot hide it either in your private or your public life. I'm always terribly surprised when people comment on how it is that I'm always smiling. I am an optimist by nature, and I think it's nicer when you approach people with a smile than with a frown on your face.

### **Expectations in this year, both in your professional and your private life?**

Privately I wish that everything in the family goes well and that everybody is healthy. It is for me at this stage completely enough. And as work is concerned, I sincerely hope this year will be the year of great breakthrough in the negotiation process. We have a clear idea and plan about the number of Chapters that we would like to open this year, and it is quite an ambitious plan, but not unrealistic. There remains, of course, a political assessment by Member States. It will be very, very important that we make progress in the fields of rule of law, judicial reform, the fight against corruption, organized crime, the protection of fundamental rights as well as issues of police reform. Not only in terms of our negotiations, but essentially, because without it we will not get a chance to finish all the further work that needs to be done. So we have the ambitious, but realistic, achievable agenda for the coming year which is of course very much conditioned primarily by economic development and stabilization of the economic situation in our country, which is one of the most important issues currently. ■



NENAD MATIĆ, Direktor DIF-a/  
Managing Director DIF-a



# Skok u zdraviji i aktiviji život!

## ŠTA JE TO ŠTO NAS TERA DA DOLAZIMO NA VEŽBANJE?

Da li je u pitanju samo motivisanost, disciplina i posvećenost nečemu ili je u pitanju i potreba da se različitim vežbama danas obezbedi bolji i kvalitetniji život u poznom dobu.

Zbog brige o korisnicima različitih generacija, Gradski centar za fizičku kulturu nudi brojne programe koji imaju za cilj da pored održavanja dobre fizičke kondicije poboljšaju i opšte zdravlje. Zbog toga su u kreiranju programa i pružanju usluga iz oblasti sporta i rekreacije uključeni kako profesori fizičke kulture tako i viši fizioterapeuti.

Širenje svesti o važnosti bavljenja fizičkom kulturom je prioritet ove Ustanove. Hodanje je na vrhu lestvice poželjnih aktivnosti za starija lica po rečima profesora ali i vežbe u vodi kao prirodno pozitivnoj sredini. Brojne programske aktivnosti se realizuju u sali GCFK-a a podeljeni su po grupama za starija lica, za studente, za odrasle i naravno za najmlađe vežbače. Tu su, pored tradicional-

nog trim kabinetra, programa vežbi za starija lica, korektivnih vežbi za odrasle, programi u kardio teretani i brojni fitnes programi koji svojom dinamikom i raznovrsnošću privlače mnoge mlade vežbače kao i one koji žele da budu u odličnoj kondiciji.

Voda pruža velike mogućnosti svima i to ne samo kroz slobodno plivanje i sauniranje, već i kroz hidro kinez terapiju za odrasle i atraktivni akvabik po čemu je Gradski centar za fizičku kulturu popularno „Stari Dif“ uveliko poznat.

Svakako ne treba zaboraviti na mališane jer im fizička aktivnost u najmlađem dobu opredeljuje budućnost. Zato su na raspolaganju od programa u sali ritmička gimnastika, dafi sportić i škola košarke kao i brojni programi obuke plivanja na bazenu podeljeni po uzrastu i znanju.

Gradski centar za fizičku kulturu, poznat je po brojnim programima i paketima za porodice te ne treba da iznenađuje maksima da je „**„STARI DIF PRIJATELj SVIH PORODICA.“**“



# A leap into a healthier and more active life!

## WHAT IS IT THAT MAKES US EXERCISE?

Is it only motivation, discipline or dedication to something, or it is about the need to use various exercises today to ensure a better quality life in later age.

Taking care of people of various ages, The City Center for Physical Culture offers many programs that, in addition to maintaining good physical conditions, are aimed to improve overall health conditions. For this reason, the creation of programs and providing services in sports and recreation activities involve teachers of physical education, as well as senior physiotherapists.

Raising awareness on the importance of physical culture is a priority of this institution. Walking is at top of the list of desirable activities for seniors, according to the professors, but this also includes exercises in water, as a naturally positive environment. There are many programmed activities carried out in the center, and they are divided into groups, for elderly, students, adults and our youngest trainees, of course. Beside the traditional trim cab-

inet, work-out program for the elderly, corrective exercises for adults, cardio programs in the gym and many other dynamic and diverse fitness programs which attract many young trainees, as well as others who want to keep their shape up.

Water gives a number of possibilities to everyone, not only with free swimming and the use of the sauna, but with hydro and kinetic therapy for adults and attractive aquafitness, which is what the City Center for Physical Culture, or "Old DIF" is widely known for.

We certainly should not forget our youngest ones, as the physical activity in the early ages determines their future. So we offer them in-door programs, such as rhythmic gymnastics, "Difi" sport activities and basketball school, as well as many other swimming programs, divided by age and skills.

The City Center for Physical Culture is known for the number of its programs and family deals, so no one should be surprised by the maxim "OLD DIF IS THE FRIEND OF ALL FAMILIES!"

MONSINJOR ORLANDO ANTONINI /  
MSGNR ORLANDO ANTONINI

# Msgr. Orlando ANTONINI





HARMONIJA ISTINSKE DUHOVNOSTI

THE HARMONY OF TRUE SPIRITUALITY



**Č**ast nam je što imamo priliku da razgovaramo sa njegovom ekselencijom, monsinjorom Antoninijem, ambasadorom Vatikana u Beogradu, ne samo zbog dužnosti koju on obavlja već i zato što je reč o izuzetnom eruditu, čoveku koji gaje mnog umetničke sklonosti i odijež životnim poletom.

**Mnogo je predrasuda o ljudima koji su odabrali duhovnost i posvetili život Bogu, a posebno je uvrežen kliše o nadbiskupu, čoveku koji sedi u zatvorenoj mračnoj sobi punoj tajanstvenih knjiga koje kriju suštinske Svetе tajne. S druge strane, vi ste videli mnogo toga i mnogo ste putovali – kako biste predstavili sebe našim čitaocima pošto odajete utisak modernog, renesansnog čoveka?**

Nisam baš siguran da sam „moderan, renesansni čovek”, niti da su nadbiskupi božji ljudi „zatvoreni u mračnoj sobi punoj tajanstvenih knjiga, koje kriju suštinske Svetе tajne”. Jednostavno, ja sam čovek kojeg je, odmalena, privukao Isus Hrist i njegove duhovne vrednosti, i podstaknut Njime i Njegovom ljubavlju prema čovečanstvu, želeo sam Njemu da posvetim život, ne kroz svoju porodicu i poziv, već kroz potragu za dobrim u drugima, kroz sveštenički celibat. Kasnije, sasvim neočekivano, moj biskup, koji je i sam služio kao apostolski nuncij, poslao me je u Rim, u diplomatsku službu pri Svetoj stolici, kojoj sam pristupio 1980. godine. Prepostavljam da me nije izabrao zbog mog poznавања arhitek-

**I**t is an honor to be in the position to talk with Your Excellency, not only referring to the title of the position of Ambassador here in Belgrade, but also with a man of obvious erudition, many artistic inclinations and zest for life.

**There are many prejudices about men dedicating their lives to spiritualism and God, especially the famous cliché of an Archbishop, closed in a somber space full of mysterious books hiding some Fundamental Secrets. On the other hand, you really saw a lot of this World, travelled a lot – how would you describe yourself to our readers, as you really seem to be a kind of a modern Renaissance-like man?**

I do not know if really I am ‘a modern Renaissance-like man’, nor that the Archbishops are churchmen ‘closed in a somber space full of mysterious books hiding some Fundamental Secrets’. Simply, I am a man who since at young age was attracted by Jesus-Christ and his spiritual values, and, moved by him and his love for mankind, I wanted to dedicate my life to Him not through my own family and profession, but rather through the search of the good of others, in an unmarried priesthood. Later unexpectedly, my Bishop who had been himself an apostolic nuncio, sent me to Rome at the disposal of the diplomatic service of the Holy See in which I entered in 1980. To choose me, I suppose he certainly did not do

ture i muzičkog obrazovanja (na Konzervatorijumu sam studirao orgulje). Verovatno mislite da je kod mene primetio izvesne intelektualne sklonosti, ili veština da uspostavim dobre odnose sa raznim ljudima i saosećam s njima, kako sa onima iz visokih slojeva, tako i s onima iz nižih, sa onima na vlasti i sa stručnjacima, što olakšava rešavanje problema na licu mesta. U svakom slučaju, do tada nisam ni bio svestan toga...

**Čovek otvorenog duha, znatiteljan um, prvo je što mi je prošlo kroz glavu u vezi s Vašom ekselencijom dok sam istraživala izvore pripremajući se ovaj za intervju. Zar to nije sjajna osnova za raznovrstan unutrašnji razvoj i put ka potpunom samoostvarenju? Da li se to uklapa u donekle stroga pravila religije?**

Kao i mnogi, i Vi ste ubeđeni da naša „stroga religijska pravila“ ne idu zajedno sa otvorenim duhom, radoznalim umom, unutrašnjim razvojem i samoostvarenjem... Meni iskustvo govori drugačije: zapravo, postoje tačno određene duhovne vrednosti, koje, kada se ispravno shvate i primene, dozvoljavaju našem duhu da bude otvoren, umu da bude radoznao i u stalnoj potrazi za novim saznanjima, a našem biću da raste i dosegne osećaj samoostvarenosti. Uzmite u obzir da su, kroz istoriju, mnogi veliki i izuzetni naučnici, umetnici i profesionalci iz polja kulture – bili ljudi iz crkve. Naša disciplina možda izgleda strogo, posebno mlađim naraštajima, ali ona je neophodna da bi se ostvarili dobri rezultati; bez discipline samo traćite vreme. Jer kada su moralni zakoni u pitanju, sposobnost da ih se pridržavamo ne zavisi od nas, već od Božje moći, ako ste mu bliski: „Jer je Bog što čini u vama da hoćete i učinite kao što Mu je ugodno“, napisao je Sveti Pavle, a to je suština onoga što je Sveti Jovan rekao: „Jer je ovo ljubav Božija da zapovesti Njegove držimo; i zapovesti Njegove nisu teške“, što potvrđuju i Isusove reči: „Jer jaram je moj blag, i breme je moje lako“. I nakon svega, iako mnogi imaju urođenu sposobnost da prevaziđu najveće izazove kako bi vodili život dostojan čoveka, velikodušni su, širokoumni i skromni, te su spremni na davanje i pružanje bezuslovne pomoći drugima bez taštine, drugi ljudi time nisu obdareni, i za njih vam treba izuzetna snaga, koju vam samo Bog može podariti.

**Vaša ekselencijo, gde se bili u vreme zemljotresa u Akvili, Vašem rodnom gradu, 2009? Bila je to katastrofa u kojoj su mnogi stradali, tolika tragedija da se čovek zapita – kako je Bog dozvolio da se tako nešto desi...**

Tako strašne trenutke nikada nisam iskusio. Bio sam u Paragvaju i isprva sam se premisljao da li da odem tamo, iz straha da će svojoj porodici više biti na teretu nego od koristi tokom tih sedam dugih meseci koliko su, kao i svi koje je zadesila nesreća, živeli u kampovima. Naša kuća nije srušena, ali je bila veoma oštećena, okružena potpuno uništenim starim građevinama, sravnjenim sa zemljom. Na kraju sam odlučio da odem – stigao sam tamo četiri dana nakon zemljotresa – i to je bila ispravna odluka: samo moje prisustvo, kao i to što sam prevalio toliki put za kratko vreme, donelo je mojim sugrađanima olakšanje i zacelilo im rane, što sam primetio dok sam posećivao kampove i sretao se sa predstavnicima i građanskih i religijskih vlasti, kako onih lokalnih, tako i onih državnih. Sada sam, zahvaljujući amaterskom poznавању arhitekture koje sam pokazao kroz svoje publikacije, čak uključen i u savetovanje u vezi sa rekonstrukcijom/obnovom grada i spomenika: ta nesreća bi mogla da se pretvori u zlatnu priliku da ispravimo urbanističke greške iz prošlosti i od Akvile napravimo lepši, uređeniji grad, bolji za život, da unapredimo turizam, stvorimo radna mesta

that for my knowledge in architecture and my musical preparation (I was organist by Conservatory). Perhaps you think that he noticed in me particular intellectual interests, or facility to establish good relationships and empathy with all kinds of people, both high and low, public authorities and professionals, which objectively facilitate a smoother solution of the problems in place. In any case, until then I was not aware of that...

**As an open spirit, a curious mind is the first epithet that crossed my mind doing a bit of a research for this interview that could describe your Excellence. Is it not that a great base for any kind of internal growth and a path for mature sense of self-realization, and does it agree with somewhat rigid religious rules, as we perceive them?**

So like many you are also convinced that our ‘rigid religious rules’ don’t agree with an open spirit, a curious mind, internal growth and self-realization... My experience says the contrary: in fact, there are precisely the spiritual values, rightly understood and lived, which allow our spirit to be open, our mind to be curious and always in search, and our life to grow and reach its self-realization. Please note that in the history among the greatest outstanding scientists, culture professionals and artists, many were churchmen. Our discipline can seem rigid, especially to the youth, but is necessary to have good results in life; without discipline you waste your time. For what the morals concern, in any case, the capacity of its observance depends not on ours, but in God’s power, if you are close to him: it is God in fact – writes St. Paul – “who raises in you to will and to act”, and it is in that sense that St. John can say: “The commandments are not burdensome”, and Jesus himself: “My joke is easy and my burden is light”. After all, and although many human beings have some natural virtues, to overcome the greatest challenges in humanistic approach to life and to have a generous heart, an open mind, modesty and readiness to give and help the other without vanity and expectance of reciprocity, with other human beings not naturally virtuous you need a superior capacity, which only God can provide you.

**Where was your Excellence during the earthquake in L’Aquila in 2009, your hometown? It was a disastrous loss of lives; a real tragedy... one always asks himself - how God can even allow such catastrophes...**

I didn’t experienced the terrible moment of the *big one*. I was in Paraguay, doubting in a first moment if I had to go or not, for fear to be, to my family, of more burden than help – for seven long months, like all our affected people they were living in the camps of tents. Our house didn’t collapse but it was completely damaged, surrounded by the ruins of totally destroyed ancient buildings. Finally, I decided to go – four days after the earthquake I was there – and it was a good decision: my presence itself, rushed from so far away, gave relief and wound care to my people, visiting camps and meeting also with civil and religious authorities, both local and national. Now, thanks to my architecture amateurism known through my publications, I am even committed in giving cultural proposals about the reconstruction/restoration of the town and monuments: the tragedy can be turned in a golden chance to correct the urban mistakes of the past and make L’Aquila a nicer smart city, for a better quality of life and to promote tourism, create workplaces and so allowing the economic recovery of the area. Understandably, you ask how God can allow such catastrophes?

i ekonomski oporavimo tu oblast. Razumljivo, pitate kako je Bog dozvolio da se takva katastrofa desi. Zapravo, to je najveće iskušenje naše vere: mnogi poriču postojanje Boga upravo zbog velikog zla koje vlada u svetu, naročito zbog patnje nevinih ljudi, što bi bilo neprihvatljivo da Bog postoji. U pravu ste, ali tu je i pitanje slobode: ako bi Bog intervenisao kako bi se izbeglo зло, čovek ne bi bio slobodan, a ako nije slobodan, onda on više ne bi bio „životinja koja misli”, ne bi imao mogućnost izbora, a pre svega ne bi umeo da voli, jer da bi voleo, čovek mora biti potpuno slobodan. „Pred patnjom i žalošću”, rekao je papa Benedikt XVI kada je posetio Akvilu posle zemljotresa, „istinska mudrost ogleda se u sposobnosti da istoriju čovečanstva sagledate očima Boga, koji je uvek i jedino želeo dobro svojoj deci, iako ponkad, po njegovom nedokućivom planu, ona moraju da prođu kroz iskušenja kako bi dostigla veće dobro. Znam, ovakvo objašnjenje neće ubediti mnoge skeptike, ali bez Boga rešenje zagonetke neće biti lakše.

**Vaša ekselencijo, nakon Bangladeša, Madagaskara, Sirije, Čilea, Holandije i Francuske, gde ste služili kao savetnik, i nakon Zambije i Paragvaja, gde ste obavljali dužnost apostolskog nuncija, evo Vas i u Srbiji. Iako je posredi toliko različitih kultura, sigurna sam da možete odmeriti argumente za moderan život i protiv njega u svim ovim zemljama, koje polako preplavljuje materializam nauštrb duhovnosti... Gde ste se osećali istinski kao „kod kuće”?**

– Molio bih Vas da tom spisku do date i period proveden u Vatikanu od 1995. do 1999. godine, tokom kojeg sam imao priliku da doprinesem pripremi istorijske pose te pape Jovana Pavla II Kubi, gde sam takođe bio i deo njegove pratrne. Što se tiče ostalih mesta, ja pratim svoju zvezdu vodilju, Psalm 15: „Na divnu zemlju padoše mi konopi, vrlo mi je mila moja baština”, svaku dužnost uvek primam kao da je najbolja, iako objektivno možda i nije najbolja (to je kao i sa roditeljima: svakom je sopstveno dete najbolje na svetu čak i kada nije tako). Upravo zato se svuda osećam kao kod kuće: u Aziji, Africi, Latinskoj Americi, Evropi. Danas, verujem da je moja najbolja baština Srbija. Na svakom kontinentu i u svakoj zemlji stekao sam razna i bogata iskustva, i na tome sam beskrajno zahvalan Bogu. Što se tiče materijalizma i duhovnosti o kojima govorite, danas bi moj zaključak bio da je istorija svuda u procesu stalne promene, rotacije, nekada i preklapanja između duhovnosti i materijalizma, sa promenjivom prevlasti jednog nad drugim, čak i unutar jedne civilizacije. Mogli bismo reći da je to ciklična, uzajamna razmena između Platonovog idealizma i Aristotelovog realizma... sa svim

Actually this is the biggest challenge for our faith: many deny the existence of God precisely for the presence of evil in the world, especially the sufferings of the innocents, which seems unacceptable if God exists. Yes, but there is also the problem of freedom: if God intervenes to avoid evil, man would be not free, and if he is not free he would not be a ‘rational animal’, he would not make choices, in particular he would not love, for love requires necessarily total freedom. “In the presence of suffering and bereavement

– said pope Benedict XVI visiting L’Aquila after the earthquake – true wisdom is to read human history through the eyes of God, who always and only wanting the good of his children, for inscrutable plan of his love sometimes allows them to be tried through suffering to lead them to a greater good”. I know, this explanation doesn’t convince so much doubters, but without God the solution of the enigma would not be easier.

**Your Excellency, after Bangladesh, Madagascar, Syria, Chile, Holland and France as counselor, and Zambia and Paraguay as apostolic nuncio, you are here in Serbia. So many different cultures, but I’m sure you can emphasize pros and cons of contemporary lives in all of these countries, slowly consumed by the civilization of materialism, more than spiritualism... where have you felt at home the most?**

Add please, to the list, the period spent in the Vatican in 1995-1999, during which I had the chance to contribute in prepa-

ring the historical visit of pope John Paul II to Cuba, being also included in his entourage. For the rest, as my guiding star was always the words of psalm 15 – *“For me the fate felt in pleasant places, my legacy is the best”* – I always received each post as it was the best for me, although it objectively was not the best (like for the parents: for them their children are the best in the world, even if they are not). For that I felt myself at home everywhere, Asia, Africa, Latin America, Europe. Today, I believe that my best legacy is Serbia. In each continent and country I had very diverse and rich experiences, for which I will never be grateful enough to God. As for materialism and spiritualism you are talking about, today my conclusion would be that the history everywhere is a continuous alternation, rotation and sometimes overlapping, between spiritualism and materialism, with exchanging predominance of one over another, even within the same civilization. You could say that it is a cyclic, mutual alternation between the idealism of Plato and the realism of Aristotle, with their respective effects, negative or positive according the points of view, which influence and



njenim posledicama, dobrom ili lošim, zavisno od ugla iz kojeg se gleda, koje utiču na način razmišljanja i na život ljudi. Znate, ljudi su svuda isti i ponašaju se u skladu sa geografskim, prirodnim, istorijskim, kulturnim i religijskim odlikama svog podneblja, noсеći uz sve to i breme prošlosti. Ono što tek treba da shvatim jeste zašto u nekim delovima sveta različite etničke grupe mogu da žive zajedno, skoro neosetno, a u drugim delovima ne mogu...

### **Možete li da nam ispričate neku zanimljivost iz tih egzotičnih zemalja? Nešto što ste doživeli među meštanima?**

Teško je ukratko ispričati... U Bangladešu, gde hrišćani čine svega 0,03 posto stanovništva, prvi put sam živeo u velikoj muslimanskoj zemlji, kao i u susednoj Indiji i Nepalu, koje doživljavamo kao kolevku hinduističkog i budističkog učenja. U Siriji, još jednoj muslimanskoj zemlji, uživao sam na jednom od najvećih raskršća kulturnih, religijskih i umetničkih uticaja na svetu, sa njihovim mnoštvom religija (među muslimanima, sunitima, šiitima, družima i alavitima, među hrišćanima, drevnim antiohijskim pravoslavcima i katoličkim Grćima, pravoslavnim katoličkim Sirjećima, pravoslavnim i katoličkim Jermenima, Asircima i Haldejcima, maronitima, pripadnicima Rimokatoličke crkve, protestantima...) i mnoštvom civilizacija i njihovim sjajnim arhitektonskim dostignućima te ostacima vajarske umetnosti (jermenske, rimske, hrišćanske, krstaške, islamske kulture). U Africi, na Madagaskaru i u Zambiji, imao sam prilike da uživam u dinamičnosti novog hrišćanstva, obojenom neverovatnom posvećenošću laika i njihovim spontanim polifonijskim pesmama i liturgijskim plesovima. U Latinskoj Americi, koja je pravi primer katoličkog kontinenta, imao sam prilike da osetim društvene probleme iz kojih se izredila takozvana teologija oslobađanja, u Čileu sam osetio prelazak sa Pinočeve diktature na demokratiju, u Paragvaju gledao kako je biskup koji je napustio sveštenički poziv, ušao u politiku i izabran za predsednika republike. U Holandiji i Francuskoj video sam u kakvim uslovima žive hrišćani u takozvanom posthrišćanskom društvu, i tako dalje. Sva ta iskustva su me podstakla da preispitam neka svoja uverenja, da primetim neprekidne ciklične promene: ako u ovom veku civilizacija ili Crkva doživljavaju opadanje, u sledećem će napredovati i obrnuto. Danas, naprotiv, sa globalizacijom koja objedinjuje svet i istoriju, to „kružno“ kretanje može da se menja, da gura događaje u „pravolinijsku“ istoriju, sve do njihovog kraja.

### **Kako su sva ova putovanja uticala na Vaše umetničke poduhvate i istraživanja na polju religijske arhitekture, s obzirom na to da ste veoma cenjeni u toj oblasti?**

Arhitektura i istorija su upravo dve oblasti koje prve istražujem čim stupim na dužnost u nekoj zemlji, da bih upoznao narod. Arhitektura, preciznije, arhitektura sakralnih građevina nije ništa drugo do estetski izraz istorijskog, kulturnog, religijskog, društvenopolitičkog i ekonomskog života tog naroda, i zato te građevine

affect the vision and the way of life of peoples. You know: men are the same everywhere, and behave differently according to the geographical, physical, historical, cultural and religious conditionings they live, including the weight of their past. What I have still to understand is why in some parts of the world different ethnic groups can live together almost seamlessly, and in other parts, they cannot...

### **BOŽANSTVO KOJEM TEŽIMO**

IAKO MNOGA LJUDSKA BIĆA IMAJU PRIRODNO UROĐENE VRLINE, DA PREVAZIĐU NAJVEĆE IZAZOVE U HUMANISTIČKOM PRISTUPU ŽIVOTU, DA IMAJU VELIKO SRCE, ŠIROKOUMNOST, SKROMNOST I SPREMNOST NA DAVANJE I BEZUSLOVNU POMOĆ DRUGIMA BEZ OSEĆAJA TAŠTINE, DOK SA DRUGIM LJUDIMA, KOJI NISU PRIRODNO NADARENI, TREBA VAM IZUZETNA SNAGA, KOJU VAM SAMO BOG MOŽE PODARITI.

### **THE DIVINE WE ARE STRIVING FOR**

ALTHOUGH MANY HUMAN BEINGS HAVE SOME NATURAL VIRTUES, TO OVERCOME THE GREATEST CHALLENGES IN HUMANISTIC APPROACH TO LIFE AND TO HAVE A GENEROUS HEART, AN OPEN MIND, MODESTY AND READINESS TO GIVE AND HELP THE OTHER WITHOUT VANITY AND EXPECTANCE OF RECIPROCITY, WITH OTHER HUMAN BEINGS NOT NATURALLY VIRTUOUS YOU NEED A SUPERIOR CAPACITY, WHICH ONLY GOD CAN PROVIDE YOU.

### **Could you tell us some anecdotes during your stay in some of those exotic countries? Contacts with local people..?**

It is difficult to say that briefly... In Bangladesh, where Christianity is only 0,03 of the population, I experienced for first time the life in a large Muslim country and, in the neighboring India and Nepal, what we see as the disincarnate Hindu and Buddhist philosophies. In Syria, another Muslim country, I enjoyed living in one of the greatest cultural, religious and artistic crossroads of the world, with its plurality of religions (among Muslims, Sunni, Shiite, Druze and Alawiti, among Christians, the ancient Antiochene Christianities of Orthodox and Catholic Greek, Orthodox and Catholic Syriac, Orthodox and Catholic Armenian, Assyrians and Chaldeans, Maronite, Latin, Protestants...) and plurality of the civilizations with the respective splendid architectural and sculptural remains (Aramean, Roman, Christian, Crusade, Islamic). In Africa, Madagascar and Zambia, I could enjoy the dynamism of the new Christianities, with the extraordinary commitment of lay people and their spontaneous polyphonic songs and liturgical dances. In Latin America, the Catholic continent par excellence, I could touch the social problems which gave birth to the so-called theology of liberation, in Chile the transition between Pinochet dictatorship and the democracy, in Paraguay the case of a bishop who left the sacred ministry and entered into the

politics being elected as president of the republic. In Holland and France I saw the conditions in which Christianity lives in a so-called post-Christian society, and so on. All these experiences led me to relativize several of my convictions, noting that if this century a civilization or a Church decreases in a continent, they grows in another; next century it will be vice-versa, in a continuous cyclical movement. Today on the contrary, with the globalization which is unifying the world and the history, this ‘circular’ movement can change, pushing the things towards a ‘linear’ history, till its end.

### **How all these travels influenced your artistic endeavors and research on religious architecture, as you are much respected in this domain?**

Architecture and history are precisely the two matters I first explore each time I am posted in a country, to know the nature of its people. Architecture, the sacred architecture in particular, is not other than the esthetic expression of the historical, cultural, religious, socio-political and economic life of that nation,

postaju neizbežan organski element njegovog identiteta. Uzmite za primer klasičnu gotiku, Katedralu Bove, recimo. Sa svim tim silovito naglašenim vertikalama ne izgleda kao izraz uspinjanja ka Bogu, već više kao bekstvo sa zemlje, zbog čega se stiče utisak negativnog, pesimističkog stava prema ovostranom svetu i životu, kao i prema ljudskoj prirodi. Zar u toj vrsti duhovnosti u kojoj materija, kako bi se ovaplotila, mora da se oduhovi, ne primećujete izrazitu platonističku filozofiju koja je preovlađivala u Evropi u prvom milenijumu? Za razliku od toga, u Holandiji, gde vertikalizam crkava nije toliko izražen, gde su one više usidrene u zemlji slično onima u južnoj Francuskoj i Italiji, možete naići na različite tipove gotike: „mediteranska“ gotika, u kojoj možete opaziti Aristotelovo „realistično“ viđenje života, u kojem se teži Bogu, ali se ne beži sa zemlje i ne zanemaruju se nedaće sa ovog sveta, što je koncepcija života, na filozofskom planu, uskladenija sa Aristotelovim realističnim viđenjem i, u teološkoj ravni, sa jevanđeljskim pojmom Ovapločenja, kada je Bog postao čovek. Slučajno, Aristotel i njegov filozofski realizam ponovo su otkriveni i raširili se u Evropi tokom XII i XIII veka, da bi pun zamah dostigli u gotičkom vertikalizmu! I nije se slučajno baš tada u Asiziju pojavio Sveti Franjo s ljubavlju prema svim Božjim stvorenjima, majci Zemlji i bratu Suncu, sestri Mesec, bratu Vatri i sestri Vodi. Kasnije je realizam doveden do krajnosti te je tako nastao racionalizam, scientizam, prosvetiteljstvo i pozitivizam, marksizam i liberalni materijalizam, i na kraju savremeni sekularizam, koji je, očigledno, mnogo manje pogodan za stvaranje arhitektonskih i umetničkih dela od epoha u prošlosti.

**Da li je Vaša ekselencija imala priliku da poseti ili istraži naše manastire i crkve? Ako jeste, koja građevina je ostavila najsnazniji utisak na Vas, s obzirom na Vaš osećaj za estetiku i genijalnost za arhitekturu?**

Naravno, počeće od Manasije i Ravanice. Prvo što sam primetio jeste nedvosmislen stil vizantijske tradicije u arhitekturi, vajarstvu i slikarstvu, koji je ostao skoro sasvim isti, mogli bismo reći, od VI veka sve do danas. Suprotno tome, na Zapadu, stilovi su se menjali gotovo iz veka u vek: paleohrišćanski i vizantijski, lombardski, romanski, gotski sa svojim varijantama, talijanska renesansa, barok, neoklasicistički i na kraju stil modernog racionalizma. Nažalost, nasuprot onome što se dešavalo na Istoku, gde su ti stilovi očuvani, na Zapadu, od racionalizma pa nadalje, izgubljena je teološka kultura ikonografije s jedne strane i simboličko znanje u izgradnji svetih građevina s druge. Tek u drugoj polovini prošlog veka, polako je započeo taj proces ponovnog otkrivanja i, naravno ja se, u svojim publikacijama, svojski zalažem za to. Crkvena arhitektura se ne sme mešati ni sa jednom drugom, kao što se dešava u savremenom svetu, gde je sakralno nevažno, niti se sme upotrebljavati u druge svrhe. Harmonija plana i strukture izračunata je na osnovu poznatog „zlatnog geometrijskog preseka“, kriterijuma stvaranja i raspodele prostora, njenih skulptura i ikonografije, inventara i dekoracije, pa čak i njenih specifičnih mera i brojeva, skrivenih značenja i simbola religijskog i ezoteričnog znanja, koje pruža dublje značenje izgradnje. Centralni ili podužni plan crkve nisu rezultat slučajnosti: nijedan od ta dva plana nije samo puko prilagođavanje veličini zajednice koju mora da primi već je i simbolički „snabdeven“ određenim biblijsko-teološkim podacima. Podužni plan predstavlja stazu, koja, kada se ide prema oltaru, oličava „stazu spasenja“, čovekovo traganje za Bogom. Centralni plan treba da pokaže dolazak Boga među ljude – Ovapločenje – jer, čovek

becoming unavoidable organic element of its own identity. Take the example of the official Gothic, the Cathedral of Beauvais, for instance. With its violent verticality, it seems not so much an ascension to God but rather an escape from the earth, giving, then, the impression of a negative pessimist judgment on this world and life and on the human nature. Don't you see that in this kind of spiritualism in which the matter in order to find itself must be reabsorbed in the spirit, an extreme Platonic philosophy which prevailed in Europe in the first Millennium? In Holland, instead, with its churches also vertical but not so much, and more anchored to the ground similar to those in South France and in Italy, you can find a different Gothic: the 'Mediterranean' Gothic, in which you can see the Aristotelian 'realistic' vision of life, which tends to God but without escaping earth and without neglecting the problems of this world, that is a conception of life more in keeping, at a philosophical level, with the realist Aristotelian view, and, on a theological level, with the evangelical category of the Incarnation, of God become man. Incidentally, Aristotle and his philosophic realism were rediscovered and spread in Europe during the XII-XIII century, at the full triumph of the Gothic extreme verticalism! And not by chance in that time appeared in Assisi St. Francis, with his love for creatures, *mother earth* and *brother sun, sister moon, brother fire* and *sister water*. Later, this realism was brought to the extreme generating Rationalism, Scientism, Enlightenment and Positivism, Marxist and Liberal Materialism, and finally the Secularism of today, which are, evidently, less more apt in creating an architecture and art comparable to those of the past.

**Did your Excellency have the opportunity to visit or do some research on our monasteries and churches? If the answer is – yes, which ones had the biggest impact on your sense of aesthetics and architectural ingenuity?**

Of course, beginning by Manasija and Ravanica. The first observation that impacted me was that the univocity style of the Byzantine tradition of architecture, sculpture and painting, remained almost the same, we can say, from 6<sup>th</sup> century till today. In the West, instead, the styles were changing almost every century: the paleo-Christian and byzantine, Lombard, Romanesque, Gothic and its variations, the Italian Renaissance, Baroque, Neo-classic and, finally, the modern rationalist architecture. Unfortunately, contrary to the East where they were always preserved, in the West from the Rationalist era on, they lost the theological culture of iconography on one hand and, on the other, the symbolic knowledge in building the sacred architectures. Only in the second half of the last century they are slowly rediscovering it, and of course on the matter in my publications I am in the front line. A church must not be confused, as often in our contemporary world where the sacred is marginal, with any other architectures or used for other purposes. The harmony of its plan and structures calculated on the basis of the famous 'golden geometric proportion', the criterion of formation and distribution of its spaces, its sculptures and iconography, furniture and decoration, even its specific numbers and measures, hidden meanings and symbols of religious and esoteric knowledge that offer the deep meaning of the construction. Central or longitudinal plan of the churches are not an hazard: both schemes are not functional merely to the size of the community which must contain, but also symbolically 'informed' by specific biblical-theological data. The longitudinal expresses a path which, forcing to go to the altar, is the "path of salvation", a research of God under-



ne može sam da dosegne Boga, te će Bog doći k njemu „i razapeće šatore dvora svojega među nama”, tako što će, i sam postavši čovek, od nas, ljudi, napraviti bogove. Simboličnom kružnom ili četvrtastom središtu sakralne građevine, gde posredstvom Svetе liturgije Bog silazi među nas kroz Svetе tajne, prethodi uzdužni brod, kojim vernici hode kako bi susreli Hrista kroz pričest. Dalje, u manastirima Manasija i Ravanica sa zanimanjem sam primetio da se njihov podužni deo, endonarteks, jasno razlikuje od centralnog liturgijskog prostora crkve. Taj centralni prostor toliko je visoko postavljen da neverovatno podseća na gotički vertikalizam. Smatram to dobrom sintezom horizontalne dimenzije (ljudske) i one vertikalne (božanske), potragom čoveka za Bogom, njegovom težnjom ka nebesima i silazak Boga u susret čoveku, ovde i sada.

**Evo nas ovde, u Beogradu, u Srbiji, godina je 2014. Nalazimo se na raskršću mnogih kultura, u gradu koji se smatra za srdačnog domaćina. Da li osećate to gostoprimstvo ovde u svakodnevnom životu?**

Da, Srbija se, kao i Sirija, duduše na drugačiji način, nalazi na kulturnom i religijskom raskršću; zbog toga sam se istog trena osetio kao kod kuće i uživao u neverovatnom gostoprimstvu. Ja kažem upravo „neverovatnom”. Procenite sami. Prvih dana po mom dolasku, pre pet godina, tokom prve posete manastirima Manasija i Ravanica, morali smo da stanemo na auto-putu zato što nam je pušila guma na automobilu. Zadržali smo se oko pola sata. Kada smo hteli da platimo, auto-mehaničar je rekao: *Ništa, u redu je*. Izgleda da je neki nepoznati gospodin, videvši moju odoru, platio umesto mene! Neću pominjati naklonost koju uživam možda zbog svog italijanskog porekla. Već vekovima Srbi vole i cene Italijane. Bez obzira na to što su katolici! Jedan iguman kojeg sam posetio na Fruškoj gori pitao me je: – Znate li kako se mi Srbi šalimo na račun vas Italijana? – Kako? – odgovorio sam. A on će, kroz smeh: – Kako je moguće da ti Italijani, tako fini, mogu da budu katolici, pod pamom...? Potom mi je poklonio tri flaše dobre rakije...

**Kakvu muziku slušate (s obzirom na Vaše učešće na festivalu KantAbruco pre nekoliko godina)? Reklo bi se da uživate u ponovnom otkrivanju skladne drevne koralske muzike... Šta trenutno čitate?**

Volim da slušam baroknu muziku, posebno u izvođenju Britanaca jer oni imaju savršenu tehniku Nemca i živahnost Italijana. Možda ćete se iznenaditi ako Vam kažem da, iako sam Italijan, mnogo više volim simfoniju muziku nego operu. Uprkos tome, za proslavu 17 vekova od donošenja Milanskog edikta, naša Vatikanska ambasada i Beogradska nadbiskupija finansirale su kulturne događaje iz programa srpske Vlade. Ja sam se osmeli i sakupio novac i ovde i u inostranstvu da finansiram jednu operu. Reč je o operi *In Hoc Signo*, za koju je libretto napisao Dejan Miladinović a muziku komponovao monsinjor Marko Frizina, kompozitor Svetе stolice. Opera je izvedena u Narodnom pozorištu 8. oktobra 2013, ali ja joj nisam prisustvovao jer sam ležao u bolnici, tokom odmora u Italiji! Takođe volim izvornu muziku i, za muzički repertoar za naš hor *KantAbruco*, iz Akvile, našao sam i prepisao nekoliko narodnih pesama za koje nikada nije napisana muzika, te su zamalo ostale zaboravljene i izgubljene. Što se tiče vokalne muzike, volim višeglasje – upravo zato volim da slušam hor koji izvodi vizantijsku liturgijsku muziku. Na kraju, ja sam orguljaš, no, nažalost, kao diplomata ne mogu mnogo vremena da posvetim sviranju orgulja – jer to zahteva po nekoliko sati dnevno, što je nemoguće... – ali ranije sam imao prilike da održim pravi koncert za orgulje. Kada

taken by man. The central intends to manifest the coming of God in our midst – the Incarnation – because, not being man able to reach God with his own strength, God himself comes to meet him and ‘plants his tent among us’, by becoming man to make us, from men, gods. The symbolic round or square centre of the sacred construction, where the Eucharistic liturgy makes God present among us in the holy Mysteries, is preceded by a longitudinal nave, which the faithful along going to meet Christ in the consecrated Species. Furthermore, in the Manasija and Ravanica churches I observed with interest that their longitudinal part, the endo-narthex, is clearly distinct from the centric liturgical space of the church – in the western churches it was the same until the XVI century, with iconostasis and barrier, to differentiate the clergy from the people – and, in particular, that the central space is so high that it strangely remembers the Gothic verticalism. I found that as a very good synthesis between the horizontal dimension (human) and the vertical (divine), the search for God by man and his aspiration to heaven, and the coming of God to meet him, here and now.

**Here we are. Belgrade, Serbia, crossroads of many cultures, a city considered to be a very openhearted host. Do you feel that hospitality here in your everyday life?**

Yes, Serbia also, like Syria although in another way, is a cultural and religious crossroad; for that I felt myself immediately at home enjoying its unbelievable hospitality. I say properly ‘unbelievable’. Judge it yourself. The first days of my arrival five years ago, going to visit for first time the monasteries of Manasija and Ravanica, we had to stop on the freeway because of broken wheel of our car. We stopped for more or less half an hour. Well. At the moment of payment, the technician said: *Nothing, it's all right*. Evidently, some unknown mister looking to my clergy dress, had paid for me! Without mentioning the sympathy I am enjoying perhaps because of my Italian origin. The Italians are loved and esteemed by Serbs since centuries. Even if they are Catholic! A Hegumen I visited in Fruška Gora asked me: *Do you know the joke we the Orthodox Serbs have about you Italians? What?*, I answered. And he, smiling: *How is possible that these Italians, so nice, can be Catholic, under the pope?*... Later, he gave me a gift of three bottles of a good rakja...

**What music do you listen to (having in mind your engagement in CantAbruzzo festival several years ago)? Seems that you enjoy re-discovering a harmonizing ancient chorales...What book are you reading at the moment?**

The music I like to listen is the Baroque, preferably interpreted by British because they have the perfect technical execution of Germans and the liveliness of the Italians. Maybe you will be surprised if I tell you that, although Italian, I prefer much more the symphonic music than the opera. Notwithstanding, when last year for the 1700<sup>th</sup> Anniversary of the Edict of Milan our Vatican Embassy and the Catholic Archbishopric of Belgrade sponsored a cultural initiative in the program of the Serbian Government, I encouraged and found money here and abroad to finance an opera, the Opera *In Hoc Signo*, whose libretto was written by M<sup>o</sup> Dejan Miladinovic and set in music by M<sup>o</sup> mgrs. Marco Frisina, the Pontifical composer, opera which, performed at the Belgrade Theatre on 8 October 2013, I myself could not enjoy because I had to be hospitalized, during my holidays in Italy! I also like folklore music and, for the musical repertoire of our choir *CantAbruzzo* you mentioned in L'Aquila, I found and transcribed some popular songs that had

je reč o knjigama, danas sam ubeđen da je bolje čitati malo, ali da to što čitamo bude dobro. Pored svetih spisa i komentara, hrišćanskih ili jevrejskih, u poslednje vreme me zanima istočnohrišćanska duhovnost, te čitam i nanovo iščitavam dela dobrih drevnih istočnohrišćanskih autora, kao što je *Dobrotoljubje (Philokalia)*. Kad je reč o književnim delima, volim da čitam i ponovo iščitavam celokupna dela Ive Andrića.

**Hrišćani širom sveta ne bi trebalo da grade dobre odnose na razlikama, već na zajedničkim postulatima – naravno, pritom mislim na odnose Srpske pravoslavne crkve, Katoličke crkve i Svetе stolice. Postoji li način da se naglasi to obilje jednakih vrednosti i religijskih postulata? Da li bi moglo da bude više otvorenog dijaloga koji će nas, na neki način, spojiti?**

Zapravo, a za nas posebno nakon Drugog vatikanskog koncila, na kojem je za Katoličku crkvu odabran put ekumenizma, hrišćani traže svoje jedinstvo u različitosti na osnovu zajedničkih postulata, a takvih je mnogo više od onih koji nas dele. Naravno, Katolička crkva je mnogo sličnija Pravoslavnoj, nego, na primer, Protesantskoj, koja, za razliku od Katoličke i Pravoslavne, ne prihvata Svetе tajne, ne slavi Bogorodicu i Svece, nema svešteničke činove i tako dalje. Čak se usuđujem da kažem kako nas od Pravoslavne, budući da pitanje Filioke („I [od] Sina“) mnogi pravoslavni teolozi mogu da smatraju teologumenom – to je jedna teorija – deli samo jedno pitanje: prihvatanje *primusa* na univerzalnom eklezijastičkom nivou – pape – kao što svi prihvataju *primusa* na eparhijskom, metropolitskom i partijaršijskom nivou. Istoriski gledano, hrišćanski car je vladao kao vrsta „spoljnog biskupa“, kojem su u prvim vekovima priznate neke povlastice nad Crkvom. Upravo ovo ključno pitanje razmatra se na sastancima Zajedničke međunarodne komisije Katoličke i Pravoslavne crkve. Nažalost, tu su i drugi dobro poznati politički i etnički, istorijski konflikti i rane, koji onemogućavaju da se dođe do rešenja. Bog nam pomogao svima da napokon nađemo to rešenje: obe Crkve imaju obavezu zajednički da odgovore na ogromne izazove koje današnji globalizovani svet postavlja pred celokupno hrišćanstvo: savremeni sekularizam s jedne strane i širenje islama s druge. Po mom mišljenju, taj „otvoreniji dijalog koji će nas na neki način povezati“, kako ste sami pomenuli, ne treba da bude mogućnost, već obaveza. ■

(Monsinjor Orlando Antonini je 2015. godine otišao u penziju i ovom prilogom mu srdačno zahvaljujemo na ljubaznosti i predusretljivosti.)

AUTOR / AUTHOR:  
Katarina Nedeljković Stojanović

never been set to music and thus in danger of being forgotten and lost. In matter of vocal music I prefer the polyphonic: that's why I like very much to hear the choirs of byzantine liturgy. Finally, as organist, unfortunately my diplomatic profession doesn't allow me so much to play organ – it would require hours each day, which is impossible to have... – but in the past I had sometimes chance to give organ concerts. For the books, today I am convinced that it is better to read few but good books. Aside from the sacred Scriptures and its commentaries, Christian or Jewish, now I am fond of eastern spirituality, reading and re-reading continuously works of good eastern ancient authors like the Philokalia. As literature, I enjoy reading and re-reading works like the *opera omnia* of Ivo Andrić.



**Christians all over the world shouldn't be building good relations on differences, but on common postulates – of course, I am referring to the relations of Serbian Orthodox Church, Catholic Church and the Holy See. Is there a way to emphasize that abundance of equal values and religious postulates? Could there be more open dialogues to bring us, in a way, together?**

Actually, and for us especially after the II Vatican Council that opted to put the Catholic Church in the path of the ecumenism, Christians are searching for their unity in the diversity on the basis of their common postulates, which are far more than those which divide us. Of course, Catholic Church is far more similar to the Orthodox than, for instance, to the Protestants which, as opposed to Catholics and Orthodox, have no sacraments, no veneration of Mary and Saints, no sacred Orders and so on. Even I dare to say that with the Orthodox, as

the question of Filioque for many of their theologians can be considered a theologumenon, that is a school opinion, what divide us is only one topic: the acceptance of a *Primus* at universal ecclesial level – the Pope – like as all accept a *Primus* at diocesan, metropolitan and patriarchal levels. Historically, the Christian Emperor acted as a kind of ‘external bishop’, to whom in the first centuries naturally were recognized some universal prerogatives over the church. This is precisely the key issue being scrutinized at meetings of the Joint International Commission between Catholic and Orthodox Church. Unfortunately there are the well known political and ethnic historical conflicts and wounds to make almost insuperable the solution. May God help all in finding, finally, that solution: both churches are obliged to answer together to the two enormous challenges that the globalized world of today poses to the entire Christianity: the secularized modernity on one hand, and the new expansion of Islam on the other. So, in my opinion the “more open dialogues to bring us in a way together” you are talking about, should be not an optional, but a must.. ■



# Mario LIGUORI

## ITALIJAN SA SRPSKOM DUŠOM

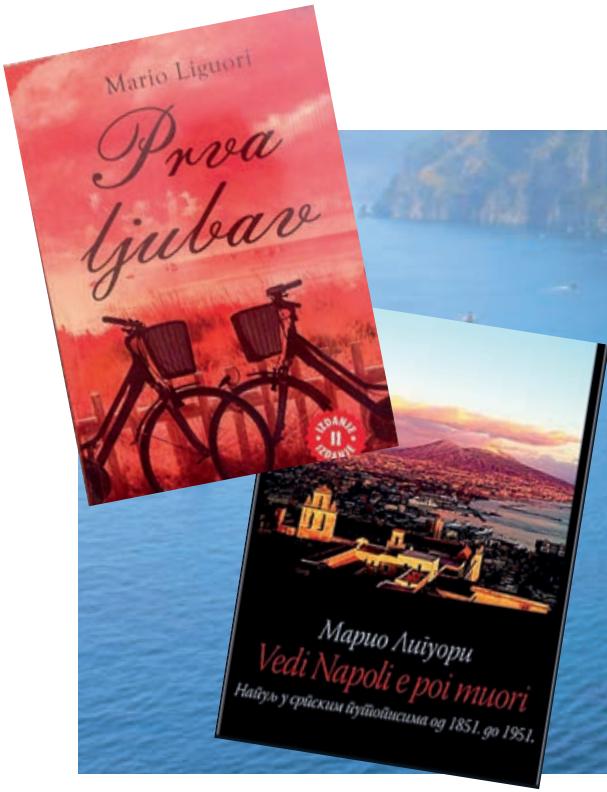
## AN ITALIAN WITH SERBIAN SOUL



**I**talijanski pisac Mario Liguori slovi za jednog od najomiljenijih stranaca koji žive u Srbiji. Kako ga je put naveo u zemlju o kojoj je tako malo znao, još uvek mu se i samom čini nestvarnim. Dok je svetska medija propagovala godinama kreirala ružnu sliku o srpskom narodu zbog ratnih sukoba tokom devedesetih godina, osećao je da u toj zemlji koja je preživljavala najgora moguća razaranja žive ljudi koji su duboko osetili patnju i bol, ljudi za koje je verovao da imaju svoje strahove i osećanja, ljubavi i tuge... lako se ni u njegovom rođnom Napulju nije mnogo lepog znalo o srpskom narodu, to ga nije pokolebalо u želji da kroči na tlo Srbije i lično upozna taj narod o kojem se tako malo lepog moglo čuti. I desila se ljubav na prvi pogled. Obostrana. Svojstvena najlepšim životnim pričama. Pronašao je novi dom, gde se već godinama uspešno profesionalno ostvaruje. Njegove knjige se prodaju u velikim tiražima, čime je potvrdio da je svojim književnim delima uspeo da pronađe put do srca srpskog naroda. Ko zna, možda se baš u tome i krije ta tajna nit koja spaja ovog Italijana sa Srbijom.

**I**talian writer Mario Liguori is deemed as one of the most favorite foreigners living in Serbia. How has the road (way?) brought him to the country he knew so little about, he still feels as unrealistic. For years, propaganda of the world media was creating an ugly picture about Serbian people for war conflicts during the 1990s. During that time, he felt that in this country, which had gone through the worst possible devastations, live the people who, deep down, felt suffering and

pain, the people, as he believed, that had their fears and feelings, of love and sorrow... Even though people of Naples, his hometown, did not know many nice things about Serbian people, that did not stop him in his wish to set foot on Serbian ground and personally meet those people, which only a few nice things could have been heard about. (can we keep it long, somehow... these writers here like to keep it loooong and as complicated as possible that's why my thesis was complimented, and thank you for that. And love at first sight happened. Mutual. Characteristic for the nicest life stories. He found a new home, where he reaches successful professional accomplishments for years now. His books are sold with/in large/high print-runs?, which is a confirmation that he and his literary works have found their way to Serbian people's hearts. Who knows, maybe that is exactly the place where this secret thread, that connect this Italian with Serbia, is hidden.

**Kako ste vi kao Italijan odlučili da se nastanite u Srbiji?**

Život je zaista nepredvidiv. Ne možemo reći da sam imao plan da se nastanim u Srbiji. Ipak, slučajnost me je dovela u ove krajeve i ovde od prvoga dana pokušavam maksimalno da se angažujem kako bih ostvario oipljive rezultate. Obično ne razmišljam kao Italijan, više volim da razmišljam kao čovek. Možda je lakše tako.

**Šta vam se dogodilo te ste toliko zavoleli Srbiju?**

Oduvek sam želeo da putujem. Sama pomisao na inostranstvo izaziva izvesno uzbudjenje u meni. Međutim, svakodnevni život u tudini ume da bude težak, jer položaj stranca nije nimalo prijatan. Bez obzira na to, postoji put do slike i saradnje, kojim stranac mora da putuje ako želi nešto da uradi. Uveren sam da i u Srbiji ima mesta za valjanog čoveka od dela. U mom slučaju stvar je jednostavna, zato što me Srbija zanima i smatram da je moj boravak u njoj posve uzbudljiv.

**U Novom Sadu predajete kao profesor na dva fakulteta. Kako vas je put doveo do tog grada?**

Slučajno sam upoznao rukovodstvo Filozofskog fakulteta u Novom Sadu. Ti dobri ljudi su učestvovali na naučnom skupu u Napolju, a ja sam tada završavao studije. Bili su oduševljeni i pozvali su me da dođem u Novi Sad. Ja sam, kao što vidite, tu ponudu prihvatio, rukovodeći se izrekom: „Ko te neće – pusti ga, ko te hoće – ne reci mu neću”.

**Učenje srpskog jezika strancima uvek teško pada. Vi ste ga lako savladali. U čemu je tajna?**

Tajna leži u skromnosti stranca koji je unapred svestan da će ga strani jezik uvek iznova poražavati. Motivacija je takođe veoma bitna. Dakle, ako ima svesti o nemoći kada je u pitanju strani jezik i velike želje da se napreduje, moguće je postići zadovoljavajuće rezultate.

**Šta vam je posebno olakšalo učenje srpskog jezika?**

Meni je od samog početka sve bilo izuzetno zanimljivo. Pitao sam se kako Srbi žive, kako misle. Jezik je samo sredstvo koje omogućuje razumevanje stvarnosti.

**How come as an Italian you decided to settle in Serbia?**

Life is unpredictable indeed. I can't say I planned to settle in Serbia. Still, it was a pure coincidence that brought me to this region, and from the very first day I have been giving my maximum efforts to reach some tangible results. I usually don't think like an Italian, I prefer thinking like a human. That may be easier.

**What happened in your life that made you love Serbia that much?**

I always wanted to travel. Only the thought of going abroad makes me excited. However, living in a foreign country can be hard, as the position of a foreigner is not a pleasant one. Regardless, there is a way of harmony and cooperation that a foreigner needs to take in order to accomplish something. I am sure that Serbia has space for a man of good deeds. In my case, it is pretty simple, because I am interested in Serbia and I think my stay here is absolutely exciting.

**You work as a professor at two faculties in Novi Sad. What brought you to this city?**

I met the management of Faculty of Philosophy in Novi Sad by chance. Those nice people participated in a scientific meeting in Naples, and I had just finished my studies at that time. They were all thrilled and invited me to come to Novi Sad. As you can see, I accepted the offer, lead by the moto "If they don't want you, let them go; if they do, don't say no"

**Learning the Serbian language is always difficult for foreigners. You seem to have accomplished it easily. What is your secret?**

The secret lies in the modesty of a foreigner who should be aware that another language will defeat him over and over again. Another important element is motivation. So, if you are aware of your powerlessness against a foreign language, and if you have a great desire to progress, it is possible to accomplish satisfactory results.

**What has made your learning the Serbian language easier?**

From the very beginning, I found everything so interesting. I wondered how Serbs live, how they think. Language is just a tool which enables us to understand reality.

**Do sada ste objavili četiri knjige na srpskom jeziku. Polovinom oktobra svetlo dana je ugledala knjiga „Vedi Napoli e poi muori – Napulj u srpskim putopisima od 1851. do 1951.“ Da li ste uspeli kroz ovo delo da približite čitaocima lepotu rodnog Napulja?**

Ovom knjigom htio sam Srbima da otkrijem grad koji je imao pre-sudnu ulogu u istoriji srpske kulture, zato što su se u njemu sreli Ljubomir Nenadović i Petar Petrović Njegoš. Taj susret se nije slučajno dogodio upravo u Napulju, gradu neverovatne privlačnosti i blage klime, jedinom velegradu antike u tom delu Mediterana. Moja nova knjiga u tom smislu jeste pokušaj da se potvrди značaj Napulja u srpskoj kulturi, jer je bitno shvatiti da Napulj nije samo predmet interesovanja nemačkih, engleskih, francuskih i drugih svetskih pisaca, nego i srpskih autora. Napulj je stoga i srpski grad.

**Vaše prethodne knjige „Prva ljubav“ i „Sedam jesenjih priča“ za kratko vreme su osvojile čitalačku publiku u Srbiji. Kako ste pronašli put do čitalaca?**

Uveren sam da pisac uvek nađe čitaoca ako ume da govori čovekovom srcu. Držim da u savremenoj književnosti ima previše politike i istorije, što ne valja zato što ne može svako pisati o politici i istoriji bez adekvatnog znanja. Pisci kao da se stide da govore duši, što je posledica našeg siromašnog duhovnog života. Ja ne gubim iz vida emocije, ne želim da budem didaktičan te samim tim dosadan. Zanima me čovekovo srce i njemu se obraćam.

**U čemu nalazite inspiraciju za svoje književno stvaralaštvo?**

Pisac je osjetljivo biće u stanju da kanališe emocije tako što će ih pretvoriti u priču. Čak i kad je majstor svog zanata sposoban da bude distanciran, pisac osluškuje sebe, silazi u sebe na svojstven, nesvakidašnji način. Životni događaji, stanja duha, traume, saosećanja, dogodovštine i razgovori nesumnjivo su bitni za nastanak jedne priče, premda svaki pisac stvara na svoj način. Ja smatram da je mnogo toga što vidim i čujem nepodnošljivo. Pisanje mi pomaze da se borim protiv apsurdnosti i nepodnošljivosti života, iako uvek osećam da sam poražen u toj donkihotovskoj borbi sa vetrenjačama bez izgleda za uspeh.

**Koliko često odlazite u rodni kraj?**

Odlazim često i smatram da je to odlično. Treba se kretati, jer čovek ne može predavati na univerzitetu, a pritom izbegavati putovanja. Univerzitet je mesto kritike, univerzitetski predavač je slobodan intelektualac širokih horizonta, svestrana ličnost. On sebe ne može da izmesti van svetskog konteksta.

**Kako vaši prijatelji u Italiji komentarišu odluku da se nastanite u Srbiji?**

Oni poštuju moje odluke i uvažavaju moju karijeru, raduju se objavljuvanju mojih knjiga. Samo čovek od istine može da mi bude prijatelj, a čovek od istine ne deli ljude po rasnim i verskim kriterijumima, već se upravlja prema zakonima vrednosti. Moji prijatelji, dakle, poštuju Srbe i svesni su vrlina ovdašnjih ljudi.

**U Srbiji se ne osećate kao stranac. Čime vas je to srpski narod „kupio“?**

Ja sam čovek iz naroda, intelektualac sa ulice. Naime, moje znanje, koje je i dalje ograničeno, nije stećeno u zatvorenim prostorijama. Najvažnije lekcije naučio sam na ulici svog mediteranskog grada, na kaldrmi južne Italije. Veza sa narodom i ulicom omogućava mi da shvatam mentalitet srpskog naroda, za koji je ulica takođe bit-

**You have published four books in the Serbian language so far. In mid October, the book "Vedi Napoli e poi muori – Naples in Serbian travelogues from 1851 to 1951," has seen the light of day. Do you think you have managed to bring the beauties of your native Naples closer to the readers of this work?**

Through the book, I tried to reveal the town of crucial importance in the history of Serbian culture, because this is the place where Ljubomir Nenadović and Petar Petrović Njegoš met. Their encounter did not happen by pure coincidence right in Naples, the town of extraordinary attractions and mild climate, the only center of antique in that part of the Mediterranean. In this sense, my new book is an attempt to confirm the importance of Naples in Serbian culture, since it is important to realize that Naples is not only the subject of interest among German, English, French and other world writers, but Serbian, just as well. Therefore, Naples is a Serbian city too.

**Your previous books "First Love" and "Seven Autumn Stories" won over the Serbian audience in a very short time. How did you find your way to the readers?**

I believe that a writer can always reach out to readers if he knows how to speak to the human heart. I think that modern literature is overloaded with politics and history, which is bad, because not everyone is able to write about politics and history without adequate knowledge. It appears as if writers are too shy to speak to the soul, which comes as a consequence to our poor spiritual lives. I try to preserve emotions, I do not want to preach and by that to be boring. I am interested in the human heart and it is this to the end I speak.

**Where do you find inspiration for your literary creations?**

A writer is a sensible being, capable of channeling emotions and turning them into a story. Even when he is a master in this craft, able to be distant, the writer has to listen to himself, reach down through his soul in his own unique and extraordinary way. Life events, states of soul, trauma, compassion, adventures and conversations are certainly important for the rise of a story, however every author creates in his own way. I think that many of the things I see and hear are unbearable. Writing helps me struggle against absurdity and unbearableness of life, although I always feel defeated in that quixotic struggle without chances to succeed.

**How often do you visit your hometown?**

I go there often, and I think it is wonderful. We need to move around, because one cannot teach at a university, and avoid travel at the same time. University is a place of criticism, the university lecturer is a free, versatile and open minded intellectual. He cannot exempt himself from the context of the world.

**How do your friends in Italy feel about your decision to settle in Serbia?**

They respect my decisions and my career, and they look forward to publishing my books. My friend can be only a truthful man, who does not distinguish people by racial or religious criteria, and must have an internal value system. Therefore, my friends respect Serbs and are aware of their qualities.

**You do not feel as a foreigner in Serbia. What is it exactly that Serbs have "bought" you with?**



na. Boraveći ovde, shvatio sam da je reč o druželjubivom i opasnem narodu, o divljim i maštovitim ljudima. To su ljudi ljubavi i mržnje, ja hvatam te frekvencije čak i kad se ne slažem sa njima.

#### **Da li planirate u Srbiji da osnujete porodicu jednog dana?**

Ko zna. Postoje pitanja na koja nemamo odgovor. U svakom slučaju, ne bih bio ni prvi ni poslednji stranac koji je osnovao porodicu u Srbiji.

#### **Jedna Srpskinja vam je osvojila srce. Čime vas je očarala?**

To je magična srpska reč „zavičaj“. Ona mi je osvojila srce i nijedan dan ne može da prođe a da ona ne odjekuje u mojoj glavi.

#### **Kad biste vratili vreme, da li biste isto postupili pri odabiru profesije i mesta gde ćete živeti?**

Teško je odgovoriti na takva pitanja. Ja, u stvari, najviše volim da čitam i pušim lulu, dočekujem zalazak sunca na Amalfijskoj obali i šetam se u Esterlenu. Voleo bih da proučavam švedske dijalekte, da imam drvenu kuću u Ontariju, da barem jednom dnevno jedem sicilijanske kolače. I kad bih to postigao, možda bih sanjao da pišem knjige na srpskom jeziku i održavam promocije pred stotinama ljudi, što mi se trenutno stvarno događa.

#### **Odbranili ste doktorsku disertaciju. Na koju temu?**

Tema je Napulj u srpskim putopisima. Moja nova knjiga „Vedi Napoli e poi muori – Napulj u srpskim putopisima od 1851. do 1951“, koju smo gore spomenuli, zapravo je skraćena verzija moje doktorske disertacije. Bilo je lepo i teško, ali takvo je svako pravo istraživanje. Srećan sam što sam i to apsolvirao.

#### **Kakva vam je bila prošla 2015. godina?**

Od ove godine sam mnogo naučio. Bila je to dobra godina, u kojoj sam postigao svoje ciljeve, radio, putovao, sretao zanimljive ljudе.

#### **Koje ste ciljeve sebi zacrtali za ovu godinu? Da li nešto posebno očekujete?**

Očekujem da se desi ono što se desiti mora. Vidite, ja sam čovek pun stvaralačke snage, ali nisam sebi najbitniji. Neprestano mislim na porodicu u Italiji, na prijatelje iz Srbije i sveta. To je moja osnovna preokupacija, sve ostalo je relativno. Da li ću objavljivati ili pecati – to su sitnice ako ih uporedim sa srećom onih koje volim. ■

I am an ordinary man, an intellectual from the streets. Namely, my knowledge, which is still limited, has not been gained in closed up rooms. I learned my most important lessons on the street of my Mediterranean town, on the old cobble streets of southern Italy. My connection to people and streets enables me to understand the mentality of Serbs, to whom the streets also carry a lot of significance. Living here, I realized that these people are both friendly and dangerous, wild and imaginative. These are people of love and hate, and I catch their frequencies even when we disagree.

#### **Do you plan on forming your family in Serbia in the future?**

Who knows. There are questions that cannot be answered. In any case, I would not be the first or the last foreigner who established his family in Serbia.

#### **One Serbian thing has won your heart. What has fascinated you?**

It is a magic Serbian word “homeland”. It has won my heart and there is no day passes by without it echoing in my mind.

#### **If you could turn back time, would you make the same choices of your profession and places to live?**

Those questions are difficult to answer. In fact, what I prefer to do is read and smoke my pipe, see the sunrise at the Amalfi coast and walk along Esterlan. I would like to study Swedish dialects, to have a cottage in Ontario, and to eat Sicilian cakes at least once a day. If I could accomplish those, I would perhaps dream about writing books in Serbian and hold promotions in front of hundreds of people, which actually happens now in my life.

#### **You defended your doctoral dissertation. What was the subject?**

The subject of my dissertation was the city of Naples in Serbian travelogue. My new book ”Vedi Napoli e poi muori – Naples in Serbian travelogues from 1851 to 1951“, as mentioned above, is actually a reduced version of my doctoral dissertation. It was nice, but difficult, like any thorough research. I am just happy I completed that segment of my life.

#### **How was the year 2015 for you?**

I have learned a lot this past year. It was a positive year, in which I reached my goals, worked, travelled, and met interesting people.

#### **What are the goals you set for the next year? Do you have some special expectations?**

I expect that what must happen will happen. You see, I am a man full of creative energy, but I, myself, am not the center of my life. I constantly think about my family in Italy, about my friends from Serbia and the rest of the world. That is my major preoccupation, everything else is relative. Will I be publishing or will I be fishing – those are just minor issues in comparison with happiness of my beloved ones. ■

AUTOR / AUTHOR : *Kristina Đoković*



# VOJISLAV ŠEŠELJ

MOJIH 12 GODINA U EVROPSKOJ UNIJI

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MY TWELVE YEARS IN THE EUROPEAN UNION



**V**OJISLAV ŠEŠELJ, predsednik Srpske radikalne stranke, za magazin „The Globe”, govori kako vidi Srbiju posle 12 godina izolacije, i povratka u Srbiju, kako je provodio dane u Ševeningenu, zatvorskoj jedinici za ratne zločine.

Otkriva nam kako je pobedio Haški tribunal, i ističe da ga tih 12 godina u ševingenskom zatvoru nije obeshrabrilno da ponovo i sa još više snage i entuzijazma vodi politiku svoje stranke, drži mitinge, javne govore i tribine, i smatra da je SRS jedina alternativa postojećoj Vladi.

**V**OJISLAV ŠEŠELJ, the president of the Serbian Radical Party (SRS), speaks with THE GLOBE magazine on how he sees Serbia after 12 years of isolation, his return to Serbia, and how he spent his days in Scheveningen, the war crimes prison unit. He unveils how he won over the Hague tribunal and emphasizes that the past 12 years he spent in Scheveningen prison did not discourage him to run the politics of his party with more strength and enthusiasm, to hold meetings, rallies and public speeches . He believes that SRS is still the only alternative to the current government.

### **Kako vidite Srbiju posle dvanaest godina? Da li se nešto promenilo?**

Razlika je velika, Srbija je siromašnija, mnogo veće je nezadovoljstvo u narodu, ekonomski je osiromašena, narod je u velikoj depresiji i ne veruje u budućnost. Iako je i tada u vreme dosmanjske vladavine bila takva, godinama su je ti isti osiromašivali još više.

### **Kada ste odlazili za Hag, šta ste mislili, koliko ćete tamo ostati?**

Mislio sam da će ostati 2–5 godina, ali mi nije žao, moje vreme nije izgubljeno, pobedio sam Haški tribunal, 20 hiljada transkripta svedoče o mojoj pobedi nad Tribunalom. Za to vreme sam napisao mnogo knjiga, šest je objavljeno, većina njih ima i po 1000 strana. Napisao sam ceo serijal knjiga SRPSKI NAROD I NOVI SVETSKI POREDAK, kroz koje sam obradio sve Haške presude do tada donesen. Obradio sam sve, i one prvostepene i one drugostepene presude.

Te knjige imaju i po 3000 strana. Ja sam to temeljito proučavao. U tih 5 godina temeljno sam proučavao anglosaksonsko pravo uopšte. Postao sam ekspert za anglosaksonsko krivično pravo.

### **Vaša optužnica je bila na više stotina strana. Na osnovu čega je sastavljena? Na kraju niste ni optuženi.**

Optužnica je sastavljena na osnovu pukih pretpostavki, lažnih svedočenja. Na kraju je sve to otpalo, osim Vukovara, odnosno Ovčara. Sve ostalo je otpalo, što znači da nije bilo nikakvog osnova za sudjenje po toj optužnici, što je pokazao i ceo proces. Zato me i nisu mogli osuditi za 12 godina. Tri godine su pisali presudu. U istoriji Haškog tribunala, ja sam najduže bio u pritvoru.

### **Sami ste se branili?**

Najveću grešku su napravili što su me pet godina držali u pritvoru. U tih pet godina proučio sam anglosaksonsko pravo i sudsku praksu Haškog tribunala. Dobro sam se spremio za proces, ovlađao materijom. Materijom sam vladao bolje nego sudije i tužiocu. Rukovodio sam se u sudnici pre svega gvozdenom logikom i datim principima kojima se nije moglo lako suprostaviti, jer svako ko bi im se suprostavio u javnosti bi ispašao smešan. Ja sam ih pobedio pre svega na polju procedure i materijalopravnih dokumenata, opovrgnuvši sve lažne svedoke i dokazavši falsifikate u podnetim dokumentima.

U sudnici sam vredao sudije namerno da ih iritiram i provociram, i da malo zabavim srpski narod.

### **Da li ste za svih dvanaest godina bili informisani o političkim prilikama u Srbiji? Koliko su vam dozvoljavali da imate kontakt sa spoljašnjim svetom?**

Moja porodica, koja mi je dolazila jednom mesečno, donosila mi je svu štampu. Gledao sam RTS, tadašnji BK, televiziju PINK, pa kasnije, kada su ih ubacili, i B92, HRT1 i HRT2, Makedonsku TV, Bjeljinsku i Muslimansku TV Sarajevo.

Preko telefona sam kontaktirao sa porodicom i bliskim saradnicima i savetnicima. Jako dobro sam bio informisan za sve ove godine u zatvoru o svim dešavanjima u Srbiji. Supruga mi je dolazila jednom mesečno, a onda jedan od sinova s njom. Najstariji sin je dolazio sa svojom porodicom, postao sam i deda, dva unuka sam dobio. Posete su trajale po pet dana, od 9 ujutro do 16.45 po podne. Bilo je sasvim dovoljno vremena za razgovor. Za dvanaest godina, nisam izašao iz zgrade ševeningenskog zatvora. U grad sam izlazio samo kada bih išao u sudnicu i kada bi me vozili po bolnicama.

### **How do you see Serbia after twelve years? Has something changed?**

There is a huge difference, Serbia is poorer, dissatisfaction among people is much higher, Serbia has been economically impoverished, there is a huge depression among people, accompanied by loss of faith in the future. Although this was all the case during the “reign of DOS,” they impoverished it even more over time.

### **When you were leaving for the Hague, how long did you think you would stay there?**

I thought I would stay 2–5 years, but I am not sorry, my time is not lost, I won the Hague tribunal, 20 thousand transcripts witnessed my victory over the Tribunal. In that time, I wrote a large number of books, six of them have been published, the majority of them are 1000 pages long. I wrote a whole series of books SERBIAN PEOPLE AND THE NEW WORLD ORDER, in which I covered all the judgements made until that point, I analyzed all the judgements, first-instance and second-instance judgements. Those were books of 3000 pages, and I studied them in details. In those 5 years, I researched Anglo-Saxon law thoroughly, and I became an expert in Anglo-Saxon criminal law.

### **Your indictment was several hundred pages long. What was it based on? You were not even convicted after all?**

The indictment was based on pure assumptions and false testimonies. They were all dropped, except Vukovar, Ovčar in particular. Everything else was dropped, which means that there was no ground for trial on this indictment, which was proved by the whole process. That is why they could not have convicted me in 12 years. They spent three years writing the indictment. I had the longest custody in the history of the Hague Tribunal.

### **You defended yourself?**

The biggest mistake they made was keeping me in custody for five years. In that time, I analyzed the Anglo-Saxon law and court practice of the Hague Tribunal. I prepared for the process very well, I learned the material. I knew the case better than the judges and prosecutors. In the courtroom, I was guided by an ironclad logic and used principles, which could not be easily opposed, because whoever would try to oppose them would appear ridiculous. I beat them, first of all in terms of procedure and legal documents, refuting all the fake witnesses and proving the falsifications of the submitted documents. I deliberately insulted the judges in the courtroom, just to irritate and provoke them, and make some fun for the Serbian people.

### **Were you informed about the political situation in Serbia throughout these twelve years? How much were you allowed to make contact with the world outside?**

My family, who visited me once a month, brought me all the press. I watched RTS, former BK, PINK TV, later they added B92, HRT1 and HRT2, Macedonian TV, the TV channel from Bijeljina, and the Muslim IA from Sarajevo.

I had telephone contact with my family and close associates and advisors. All those years in prison, I was very well informed about all the events in Serbia. My wife would come once a month, and then one of my sons would come as well. My oldest son visited me with his family, I became a grandfather, I got two grandsons. Visits would last for five days, from 9 a.m to 4.45 p.m. We had eno-

**Opišite nam kako je izgledao jedan vaš dan u ševeningenskom zatvoru?**

Ustajem vrlo rano, u 6 ujutro, kako kod kuće tako i u zatvoru. Do 7 sati završim doručak, gledam jutarnji program i u 7 sati me otoključaju, idem na kupanje i brijanje i do 8 završavam jutarnje obaveze. Od 8 do 12 se menja termin šetnje, jedna je pre podne od sat vremena, druga je 50 minuta po podne. U podne sam malo spavao, potom čitao, pisao, sedeо. Po podne sam išao u drugu šetnju do 17 sati. Igrao sam često šah i karte, voleo sam partie remija. Uveče bih čitao dela lepe književnosti. Ćelije su se zaključavale u pola devet, 20.30. Tada svako ide u svoju ćeliju. Potom sam gledao televiziju i često bih između 9 i 10 sati (21 i 22) već zaspao.

ough time to talk. But nothing outside the building of Scheveningen prison in twelve years. I went out to the city only to go to the courtroom and when they took me to hospitals.

**Can you describe your typical day in scheveningen prison?**

I get up very early, at 6 a.m, both at home and in prison. By 7 a.m I would finish my breakfast, watch morning TV programs, and at 7 o'clock they would unlock me, I would take a shower, shave and finish all my morning duties by 8. Between 8 – 12 in the morning, the timing was not strict, I would take the first walk, an hour long, in the morning. The second, 50 minutes long walk, would be in the afternoon. I would sleep around noon, and later read, write, and



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metara odvojeni od svojih porodica i na taj način izolovani. Tamo je sve nepredvidivo, i dužina pritvora, i dužina kazne, i dužina procesa, i ništa ne zavisi od racionalnih elemenata.

**Često se polemisalo o vašem druženju sa Slobodanom Miloševićem (bivšim predsednikom tadašnje Srbije i Crne Gore), s obzirom na to da ste bili politički protivnici.**

U Hagu smo se zbljžili i postali iskreni prijatelji, ranije nikada nismo bili prijatelji. U Hagu smo se našli na istom „poslu”, sarađivali smo te svakodnevno razmenjivali mišljenja o političkoj situaciji. Prvih godinu dana bilo mi je zabranjeno da se viđam sa Miloševićem, a onda su me iznenada prebacili na sprat na kome je bio on. Dva razloga su imali, prvi je zato što sam bio na spratu sa Milanom

Šešović. Scheveningen zatvor je mesto velike patnje, zatvorenici su hiljadama kilometara od svojih porodica i na taj način izolovani. Tamo je sve nepredvidivo, i dužina pritvora, i dužina kazne, i dužina procesa, i ništa ne zavisi od racionalnih elemenata.

Scheveningen prison is a place of enormous suffering, prisoners are thousands of miles away from their families and isolated in that way. Everything is unpredictable there, the duration of custody, the duration of sentence, the duration of process, and nothing depends on rational elements.

**Very often, there were speculations about your friendship with Slobodan Milošević (former president of Serbia and Montenegro), keeping in mind that you were political opponents.**

We grew to be close and sincere friends in the Hague, but we were never friends before. We got the same “job” in the Hague, we co-operated and exchanged opinions about the political situation, on a daily basis. In the first year, I was forbidden to see Milosevic, but

Babićem i Miroslavom Deronjićem, koji su pristali na nagodbu sa Tribunalom da lažno svedoče. Drugi razlog je bio što su oni očekivali da će se sukobiti sa Miloševićem ako svaki dan budemo provodili zajedno, jer su imali u vidu naše ranije žastoke sukobe. Međutim, mi smo se sprijateljili. Posle godinu dana, mene su prebacili u drugu zgradu i više nismo mogli uopšte da se viđamo.

### **U zadnje četiri godine vaše zdravstveno stanje se veoma pogoršalo. Kako ste se izborili sa bolešću? Jeste li bili zadovoljni tretmanom u tamošnjim bolnicama?**

U početku sam imao problema sa srcem, posle toga sa kancerom. Svi smo nezadovoljni tretmanom u zatvorskoj bolnici. Zatvor gleda da što više para uštedi na konto lekarskih usluga, i tek reaguju kada vam zaista nije dobro, toliko da umirete. A kada se nađete u holandskoj bolnici, onoj civilnoj, onda su veoma savesni. Meni su život spasili holandski lekari. Puls mi je bio 240 dok sam ležao, u stanju mirovanja. Imao sam jak poremećaj srčanog ritma. Kasnije sam taj zdravstveni problem sanirao i godinu dana nakon toga pojavio se rak. Godinu dana nisu hteli da me me odvedu na pregled, iako sam imao simptome. Na kraju, kada su pristali da me odvedu u bolnicu, rak je metastazirao, operisali su me, otklonili su, pored 30 cm debelog creva, i oko 20 cm limfnih čvorova. Posle godinu dana su ustanovili da su se pojatile metastaze na jetri. Poslali su me na hemoterapiju, i posle prve hemoterapije, izolovali su me u jednom bunkeru u zatvorskoj bolnici, a ja sam odbio da nastavim lečenje. Tada se digla uzbuna, i mislim da je to bio povod da me se otarase iz Haškog tribunala i pošalju u Srbiju.

### **Kako ste, u stvari, saznali da se vraćate u Srbiju?**

Oni su hteli još u letu 2014. da me puste, ali su postavljali uslove na koje ja nisam pristajao. Rekao sam da će držati javne mitinge, tribine, baviti se politikom, i da neću prihvati nikakva ograničenja, da će gostovati u svim televizijskim emisijama i svuda javno kritikovati Haški tribunal kao nelegalan sud. Oni su onda obustavili te procedure. Posle tri meseca ponovo su ih pokrenuli, ali više nisu pitali ni mene ni Vladu u Beogradu, samo su tražili da se Holandska i Srpska vlada izjasne. Kada su se izjasnile, doneli su odluke bez ikakvih garancija, bez ičega, i poslali me za Beograd.

### **Kako ste se osećali kada ste sleteli na aerodrom „Nikola Tesla“?**

Bio sam miran, hladan kao špricer. Doček je bio iznenađujuće srdačan, Na aerodromu je bio pravi stampedo, masa je nosila sve pred sobom. Obraćanje novinarima organizovao sam sa prozora iz sedišta stranke. Posle toga je usledio veliki miting 15. novembra, kada je Trg republike bio prepun.

### **Plan i program stranke?**

Stranka sve više jača, vraćaju nam se i stari članovi. Putujem po Srbiji, gostujem na svim lokalnim televizijama, držim tribine.

Ključni program je da izvučemo stranku iz ekonomске krize, zaštitimo domaću proizvodnju. Vrlo malo je domaće robe, ponegde je ima, ali to je beznačajno, sve se uvozi iz zemalja Evropske unije, velike firme su uništene. Moramo da domaću proizvodnju pokrenemo i integriramo se sa Rusijom, sa Evroazijskom unijom, da uđemo u Carinsku uniju Rusije, Belorusije i Kazahstana i vojni savez pod rukovodstvom Rusije, jer to nas jedino može učvrstiti i stabilizovati. ■

AUTOR / AUTHOR : *Mirela Krajinović*





then suddenly they transferred me to the same floor. They had two reasons, first because I was on the same floor with Milan Babić and Miroslav Deronjić, who agreed to settle with the Tribunal and make a false testimony. The second reason was that they expected that, if I would spend a whole day with him, we would have gotten into a conflict, given our previous, very tough conflicts. But, we became friends. After a year, they transferred me to a whole other building and we could not see each other at all.

**In the last four years, your health has deteriorated. How did you struggle with the illness, were you satisfied in the hospitals there?**

In the beginning, I had heart problems, later cancer problems. We are all unsatisfied with the treatment in the prison hospital. The prison tries to save as much money as possible at the expense of medical care, and reacts only when you are really not well, when you are dying. But, when you get to the civilian, Dutch hospital, then they are very responsible. Dutch doctors saved my life. My resting heart rate was 240, I had a severe disorder of heart rhythm. I fixed that health problem later, and one year later, I got cancer. For one year, they did not want to take me for examinations, even though I had all the symptoms. When they finally agreed to take me to the hospital, my cancer spread, I had surgery, and besides 30cm of colon, they removed 20 lymph nodes. A year later, they diagnosed metastasis in my liver. They sent me for chemo-therapy, and after the first treatment, they isolated me in a bunker of the prison hospital and after that, I refused to go. That was when they sounded the alarm, and I think it was a motive to get rid of me from the Hague Tribunal and send me to Serbia.

**How did you find out you were going back to Serbia?**

They wanted to release me in the summer of 2014, but they set up some conditions I could not agree to. I said I would hold rallies and meetings, I would do politics, I would not accept any limitations, I would show up on TV shows and would publicly criticize the Hague tribunal as an illegal court. Then they stopped all the procedures. After 3 months, they re-opened this procedure, but they asked neither me, nor the government in Belgrade, they just said that the Holland and Serbian governments are to make their statements. When they did, the Tribunal made that decision, without any guarantees, or anything else, and sent me to Belgrade.

**How did you feel when you landed at the nikola tesla airport?**

I was calm, cool as a cucumber. The welcome was surprisingly warm, there was a real stampede, so big that the crowd trampled one another. I held the press conference from the window of our party's headquarters. After that, on November 15, we had a big rally, filling up the Republic Square.

**Plan and program of the party?**

The party is getting stronger, we have returning members, I travel across Serbia, I appear on all local television shows, I hold rallies. Our key part of the program is to take the country out of economic crisis, protect domestic production. There is very little domestic goods, somewhere only, but that is very little, everything is imported from the EU countries, big companies are ruined. We have to revive domestic production, integrate with Russia and the Euro-Asian union, to join with the Customs Union of Russia, Belarus, and Kazakhstan, to join with the military union led by Russia, because that is the only thing that can consolidate and stabilize. ■



# Viminacijum

BALKANSKI POMPEJI

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VIMINACIUM – THE BALKANS POMPEII





**N**ekada je Viminacijum bio velik, moćan i dinamičan rimski vojni logor-grad. Okruživali su ga impresivni bedemi sa kulama, kućama izgrađenim u rimskom stilu, krasile su ga široke ulice, naravno, prosecane pod pravim uglom... Bilo je tu trgova, pozorišta, ali i veliki mauzolej, u kome su podzemne grobnice sa nekim od najlepših fresaka na svetu... Šteta bi bilo da prođete blizu Kostolca i Srebrnog jezera, a da ne posetite ovo izvanredno arheološko nalazište, koje je danas preraslo u pravi turistički raj!



**O**nce upon a time Viminacium used to be a big, powerful and dynamic Roman military camp-city. Impressive ramparts and towers surrounded it, houses were built in the Roman style, graced by wide streets, of course, cut under the right angle ... There were squares, theaters, and a large mausoleum where there were underground tombs with some of the most beautiful frescoes ... It would be a shame to pass near Kostolac and Srebrno Jezero, without visiting this extraordinary archaeological site, which has now grown into a true tourist paradise!

Viminacijum je od I do IV veka nove ere bio glavni grad rimske provincije Gornje Mezije – vojni logor sa stacioniranim rimskom VII legijom Klaudija – korišćen kao prelaz između Zapada i Istoka. Danas je to jedna od najuzbudljivijih arheoloških i turističkih znamenitosti Srbije. Grad je više puta biran za mesto okupljanja vojske i polaznu tačku u mnogobrojnim ratovima, a u jednom periodu dobija status kolonije rimskega građana sa pravom kovanja sopstvenog novca, na kome su bili izrađeni likovi žena rimskega careva.

Zahvaljujući položaju na Dunavu, Viminacijum je imao razvijenu industriju keramike i prerade metala te brojne umetničke radionice. Do sada je pronađeno preko 50.000 predmeta, među kojima ima unikatnih otkrića od svetskog značaja: hirurški instrumenti za operaciju oka, pero od ptičje kosti – kalamus, vodeni sat – klepsidra i freske iz IV veka otkrivene u zidanoj grobnici na lokalitetu Pećine nedaleko od Mlave. Unutar grada i oko njega otkriveni su amfiteatar, monumentalne zgrade, raskošne terme i tragovi razvijene infrastrukture, pre svega ulica i kanalizacije. Grad je više puta pustošen u najezdama Gota i Avara, a uništili su ga Huni 441. godine. Danas je to izuzetno vredno arheološko nalazište, a priča o nekadašnjem sjaju i propasti rimskog grada skrenula je pažnju ne samo naše već i svetske javnosti.

Po pronađenim ostacima, arheolozi tvrde da su u IV i početkom V veka u Viminacijumu postojale velike palate od kamena, koje su imale neku vrstu centralnog grejanja, s protočnom toplohom vodom. Značajnije palate Viminacija bile su ukrašene reljefima, mozaicima i statuama, koje i danas pobuduju osećaj za prefinjenu lepotu kod brojnih posetilaca. Mauzolej Viminacija je kvadratne osnove, dimenzija 20 x 20 metara, zidan od kamenih blokova, ukrašen stubovima. U središnjem delu mauzoleja je centralna građevina od zelenog škriljca zalivenog malterom, gde se nalazi grobna. Pokojnik je spaljivan na licu mesta, na za to prethodno postavljenoj posebnoj drvenoj konstrukciji. Ličnost koja je sahranjena na ovom mestu izaziva posebno interesovanje, jer se sasvim sigurno može zaključiti da je tu sahranjena, odnosno spaljena osoba koja je u rimskoj hijerarhiji zauzimala izuzetno visoko mesto. Mauzolej Viminacija je opljačkan najverovatnije odmah posle 312. godine, posle donošenja Milanskog edikta, i njegovi kvaderi i stubovi korišćeni su za gradnju grobne iz IV veka. U neposrednoj blizini mesta spaljivanja u okviru mauzoleja, pronađeno je dvadesetak izuzetnih zlatnih predmeta, među kojima i pozlaćena fibula, odnosno ukrasna kopča.

Na ovom putovanju u doba starog Rima, posebno mesto zauzima otkriće fresko-oslikanih kasnoantičkih grobniča, jer je otkriveno više od 13.500 grobova. Stručnjaci ih smatraju najboljim freskama kasne antike sa cele teritorije Rimskog carstva. Jedno od najbolje sačuvanih umetničkih dela fresko-slikarstva svakako je čuvena „Grobna sa kupidonima”, koja nikoga ne može da ostavi ravnodušnim... Ove fantastične freske nam pružaju važne podatke o počecima hrišćanstva na ovim prostorima, pored grobniča koje su otkrivene, a posebno je važno otkriće grobnice sa „Nebeskim jahačem” i Hristovim monogramom, koje pokazuju kako se paganstvo približavalo hrišćanstvu, da bi na kraju i potpuno potpalio pod njegovu vlast. U Viminacijumu je, očigledno, pre 1.700 godina živeo genijalan slikar. Jedna od najzanimljivijih slika svakako je predstava mlade žene koju nazivaju Mona Lizom antike, a po veli-

Viminacijum was the capital of the Roman province of Upper Moesia - military camp with a Roman legion VII 'Claudia' stationed there - from I to IV century A.D., which was used as a transition area between the West and the East. Today it is one of the most exciting archaeological and tourist attractions in Serbia. The city was repeatedly elected as a meeting place for the army and the starting spot in many wars, and in one period it was given the status of a colony of Roman citizens with the right to mint its own coins on which figures of Roman emperors' wives were made.

Having been located on the Danube is what enabled Viminacijum to develop industry, pottery, metal processing and numerous art workshops. So far there were found more than 50,000 items, including the unique discovery of world importance: surgical instruments for eye surgery, Calamus - a quill made from a bird's feather bone, the Clepsydra water clock - and frescoes found in the fourth century brick tomb discovered in the caves near the Mlava archaeological site. Within and around the city an amphitheater, some monumental buildings, lavish spas and traces of developed infrastructure, especially roads and the sewer were found. The city was repeatedly ravaged during the invasions of the Goths and

Avars, and was destroyed by the Huns in 441. Today, it is an extremely valuable archaeological site, telling us a story about former glory and the fall of the Roman city which drew attention not only to ours, but also to the world public.

After the remains discovered by archaeologists, they claim that there were great palaces of stone, which had some kind of central heating with hot water flow in the fourth and early fifth century in Viminacijum. Significant Viminacijum palaces were decorated with reliefs, mosaics and statues, which still incite the sense of such a sophisticated beauty in many visitors. The Mausoleum of Viminacijum has a square basis, measuring 20 x 20 meters, is built of stone blocks, and decorated by pillars. In the central part of the mausoleum there is the central building made of green shale and grouted by plaster, where the tomb is. The deceased was burnt on the spot, in a special pre-set wooden structure. A person who is buried in this place incites particular interest, because it can be concluded with certainty that a person who had a very high place in the Roman hierarchy is buried or burnt in this place. Mausoleum of Viminacijum was robbed most probably right after 312 years after the Edict of Milan and its ashlar and columns were used for the construction of tombs in the fourth century. In the immediate vicinity of the burning place within the mausoleum, twenty exquisite gold items were found, including a gilded fibula, i.e. decorative buckle.

The special place on this trip to the ancient Roman times occupies the discovery of a fresco-painted late antique tomb, since there were discovered more than 13,500 graves. Experts consider them to be the best late antique times frescoes on the entire territory of the Roman Empire. One of the best preserved works of fresco painting art is certainly the famous "Tomb with Cupids," the one which cannot leave you indifferent ... These stunning frescoes provide us with important information about the beginnings of Christianity in this region, apart from the graves that have been discovered, and there is a particularly important discovery of





Vika, skelet najstarijeg pronađenog mamuta u Evropi, otkriven je početkom juna 2009. godine nadomak Viminacijuma. To je bio jedan od tropskih južnih mamuta koji su iz severne Afrike prešli u Evropu. Mamutica je otkrivena u sloju žutog peska na dubini od 27 metara. Vika je živela pre 400.000–1.000.000 godina. Tri godine posle tog otkrića, na Viminaciju je otkriveno još sedam skeleta mamuta...

Vika, the oldest skeleton of a mammoth found in Europe, was discovered in the beginning of June 2009 near Viminacium. This was one of those tropical southern mammoths who crossed from North Africa to Europe. The mammoth was discovered in a layer of yellow sand at a depth of 27 meters. Vika lived between 400,000 and one million years ago. Three years after the excavation of Vika, seven mammoth skeletons more were found in Viminacium...

čini je ista kao ona legendarna Da Vinčijeva. Dama gleda u stranu, ruke su joj savijene u laktu i obučena je u skupocenu brokatnu tkaninu sa zlatnim nitima.

U poseti Viminaciju ne možete da zaobiđete terme. One ne predstavljaju samo mesta za kupanje nego i mesta za odmor i razne društvene aktivnosti. Viminacijumske terme se izdvajaju ne samo po raskoši već i specifičnom arhitektonskom rešenju. Pod starijih termi Viminacijuma, koji se nalazio na stubićima od opeka, bio je prekriven mozaikom. Veliki broj žižaka pokazuje da su terme korišćene i noću...

Opljačkan i uništen sredinom V veka u najezdi Hunu, Viminacijum je ostao zaboravljen pod zemljom kao Pompeji. Ta analogija, ali i činjenica da ostaci rimskog grada i vojnog logora Viminacijuma predstavljaju svetski kulturni i istorijski dragulj, siguran su razlog što je Viminacijum dobio naziv „balkanski Pompeji”.

Da biste se što bolje upoznali sa ostacima ove impresivne kulture koja je ostavila trag na našim prostorima, ovo mesto je idelano posetiti za vikend. Ono je uz veliki trud opremljeno dodatnim pogodnostima koje su na raspolaganju gostima – udoban smeštaj u atrijumu C Viminacijuma, namenjen posetiocima i turistima obuhvata 4 jednokrevetne, 6 dvokrevetnih i 3 trokrevetne sobe. Uz postojeće sadržaje Arheo-parka Viminacijuma, pogodnost boravka na samom nalazištu omogućava jedinstvene doživljaje rimskog nasleđa na Dunavskom limesu u Srbiji istraživačima i brojnim posetiocima iz sveta. Osim toga, krajem juna prošle godine otvoren je Mamut park u okviru samog arheološkog nalazišta Viminacijum. Posetnici Viminacijuma mogu da vide mamuticu Viku i njene mlađe rođake, koji su proveli milion godina u krateru površinskog kopa Drmno i najstariji su „stanovnici” evropskog kontinenta čije su kosti sačuvane. ■

the tomb with the “Heavenly rider” and “Christ’s monogram” which show how the paganism was coming closer to Christianity and was completely ‘under’ the control of Christianity in the end. Apparently a brilliant painter lived 1,700 years ago in Viminacium. One of the most interesting pieces is certainly the painting of a young woman named Mona Lisa of the antique times, and it is the same size as the legendary Da Vinci’s painting. The lady is looking away, her hands are bent at the elbow and is dressed in luxurious brocade fabric with gold threads.

While visiting Viminacium you cannot skip - terme. They are not just places for swimming, but also for relaxation and various social activities. Viminacian spas are equizite not only by their splendour,

but also for their specific architectural solution. The floor of the old Viminacium terme, which used to be lying on the brick columns, was covered with mosaics. A large number of weevils shows that the baths were also used - at night ...

Ravaged and destroyed in the middle of the fifth century in the invasion of the Huns, Viminacium remained forgotten and buried like Pompeii. This analogy, however, but also the fact that the remains of the Roman city and military camp Viminacium represent the world's cultural and historical gem, are for sure the reason why Viminacium was named the “Balkans Pompeii”.

With great effort to enable getting better acquainted with the remains of this impressive culture that has left its mark on our region, this place, ideal for a spending a weekend outside of Belgrade is equipped with additional facilities that are available to guests - comfortable accommodation in the atrium C Viminacijum, intended for visitors and tourists includes four single rooms, six double and 3 three-beds rooms. Along with the contents of the Viminacium Archaeological Park, the advantage of staying at the very site provides researchers and numerous visitors from around the world with a unique experience of the Roman heritage in the Danube limes in Serbia. Additional reason for visiting is the fact that the Mammoth park within the Viminacium as an archaeological site was opened at the end of June this year. After millions of years spent in the crater of the surface excavation Drmno, visitors of Viminacium can see a mammoth Vika and her younger cousin, the oldest inhabitants of the European continent whose bones were preserved. ■

AUTOR / AUTHOR:  
Katarina Nedeljković Stojanović



# Liban



## Bejtedin

Kad se sa obalskog puta, 17 kilometara posle Bejruta i nekoliko kilometara posle Edamura, skrene jugoistočno na strm drum što se pruža uz prelepnu reku Damur, posle 26 kilometara stiže se do Bejtedin, živopisnog gradića podignutog na 850 metara nadmorske visine. Najspektakularniji pogled na palatu i njeno okruženje pruža se iz sela Deir el Kamar (Mesečev manastir), pet kilometara pre Bejtedina.

Kompleks palata, najbolji primer libanske arhitekture XIX veka, trideset godina je gradio emir Bašir Šihab II, koji je više od pola veka vladao oblastima oko planinskog venca Liban.

## Beiteddine

The road to Beiteddine leaves the coastal highway 17 kilometres beyond Beirut. Just a few kilometers after the town of Damour. From there the road climbs quickly along the beautiful Damour river valley for 26 Kilometers to an elevation of 850 meters at Beiteddine. The most spectacular view of the palace and its surroundings is from the village of Deir El-Qamar (Monastery of the Moon), five Kilometers before Beiteddine.

The Beiteddine palace complex, Lebanon's best example of early 19th century Lebanese architecture, was built over a thirty year period by Emir Bechir Chehab II, who ruled Mount Lebanon for more than half a century.

## Pećina iz kompleksa Džeita

Pećine Džeita sistem su odvojenih, ali povezanih krasnih krečnjačkih jama u dolini Nahr el Kalba (Pseće reke), 18 kilometara severno od Bejruta. Kroz gornju i gornju pećinu teče reka dugačka preko šest kilometara. Geološki, pećina je ujedno i kanal ili izlazni put podzemne reke. U ovoj pećini i njenim galerijama, voda je u krečnjaku obrazovala svodove nalik onima u katedralama, sa stalaktitima i stalagmitima različitih veličina, boja i oblika, kao i veličanstvene „zavese” i fantastične kamene oblike. Ukupna dužina pećine iznosi više od 9 m, i u njoj se nalazi jedan od najvećih stalaktita na svetu, koji koji se spušta 8,20 m sa svoda. U pećini se nalazi i Velika dvorana, visine 108 m. Pećina Džeita je ušla u uži izbor za 7 svetskih čuda prirode.



## Jeita Grotto

Jeita Grotto is a compound of crystallized caves in Lebanon located 20 km north of Beirut in the Valley of Nahr al-Kalb (Dog River).

This grotto is made up of two limestone caves, upper galleries and a lower cave through which a 6230 m long river runs. Geologically, the caves provide a tunnel or escape route for the underground river. In this cave and galleries, the action of water in the limestone has created cathedral-like vaults full of various sizes, colors and shapes of stalactites and stalagmites, majestic curtains and fantastic rock formations. The total length of the cave is more than 9000 m and there is one among the biggest stalactites in the world hanging 8,20 m. The grotto accommodates a huge hall with a distance of 108 m from the ceiling till the water level. Jeita Grotto was a candidate of the 7 natural wonders of the world.



## Biblos

Biblos je jedan od „najstarijih kontinuirano naseljenih gradova” u svetu, a to nas vraća čak 8.800 godina u prošlost. Prema feničanskim predanjima, izgradio ga je bog El. Unesko ga je uvrstio u svetsku kulturnu baštinu.

Današnji Biblos (Jubeil na arapskom jeziku), razvijen grad na obali 37 kilometara severno od Bejruta, dići se modernim poslovnim zgradama u staklu i prepunim ulicama. Međutim, unutar drevnog grada, srednjovekovni arapski i krstaški ostaci stoje kao podsetnik na prošlost. Zahvaljujući iskopinama koje zauzimaju veliku oblast nadomak grada, Biblos je jedan od najvažnijih arheoloških lokaliteta u okolini. Ovo je mediteranski grad u administrativnoj oblasti Planina Liban. Veruje se da je prvi put naseljen imedu 8 800. i 7 000. godine pre nove ere, i prema prvim pisanim izvorima, koji se pripisuju polulegendarnom feničanskom istoričaru predtroganskog perioda, Sanhuniatonu, sagradio ga je titan Hron, i to je bio prvi grad u Feniciji.

## Byblos

Byblos is one of the “oldest continuously inhabited city” in the world and it goes back at least 8800 years. According to Phoenician tradition it was founded by the God El. It is a UNESCO World Heritage Site.

Today Byblos (Jbeil in Arabic) on the coast 37 kilometers north of Beirut, is a prosperous place with glass-fronted office buildings and crowded streets. But within the old town, medieval Arab and Crusader remains are continuous reminders of the past. Nearby are the extensive excavations that make Byblos one of the most important archaeological sites in the area.

In Arabic Jubayl, is a Mediterranean city in the Mount Lebanon Governorate, Lebanon. It is believed to have been occupied first between 8800 and 7000 BC, and according to fragments attributed to the semi-legendary pre-Trojan War Phoenician historian Sanchuniathon, it was built by Cronus as the first city in Phoenicia.



## Balbek

Balbek, najvrednije libansko blago iz rimskog doba, može se ubrojati u čuda antičkog sveta. Najveći i najotmeniji rimski hram svih vremena smatra se takođe jednim od najočuvanijih. Izdiže se visoko iz doline Beka i njegove monumentalne proporcije ukazuju na moć i bogatstvo imperijalnog Rima. Bogovi koji su ovde obožavani, Trijada Jupitera, Venere i Merkura, otelovljeni su u domaćim božanstvima Hadada, Atargatisa i mladog muškog boga plodnosti. Lokalni uticaji se takođe osećaju i u planu i izgledu hrama, koji se razlikuju od klasične rimske arhitekture.

Grci su poistovetili boga Balbeka sa bogom sunca te su grad nazvali Heliopolis ili Grad Sunca. U to vreme drevno dvorište hrama je prošireno i podignut je podijum na zapadnoj strani da bi se formirao hram klasične forme. Iako hram nikad nije završen, ostaci helenističke građevine još uvek se mogu videti. A upravo u velikom drevnom dvorištu Rimljani su podigli Jupiterov hram.

Izgradnja hrama je započela u poslednjoj četvrtini prvog veka naše ere a završila se pred kraj Neronove vladavine (37–68. godine naše ere). Kompleks Veliko dvorište Jupiterovog hrama, sa stepeništa, eksedrama, oltarima i bazenima, izgrađen je u drugom veku. U to vreme započela je i izgradnja takozvanog Bahusovog hrama. Propileja i Heksagonalno dvorište Jupiterovog hrama dodati su u III veku, za vreme dinastije Severi (193–235. godine naše ere), a radovi su, kako se pretpostavlja, završeni sredinom III veka. I mala kružna struktura, poznata kao Venerin hram, verovatno je završena u tom periodu.

Hramski kompleks u Balbiku sastoji se od Jupiterovog hrama, na koji se nadovezuje Bahusov hram. Malo dalje, nalazi se kružna struktura poznata kao Venerin hram. Samo jedan deo stepeništa ostao je od četvrtog hrama posvećenog Merkuru, na brdu Šeik Abdallah.

## Baalbeck

Baalbeck, Lebanon's greatest Roman treasure, can be counted among the wonders of the ancient world. The largest and most noble Roman temples ever built, they are also among the best preserved. Towering high above the Beqaa plain, their monumental proportions proclaimed the power and wealth of Imperial Rome. The gods worshipped here, the Triad of Jupiter, Venus and Mercury, were grafted onto the indigenous deities of Hadad, Atargatis and a young male god of fertility. Local influences are also seen in the planning and layout of the temples, which vary from the classic Roman design.

The Greeks identified the god of Baalbeck with the sun god and the city was called Heliopolis or City of the Sun. At this time the ancient enclosed court was enlarged and a podium was erected on its western side to support a temple of classical form. Although the temple was never built, some huge construction from the Hellenistic project can still be seen. And it was over the ancient court that the Romans placed the present Great Court of the Temple of Jupiter.

The temple was begun in the last quarter of the 1st century B.C., and was nearing completion in the final years of Nero's reign (37–68 A.D.). the Great Court Complex of the temple of Jupiter, with its porticoes, exedrae, altars and basins, was built in the 2nd century A.D. Construction of the so-called temple of Bacchus was also started about this time.

The Propylaea and the Hexagonal Court of the Jupiter temple were added in the 3rd century under the Severan Dynasty (193–235 A.D.) and work was presumably completed in the mid-3rd century. The small circular structure known as the Temple of Venus, was probably finished at this time as well.

The temple complex of Baalbeck is made up of the Jupiter Temple and the Bacchus Temple adjacent to it. A short distance away is the circular structure known as the Temple of Venus. Only part of the staircase remains of a fourth temple dedicated to Mercury, on Kheikh Abdallah hill.



# Tir

Feničanski grad Tir, kraljica mora, ostrvski je grad jedinstvenog sjaja. Izrastao je u bogatstvu pristiglom iz njegovih dalekih kolonija i od prihoda od proizvodnje purpurno obojenih tkanina. Takođe, privlačio je pažnju pohlepnih osvajača, među kojima su bili i vavilonski kralj Navukodonosor Drugi i Aleksandar Veliki.

## PET MILENIJUMA ISTORIJE

Osnovan na početku trećeg milenijuma pre nove ere, Tir se prvobitno sastojao od kopnenog naselja i skromnog ostrvskog grada, koji se nalazio nedaleko od obale. Ali tek u prvom milenijumu nove ere, grad je doživeo zlatno doba.

U XX veku pre nove ere, Hiram, kralj Tira, spojio je dva ostrvca deponijom. Kasnije je proširio grad vrativši sedište na more. Ekspanzija Feničana započela je oko 815. godine pre nove ere, kada su trgovci iz Tira osnovali Kartaginu u Severnoj Africi. S vremenom, njegove kolonije su se proširile Sredozemljem i Atlantikom, razvijajući u gradu pomorsku trgovinu. Ali, pokazalo se da prosperitet i moć donose nevolju. U ranom VI veku pre nove ere, Navukodonosor, kralj Vavilona, držao je utvrđeni grad trinaest godina pod opsadom. Tir je čvrsto odolevao, ali, kao što se očekivalo, stanovnici kopnenog dela napustili su grad i sigurnost su potražili na ostrvu.

Aleksandar Veliki je 332. godine pre nove ere zacrtao da osvoji ovu stratešku obalsku bazu u ratu između Grka i Persijanaca. U nemogućnosti da pokori grad, držao ga je pod opsadom sedam meseci. I ovaj put se Tir održao. Ali osvajač je iskoristio ruševine napuštenog obalskog dela grada i izgradio nasip. Čim je stigao nadomak gradskih zidina, Aleksandar je poveo svoju vojsku da slomi i napokon probije utvrđenja. Legenda kaže da je Aleksandar bio toliko besan zbog tirske odbrane i gubitka svojih ljudi da je uništio pola grada. Trideset hiljada stanovnika je bilo ili masakrirano ili prodato u roblje. Tir i celokupna antička Sirija pali su pod rimsку vlast 64. godine pre nove ere. Ipak, neko vreme Tir je nastavio da kuje vlastite srebrnjake.

Ovde su Rimljani izgradili mnoge danas važne spomenike grada, uključujući akvedukt, trijumfalnu kapiju i najveći hipodrom u antičkom svetu. Zahvaljujući snažnim utvrđenjima, Tir se odupirao najezdni krstaša sve do 1124. godine. Nakon 180 godina krstaške vladavine, mameluci su preuzeли grad 1291. godine, a zatim ga prepustili Osmanlijama početkom XVI veka. Krajem Prvog svetskog rata, Tir je pripao novovođenom državi Liban.

Smatra se da je najvažnije nedavno arheološko otkriće feničansko groblje iz prvog milenijuma pre nove ere. Otkriveno 1991. godine, tokom tajnih iskopavanja, prvo je takvo groblje nađeno u Libanu. Pogrebne posude, gravirane stele i nakit samo su neki od predmeta pronađenih na nalazištu. O važnosti ovog istorijskog grada i njegovih spomenika, dovoljno govori to što ga je Unesco 1979. godine uvrstio u svetsku kulturnu baštinu. U međuvremenu, vlast je, uz velike napore, uspela umnogome da spreči ratno pljačkanje arheološkog blaga Tira, koje je usled ekonomskih problema u tom području i međunarodne potražnje za antikvitetima pretrpelo veliku štetu. Takođe, i neke kampanje su skrenule pažnju na važnost gradskih antikviteta.



# Tyre

Phoenician Tyre was queen of the seas, an island city of unprecedented splendor. She grew wealthy from her far-reaching colonies and her industries of purple-dyed textiles. But she also attracted the attention of jealous conquerors among them the Babylonian King Nebuchadnezzar and Alexander the Great.

## FIVE MILLENNIA OF HISTORY

Founded at the start of the third millennium B.C., Tyre originally consisted of a mainland settlement and a modest island city that lay a short distance off shore. But it was not until the first millennium B.C. that the city experienced its golden age.

In the 10th century B.C. Hiram, King of Tyre, joined two islets by landfill. Later he extended the city further by reclaiming a considerable area from the sea. Phoenician expansion began about 815 B.C. when traders from Tyre founded Carthage in North Africa. Eventually its colonies spread around the Mediterranean and Atlantic, bringing to the city a flourishing maritime trade. But prosperity and power make their own enemies. Early in the sixth century B.C. Nebuchadnezzar, King of Babylon, laid siege to the walled city for thirteen years. Tyre stood firm, but it was probable that at this time the residents of the

mainland city abandoned it for the safety of the island.

In 332 B.C. Alexander the Great set out to conquer this strategic coastal base in the war between the Greeks and the Persians. Unable to storm the city, he blockaded Tyre for seven months. Again Tyre held on. But the conqueror used the debris of the abandoned mainland city to build a causeway and once within reach of the city walls, Alexander used his siege engines to batter and finally breaches the fortifications. It is said that Alexander was so enraged at the Tyrians' defense and the loss of his men that he destroyed half the city. The town's 30,000 residents were massacred or sold into slavery. Tyre and the whole of ancient Syria fell under Roman rule in 64 B.C.. Nonetheless, for some time Tyre continued to mint its own silver coins. The Romans built great important monuments in the city, including an aqueduct, a triumphal arch and the largest hippodrome in antiquity. Thanks to Tyre's strong fortifications it was able to resist to onslaught of the Crusaders until 1124. After about 180 years of Crusader rule, the Mamlukes retook the city in 1291, and then it passed on to the Ottomans at the start of the 16th century. With the end of the World War I Tyre was integrated into the new nation of Lebanon.

The most important recent archaeological find in a Phoenician cemetery from the first millennium B.C. Discovered in 1991 during clandestine excavations, this is the first cemetery of its kind found in Lebanon. Funerary jars, inscribed steles and jewelry were among the objects retrieved from the site. The importance of this historical city and its monuments was highlighted in 1979 when UNESCO declared Tyre a world Heritage Site. In the meantime, government efforts have stopped much of the wartime pillaging that Tyre's archaeological treasures have suffered because of economic stress in the area and international demand for antiquities. Grassroots campaigns have also drawn attention to the importance of the city's antiquities.

# Sidon

Feničani su osnovali Sidon između XII i XX veka pre nove ere. Grad je dosegao vrhunac tokom Persijskog carstva (550–330 g. p. n. e.). Snabdevao je Persiju, veliku kopnenu silu, brodovima i moreplovčima, koji su se borili protiv Egipćana i Grka, što im je davalо povlašten položaj. Persijanci su održavali kraljevski park u Sidonu i tokom tog perioda, izgrađen je Ešmunov hram. Proizvodnja stakla, najvažnija delatnost Sidona u feničanskoj eri, bila je široko rasprostranjena, kao i jednako važna proizvodnja purpune boje. Mrvili su male školjke (Murex trunculus) da bi izvlačili pigment, toliko redak da je njegovo korišćenje bilo privilegija kraljeva.

Kao i drugi feničanski gradovi-države, Sidon je bio na meti mnogih osvajača. Na kraju persijske vladavine, 351. godine pre nove ere, nemocni da se odupaju jačim snagama Artakserksa III, Sidonci su zaključali kapije i zapalili grad da ga ne bi predali osvajačima. Preko 40.000 ljudi je tada stradalo u požaru. Nakon katastrofe, grad je bio

preslab da bi se odu-pro pobedničkom maršu Aleksandra Velikog 333. godine pre nove ere. Sidonci su tražili mir, i tada je započelo helensko doba Sidona. Pod Aleksandrovim naslednicima, Sidon, „sveti grad“ Fenikije, uživao je relativnu slobodu i organizovao igre i takmičenja u kojima su učestvovali najveći sportisti tog područja.

Tokom ovog veka, takođe, antički objekti iz Sidona (Saidoon)

fenički naziv, Saida na arapskom jeziku) pojavili su se na svetskom tržištu antikviteta. Drugi tragovi njegove prošlosti nalaze se ispod temelja modernih građevina, verovatno zauvek zukopani.

Postoje dokazi da je Sidon bio nastanjen čak i 4000. godine pre nove ere, i verovatno datira čak i od mlađeg kamenog doba (6000–4000 godine pre nove ere). Antički grad je bio izgrađen na uzvišici okrenutoj ka ostrvu, i tako štitio svoju flotu od oluja, ali i služio kao sklonište tokom vojnih upada iz unutrašnjosti. Po svom bogatstvu, trgovackoj preduzimljivosti i religijskom značaju, Sidon je, po predanju, prevazišao sve druge feničanske gradove-države.

Kada je Sidon, kao i drugi gradovi Fenikije, pao pod rimsku vlast, nastavio je da kuje svoj srebrni novac. Rimljani su u gradu podigli pozorište i druge važne spomenike. Tokom vizantijskog perioda, posle velikog zemljotresa 551. godine nove ere, u kojem je uništena većina feničanskih gradova, bejrutska Škola prava je našla utočište u Sidonu. Grad je tih živeo kroz sledeći vek, sve dok ga 636. godine nisu osvojili muslimani.

Sidon, obalski grad, 48 kilometara južno od Bejruta, jedan je od najpoznatijih toponima u antičkoj istoriji. Zbog svoje prošlosti, kroz koju je tragично pljačkan i pustošen, Sidon je najtajanstvenije mesto među svim libanskim gradovima.

# Sidon

The Phoenician founded Sidon between the 12th - 10th century B.C. and Sidon reached its height during the Persian Empire (550 - 330 B.C.). The city provided Persia, a great land power, with the ships and seamen to fight the Egyptians and the Greek, a role that gave it a highly favored position. The Persians maintained a royal park in Sidon and it was during this time that the temple of Eshmoun was built. Glass manufacture, Sidon's most important enterprise in the Phoenician era, was conducted on a vast scale and the production of purple dye was almost as important. The small shell of the Murex trunculus was broken in order to extract the pigment that was so rare it became the mark of royalty. Like other Phoenician city states, Sidon suffered from a succession of conquerors. At the end of the Persian era in 351 B.C., unable to resist the superior forces of Artaxerxes III, the desperate Sidonians locked their gates and set fire to their city rather than to submit

to the invader. More than 40,000 died in the conflagration. After the disaster the city was too weak to oppose the triumphal march of Alexander the Great in 333 B.C. It sued for peace and the Hellenistic age of Sidon began. Under the successors of Alexander, Sidon, the “holy city” of Phoenicia, enjoyed relative freedom and organized games and competitions in which the greatest athletes of the region participated. In this

century too, ancient objects from Sidon (Saidoon is the Phoenician name, Saida in Arabic), have turned up on the world's antiquities markets. Other traces of its history lie beneath the concrete of modern constructions, perhaps buried forever. There is evidence that Sidon was inhabited as long ago as 4000 B.C., and perhaps as early as Neolithic times (6000 - 4000 B.C.). The ancient city was built on a promontory facing an island, which sheltered its fleet from storms and served as a refuge during military incursions from the interior. In its wealth, commercial initiative, and religious significance, Sidon is said to have surpassed all other Phoenician city states.

When Sidon, like the other cities of Phoenicia, fell under Roman domination, it continued to mint its own silver coins. The Romans also built a theater and other major monuments in the city. During the Byzantine period when the great earthquake of 551 A.D. destroyed most of the cities of Phoenicia, Beirut's school of Law took refuge in Sidon. The town continued quietly for the next century, until it was conquered by the Moslems in 636.

Sidon, on the coast 48 kilometers south of Beirut, is one of the famous names in ancient history. But of all of Lebanon's cities this is the most mysterious, for its past has been tragically scattered and plundered.



## Kedrovi

Poznato jednostavno kao „Kedrovi”, ovo odmaralište u libanskem vrhu jedno je od najživopisnijih mesta ove zemlje. Njegova centralna tačka nalazi se u staroj kedrovoj šumi. Reč je o drvetu koje je već hiljadama godina simbol Libana.

Odmah ispod Kedrova, nalazi se grad Bšare, rodno mesto Halila Džubrana. Najuzbudljiviji put kojim se stiže do Kedarova započinje kod Deir el Ahmara u dolini Beka. Put se vrtoglavom penje do golih istočnih padina planine Liban, odakle se sa svake krvine pruža čaroban pogled. Kako se penjete, sa grebena gledate na nepregledna prostranstva s druge strane, a pred vama se pruža pogled na skijališta, kedrove šume i doline Kadiša. Planirajte da obiđete ovo mesto na leto ili jesen, jer zimi sneg zatvori prilaze.

### KEDROVI KROZ ISTORIJU

Kedar je sveto drvo, često pominjano u Bibliji i drugim drevnim tekstovima, i zauzima važno mesto u kulturi, trgovini i religijskim spisima antičkog Bliskog istoka. Eksploracije ovih šuma započele su u trećem veku pre nove ere, u priobalnim gradovima, kao što je Biblos.

Tokom vekova, Asirci, Vavilonci i Persijanci vodili su ekspedicije na planinu Liban, radi eksploatacije drveta ili ekstrakata delova drveta iz priobalnih gradova Hanan, u Fenikiji. Feničani su i sami koristili cedar, posebno za svoje trgovačke flote. Solomon je zahtevao velike količine kedrovine, zajedno sa arhitektama i graditeljima kralja Hirama iz Tira, da bi izgradio svoj hram. Navukodonosor je klinastim pismom urezao: „Za građevinu sam doneo moćnu kedrovinu, koju sam posekao vlastitim rukama na Liban planini”. Zbog mirisa, trajnosti i dužine velikih debala, kedrovina je bila veroma cenjena. Kedar je bio važan u brodogradnji i korišten je za izgradnju krovova hramova, grobnica i drugih velikih građevina. U drugom veku nove ere, rimski imperator Hadrijan je namerio da zaštititi šumu graničnim oznakama, uglavnom uklesanim u postojećim stenama, ili u obliku odvojenih isklesanih kamenica. Do danas je zabeleženo preko 200 takvih oznaka, što omogućava istraživačima da naprave približnu rekonstrukciju granica drevne šume. Dve od tih oznaka, uklesane latinskim skraćenicama, mogu se videti u muzeju Američkog univerziteta u Bejrutu. U vekovima nakon Hadrijana, libansko drveće je obilato korišteno kao gorivo, posebno za peči za pečenje kreča. U srednjem veku, stanovnici planinskih sela su krčili šumu kako bi dobili obradivo zemljište a drvo koristili kao gorivo i građu. Osmanlije su u XIX veku uništile veći deo šume, a tokom Drugog svetskog rata, britanske trupe su koristile drvo za izgradnju železničke pruge između Tripolija i Haife. ■



## The Cedars

Simply known as “The Cedars”, this resort settlement in Lebanon’s highest range is one of the most dramatically beautiful spots in the country. Its centerpiece is an ancient grove of cedars, a tree synonymous for millennia with Lebanon itself. Just below The Cedars is the town of Bsharre, birthplace of Gibran Khalil Gibran.

The most exciting way to get to The Cedars is from Deir al Ahmar in the Beqaa valley.

The road snakes up the bare eastern slopes of Mount Lebanon presenting marvelous views at every turn. As you get higher, at the crest you look down the other side into a gigantic bowl where the ski resort, the cedar grove and the Qadisha gorge lie before you in a wide-angle panorama. Plan this route for summer or fall because snow closes the pass in winter.

### THE CEDARS IN HISTORY

The Cedar is an historical entity mentioned often in the Bible and other ancient texts and it played an important part in the culture, trade and religious observances of the ancient Middle East. Serious exploitation of these forests began in the third millennium B.C., coastal towns such as Byblos.

Over the centuries, Assyrians, Babylonians and Persians made expedition to Mount Lebanon for timber or extracted tributes of wood from the coastal cities of Canaan-Phoenicia. The Phoenicians themselves made use of the cedar, especially for their merchant fleets. Solomon requested large supplies of cedar wood, along with architects and builders from King Hiram of Tyre to build his temple. Nebuchadnezzar boasted on a cuneiform, inscription: “I brought for building, mighty cedars, which I cut down with my pure hands on Mount Lebanon”. Prized for its fragrance and durability, the length of the great logs made cedar wood especially desirable. Cedar was important for shipbuilding and was used for the roofs of the temples, to construct tombs and other major buildings.

In the second century A.D., the Roman Emperor Hadrian attempted to protect the forest with boundary markers, most carved into living rock, others in the form of separate engraved stones. Today over 200 such markers have been recorded, allowing scholars to make an approximate reconstruction of the ancient forest boundaries. Two of these markers, carved in abbreviated Latin, can be seen at the American University of Beirut Museum. In the centuries after Hadrian, Lebanon’s trees were used extensively as fuel, especially for lime burning kilns. In the Middle Ages mountain villagers cleared forests for farmland, using the wood for fuel and construction. The Ottomans in the 19th century destroyed much of the forest cover and during World War II British troops used the wood to build railroad between Tripoli and Haifa. ■

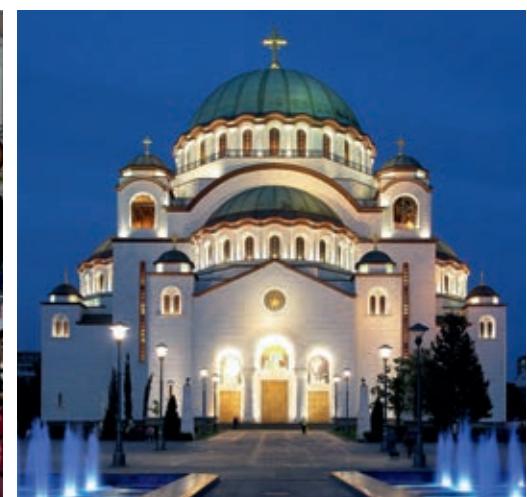


# Beograd

GRAD KAKAV ZASLUŽUJEMO

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BELGRADE IS THE CITY THAT WE DESERVE



Neki gradovi su stari hiljadama godina i imaju bogatu tradiciju i istoriju, neki tek nastaju. Gradovi su se stvarali uglavnom sasvim spontano ili su oživeli iz projektantskih planova. Tako je i s našim glavnim gradom, jedan njegov deo, tzv. stari deo grada nastao je spontano i bio naseobina brojnih naroda u prošlosti, dok je tzv. novi deo grada, Novi Beograd, nastao na osnovu projekata arhitekata urbane arhitekture. Nove moderne građevine kao što su kongresni Centar „Sava”, koji je u vreme otvaranja bio najekskluzivnije zdanje takvog tipa u ovom delu Evrope, a kasnije, početkom ovog veka i Beogradska arena, takođe najveći multifunkcionalan objekat na ovim prostorima, smišljeni su da u ovaj deo Novog Beograda privuku posetioce iz cele Evrope, pa i čitavog sveta.

Some cities are thousands years old, having their tradition and rich history, whereas some are in the process of being built. Cities were created mainly spontaneously or were revived from designing plans. It is also the case of our capital - one part of it, the so-called old part of the city – it was created spontaneously and was the settlement of many nations in the past whereas the present so-called new part of the city of Novi Beograd has emerged from the projects developed by urban architecture architects. The new modern buildings such as the Congress Center Sava which at the time of its opening was the most exclusive building of its type in this part of Europe, and later, the Belgrade Arena, having been built at the beginning of this century and is perceived as the largest multi-purpose facility in this area, were designed with the aim to make this part of New Belgrade more attractive for visitors from all over Europe and the whole world.



Spoj tradicionalnog i modernog kroz brojne manifestacije i druge srodne sadržaje danas čini duh Beograda posebnim. Gradovi nisu samo spoj arhitektonskih dostignuća, to je živi organizam koji deluje u sve četiri dimenzije. Baš kao čovek, ima dušu. Identitet urbanog tkiva i života u njemu neuhvatljiva je misao. I danas mnogi svetski putnici upoređuju duh Beograda sa Njujorkom zbog noćnog života ili sa Parizom zbog boemskog duha Skadarlije – sve zavisi od toga kako je shvaćen i kakav doživljaj pruža svakom pojedincu da ga ponese u mislima. Što je grad bogatiji u kulturnim dobrima, stvaralačkoj snazi svojih građana i brojnim manifestacijama, to nas više oplemenjuje nezaboravnim doživljajima.

#### **DOBRO SMIŠLJENE KULTURNE MANIFESTACIJE PROŽETE TRADICIJOM – BUDUĆNOST TURISTIČKE PONUDE**

Od jutarnje kafe, neobavezognog čakanja telefonom, putovanja do određene destinacije, pa sve do uskakanja u omiljene krpice, slušanja muzike ili gledanja filma, hteli mi to sebi da priznamo ili ne, okruženi smo svetom koji nam svakodnevno kreiraju događaji. Listanje časopisa ili omiljene literature vodi nas ka brojnim događajima u kojima su neki uživali ili su ih priredili. U tim časopisima tražimo uzbudjenje i ideju za ostvarenje nekog sopstvenog doživljaja za pamćenje. Svakodnevica vapi za lepo smišljenim, sadržajnjim događajima, jer samo takvi događaji čine „one dane za pamćenje“ koje smo spremni da ovekovečimo kroz video-zapis ili sliku. Pogledajte svoje telefone, prepuni su slika sa lepih zabava, rođendana, proslava, koncerata, filmskih projekcija, samo se oni čuvaju i samo to potvrđuje da ste uspeli da budete deo važnih skupova u gradu. Svaka slika ili zapis verodostojan su dokument koji potvrđuje da ste živelji i svedoči o tome kako ste živelji. Danas svaki događaj u gradu prati visoka tehnologija dostupna svima, afoni, tableti, smart telefoni, deo standardnog aksesoara i muškaraca i žena. Zahvaljujući društvenim događajima, mnoge sredine su doživele razvoj kakav se nekada nije mogao ni zamisliti. Savremeni događaji, hteli mi to da primetimo ili ne, kreiraju našu svakodne-

The blend of traditional and modern shown through numerous events and other related content today is what makes a special spirit of Belgrade. Cities are not just blends of architecture, they are living organisms that function in all four dimensions. And just like any man, they have their soul. The identity of Belgrade urban fabric and life in it is an elusive idea. Today many world travelers compare the spirit of Belgrade with New York for its nightlife or to Paris for the bohemian spirit of Skadarlija, it all depends on how it is perceived by visitors and what impressions the visitors take in their minds when they leave. The more a city is rich in culture, in its citizens' way of thinking and in numerous kinds of content, the more we get enriched by the unforgettable experiences.

#### **WELL DESIGNED EVENTS PERMEATED BY CULTURAL HERITAGE ARE THE FUTURE OF THE TRAVEL OFFER**

Since the morning coffee, small talk chat by phone, getting to a specific destination until jumping into your favorite pyjamas, listening to some music or watching a movie, whether you want to admit it to yourself or not, we are surrounded by a world which actually participates in creating our daily happenings. Skimming through magazines or our favorite literature leads us to a number of events which some people enjoyed or some people created. We look for thrill in these journals and an idea to do something as to fulfill future experience of ours worth remembering. The life routine cries out for some well thought-out and meaningful events and only such events make “those days to remember” that we are willing to make last by recording them or making photos. Take a look at your phones, they're packed with some photos or video clips of nice parties, birthdays, celebrations, concerts, film screenings, and only they are kept and only in that way you confirm to yourself that you managed to be part of important events in the city. Each photo or each recording is a credible document that you have lived and how you have been living. Each event in the city is now covered by the high technology available to everyone, iPhone,



vicu. Oni oplemenjuju svakog pojedinca i podstiču razvoj svakog društva. Svetski društveni tokovi diktiraju sve veći razvoj događaja i omasovljavanje novih sadržaja kroz raznovrsnu zabavu. Kroz događaje se najbolje plasiraju i prihvataju novi proizvodi, nove društvene ideje. I programi vlada (ekologija, tehnološka doseganja...) najbolje se prihvataju kada se plasiraju na skupovima manje ozbiljnog karaktera. Međutim, danas se ovaj veoma važan segment društva ne prihvata baš najbolje. Godine krize koje kao da su se odomaćile, uslovile su još veću odvojenost i neprepoznavanje važnosti njenog postojanja u društvu. Ako pitate bilo kog turistu šta je to što će poneti iz Beograda kao jedinstveno sećanje, to su svakako zabavni sadržaji našeg grada i provod koji oni nude.

#### KAFANA FEST KAO BUDUĆI TURISTIČKI BRENĐ

Preteća današnjih brojnih događaja na našim prostorima sigurno su kafane i sadržaj koji se kroz njih nudi i promoviše. Tradicija okupljanja po kafanama, prvenstveno u Skadarliji, a kasnije i po celom gradu, podstakla nas je da razmišljamo i doživljavamo umetnost kroz prizmu kafanske predstave muzike, poezije, slikarstva, pozorišta, umetnosti uopšte. Kafanska duša grada je još od XVI veka neizostavni deo slike o Beogradu. Prva kafana u Beogradu je, po predanjima, otvorena negde na Dorćolu, a u njoj se pila isključivo crna kafa. U početku su se u kafanama okupljali samo muškarci, no to se s vremenom menjalo, te su kafane postale stencište svih važnih dešavanja u gradu. Postale su deo života čaršije u kojem je pulsirao kulturni, zabavni, privredni i društveni život, a tako je i danas. U kafani je prikazan prvi film, održana prva predstava, prvi sajam knjiga, nastajala su značajna književna i likovna dela, prepričavale su se vesti, ugovarali poslovi pa i rušile vlade i stvarale države. U kafanama su testirana i prva naučna dostignuća kao što je telefon, koji je u Beogradu prvo zazvonio u kafani „Tri lista duvana“. S vremenom su kafane postale mesto okupljanja brojnih umetnika i književnika te kao takve, od 1830, počele masovno da se otvaraju. Tako su neke kafane bile prepoznatljive po

Tablet, Smart Phones, and this is part of the standard *accessoir* both for men and women. Social events have made many societies develop to the extent of what once we could not even imagine. Global contemporary mainstream, whether we want to notice it or not, creates our everyday life. Events raise the quality of each individual as well as enhance the development of any society. The social world-trends dictate increasing development of the "event industry" and the popularization of new contents across all forms of entertainment. New products are best promoted and accepted through events, and new ideas and the government programmes are the best accepted when promoted in the events which are of less serious nature (as programmes in the realms of ecology, technological developments ...). However, today, this very important segment of society is not perceived exactly in the best way. Years of crisis that, as if they have become commonplace, have brought even greater separation and the lack of recognizing the importance of its existence in every society. Should you ask any tourist what it is that he or she will bring from Belgrade as a unique memory, they will answer - definitely our city entertainment contents and fun that they offer.

#### TAVERN FEST AS A FUTURE TOURIST BRAND

The forerunner of today's many events in our area are safe taverns and pubs and contents that are offered and promoted through them. The tradition of gathering in taverns, primarily in Skadarlija, and later on throughout the city, inspired us to think and experience art through the prism of the tavern performance of music, poetry, painting, theater, literature in general. The tavern soul of the city has been an essential part of our image since the 16th century. The first tavern was opened somewhere on Dorćol, according to legends, and in that tavern you could only drink black coffee. Taverns have initially been the gathering place only for men, but later this changed and it became the meeting place for all the important happenings. They gradually became the part of life in the

gostima koji su se u njima okupljali i činili duh Beograda i imale važno mesto u životu grada i stvaranju njegovog identiteta. Tako je ostalo do danas.

Današnji svetski putnici dolaze na odabranu destinaciju da dožive nešto posebno i lepo se provedu jer im takav odmor najviše prija. Pasivan odmor je negde daleko iza nas i on je u današnjem svetu poimanja dobrog odmora *passé* jer podstiče depresiju i izolaciju, protiv čega se savremeni čovek bori.

Mnogi svetski gradovi pažljivo kreiraju sopstveni imidž težeći da se po nečemu izdvoje od drugih po sadržajima koje nude. U današnjoj komunikaciji slika je veoma važna, ona govori više od reči i nikada nije mogla tako brzo da obide svet i prenese razne emocije kao danas. Tradicionalni simboli gradova nisu toliko popularni i traženi, zamenilo ih je novo poimanje simbola koje se definiše kroz lične kontakte i brojne manifestacije koje se posete. Najbolji simbol je onaj s kojim ljudi povezuju određen grad. Danas neke manifestacije mogu da postanu simbol grada ili varoši: Ulica otvorenog srca u Beogradu, EXIT u Novom Sadu, NIŠVIL u Nišu, Sabor trubača u Guči. Pogledajte koliko simbola, gradova, mesta koji doskoro ni nama nisu bila prepoznatljivi – a mnogi turisti iz sveta nisu znali ni gde se nalaze – danas izazivaju pažnju i divljenje svih posetilaca. Kako bi se turistička ponuda obogatila, a turisti zadržali i zainteresovali da ponovo dođu, važno je ponuditi dobro smišljene sadržaje, a za to nam, pre svega, treba mnogo znanja i energije – daleko više nego novca.

#### VRABAC NAJBOLJE GOVORI O BEOGRAĐANIMA

Kad smo već kod simbola grada, treba reći da je maskota vrapca dobro smišljena, ali nažalost nije dovoljno vidljiva i zastupljena u brojnim gradskim sadržajima. Vrabac živi na svim kontinentima (sem Antarktika) i ta mala ptica ima brojna lepa značenja; smatra se simbolom nade, plodnosti, slobode i obnavljanja života. Takođe se verovalo da mornarima donosi sreću, zbog čega su oni, pre no što ispolje, tetovirali sliku vrapca, nadajući se da će im biti talisman i pomoći da se bezbedno vrati kući. Vrabac je postao simbol Beograda kao olicenje beogradskog duha koji može da uzleti više i dalje, ali i zato što ima osobine koje krase Beograđane: vedar, skroman, druželjubiv, zadovoljan, malo traži, mnogo daje. Nažalost, danas maskotu vrapca ne možemo da vidimo ni na jednoj manifestaciji, da li usled nemara, nebrige ili nečeg trećeg – ostaje nam samo da nagadamo.



#### BEOGRAD MORA OSTATI VEĆITA INSPIRACIJA JER TO JE NAJBOLJA PREPORUKA

Nebrojeno puta je ovaj grad bio inspiracija mnogim piscima, slikarima i velikim misliocima ovog i prošlog veka, a ta činjenica mogla bi da se iskoristi kao deo turističke ponude Beograda. Dok se neko ne doseti da organizuje Andrićeve dane u Beogradu i privuče turiste njegovim likom i delom, evo samo jedne od njegovih misli o Beogradu:

„Nebo je nad Beogradom prostrano i visoko, promenljivo, a uvek lepo; i za zimskih vedrina sa njihovom studenom raskoši; i za letnjih oluja kada se celo pretvori u jedan jedini tmurni oblak, koji gonjen ludim vetrom nosi kišu pomešanu s prašinom paonske ravnice; i u proleće kad izgleda da cvate i ono, uporedo

town and cultural, entertainment, business and social life have ‘pulsed’ in them until today. The first film was shown in a tavern, actors had their first performance, the first book fair was organized, significant literary and art works were created, the news was exchanged and retold, business affairs were arranged and agreed upon and even governments were toppled and states were created. The first scientific achievements were tested there as well, as it was the case with the phone that rang for the first time in the tavern ‘Three Tobacco Leaves’. Over time, the tavern became a gathering place for many artists and writers, and as such they have begun opening up massively since 1830. Thus certain places have become recognizable by guests who used to gather there and who made up the spirit of Belgrade and its identity. This state of affairs has remained to this day.

Today world tourists come to the chosen destination to experience something special and have a good time, because this type of holiday is best for them. Passive vacation remained somewhere far behind us and in the modern world perception of a good holiday it presents ‘passé’, as it encourages depression and isolation against which a modern man fights.

Many world cities carefully create their own image of striving to be different, easily distinguished in a multitude of different ideas, primarily by providing the world with unique events and other kinds of content. When we talk about modern communication, the image is what is very important, it says more than many words and nowadays it can travel the world in the fastest way and as never before and convey various emotions. Today, the symbols of cities are not so popular and in demand – they have been replaced by a new understanding of symbols that is defined through personal contacts and numerous visited events.

The best symbol is the one that binds people to the city in the best way. Some events and manifestations can now become a symbol of a city: The Street with an Open Heart -Belgrade, EXIT-Nov Sad, NIŠVIL - Nis, Trumpet - Guča. See how many symbols, cities, towns, which until recently have not even been well-known to us, and geographically speaking, neither to many international tourists, now attract attention and admiration of all visitors. Without a well thought-out content to keep tourists and intrigue them to come back, it takes the knowledge and energy, and not that much money, to enrich the already existing values and cultural wealth.

#### SPARROW TALKS ABOUT BELGRADE PEOPLE IN THE MOST BEAUTIFUL MANNER

Speaking of symbols of the city, the sparrow as a mascot is well designed but unfortunately not enough exposed and been used through numerous city events. If we know that the sparrow is present on all continents (except Antarctica) and its little character has the connotations of many beautiful meanings, it has been considered to be a symbol of hope, fertility, renewal of life and freedom.





sa zemljom; i u jesen kad oteža od jesenjih zvezda u rojevima. Uvek lepo i bogato, kao naknada ovoj čudnoj varoši za sve ono čega u njoj nema i uteha zbog svega što ne bi trebalo da bude.”

Svakom turisti ostaje da upozna duh Beograda preko uvek druželjubivih Beograđana. Neposredni i raspoloženi za zabavu, mnogi Beograđani će tvrditi da su pravi hedonisti, da znaju sve o dobroj hrani, vinu, muzici. Mnogi to zaista i jesu. Beograđani se raduju svemu i svačemu, prijatnim razgovorima i dugim šetnjama, ispijanju jutarnje kafe, neradnim danima, raduju se i kada u pekari u kraju pronađu svež, tek ispečen, vruć hleb. Vole da su u pokretu i zbog toga su ulice, šetališta, kafići, restorani, prodavnice uvek puni ljudi. Što je još važnije, Beograđani se raduju svakome. Zato turisti rado upoznaju Beograd upoznajući Beograđane i zauvek nose sa sobom brojna prijateljstva kao najlepši souvenir.

Završiću ovaj tekst na najlepši način – citatima ličnosti koje su uvek imale da kažu nešto lepo o našem gradu; neka nam to bude putokaz u čuvanju i razvijanju našeg Beograda.

„U Beogradu sam prvi put [1973]. Došao sam i zato što još nikad nisam bio u ovoj sredini, na istoku Evrope. Za kratko vreme sam utvrdio dve stvari, za mene vrlo važne: jede se izvrsno, a pristup filmovima je mnogo intelektualniji nego u Americi.” (Džek Nikolson, glumac)

„Tada su mi bili potrebeni susreti s ljudima koji me neće doživeti površno kao što mi se to kod nas dešavalо, s ljudima koji satima sede za stolom i druže se, pевају песме i uvek imaju toliko toga da kažu. Taj beogradski period prostо mi je izlečio dušu...” (Erskin Koldvel, pisac). ■

AUTOR / AUTHOR:  
Angelina Milutinović

Also, it was believed to bring good luck to sailors, so they would make sparrow tattoos on themselves before leaving, hoping that the tattoos be their talismans and help them to safely return home. It has become the symbol of Belgrade as a symbol of the spirit of Belgrade which is able to fly higher and farther, but also because some of the characteristics that adorn the citizens of Belgrade are recognized in the connotations that the notion of sparrow has – the characteristics of being happy, unpretentious, sociable, content, ‘little asks – has much to offer’. Unfortunately, the mascot of a sparrow cannot be seen at any event, no one understands why -- is it negligence, lack of care or something else - we can only guess.

#### BELGRADE MUST REMAIN AN ETERNAL INSPIRATION BECAUSE THAT IS THE BEST RECOMMENDATION

How many times has this city been an inspiration to many authors, artists and great thinkers of the last century? This is another of the unused contents which should be presented in the tourist offer of the town in order to make it more appealing. Until someone realizes the need to organize Andrić days in Belgrade and make his life and work a special tourist attraction, here's just one of his thoughts on Belgrade:

“The sky above Belgrade is wide and high, whimsical yet always beautiful; even during winter days in their icy splendour; even during summer storms when it turns into a single gloomy cloud which, driven by mad wind, carries the rain mixed with the dust of the Pannonian Plain; and in spring when it seems that it also blooms, along with the ground; and in autumn when it grows heavy with the autumn stars in swarms. always beautiful and rich, as a compensation to this strange town for everything that is not there, and consolation for all that there should not be . “  
Ivo Andrić, author and Nobel laureate

Every tourist gets to feel the spirit of Belgrade over always sociable citizens of this city. Direct and always in the mood for a party, many of Belgrade citizens will claim that they are true hedonists, that they know everything about good food, wine and music. Many of them really are and do so. “Belgraders” rejoice to all sorts of things: pleasant conversations and long walks, drinking their morning coffee during their free days, are happy when they find freshly baked warm bread in a bakery in the neighbourhood. They love to be in motion and therefore the streets, promenades, cafés, restaurants, shops are always full of people. What is more important, “Belgraders” like everyone. That’s why tourists love to get to know Belgrade by making acquaintances with Belgrade citizens and forever carry with them many friendships as the most beautiful souvenir. The best possible way to finish this text is by using quotations of some relevant figures who have always had nice things to say about our city; let this be our guidelines on how to preserve and develop our Belgrade.

\* “I was in Belgrade in 1973 for the first time. I came because I had never before been in this area, in the East of Europe. In a short time I found two things very important to me: eating perfectly, and access to the movies a lot more intellectual than in America. “Jack Nicholson, actor\*

“At the time I needed to meet people who would not treat me superficially, as it used to happen in our country, the people who sit for hours at the table and socialize, sing some songs and always have an awful lot to say. The Belgrade period simply healed my soul ... “Erskine Caldwell, author ■



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NOVEMBER 8, 1938

# Abeer Jaber

## MOJE PUTOVANJE

## MY TRAVEL



**A**beer Jaber, žena Libanskog ambasadora u Beogradu, voli da putuje i to čini kad god joj obaveze i obaveze supruga omogućavaju. Uživa u obilascima gradova Evrope, ali i u obilascima Srbije, gde se oseća kao kod kuće.

### Top pet destinacija koje ste posetili, i koje želite da posetite?

Zapravo, bila sam u mnogim zemljama. Najpre sam posetila Belgiju i potom Nemačku, gde mi živi porodica. Takođe, bila sam u Kanadi, u misiji pri libanskom Generalnom konzulatu, i to mi je bila sjajna prilika da vidim provincije Kanade u kojima žive libanske zajednice. Takođe, bila sam u Italiji, koju obožavam kao drugu najljupšiju zemlju odmah posle Libana. Bila sam i u Turskoj, kao i Jordanu, što je bilo podjednako očaravjuće. Opet bih posetila te zemlje. Moj suprug i ja smo sastavili spisak zemalja koje bismo voleli da posetimo zajedno; on je već bio u većini njih i ostajao je tamo po nekoliko godina, kao na primer u gradu Njujorku, Francuskoj i Japanu. Pošto su Šarm el Šeik i Dubai takođe atraktivne destinacije tokom zime, planiramo da ih posetimo. A zasigurno imamo u planu da posetimo zemlje koje se graniče sa Srbijom.

### Da li više volite da putujete preko Turističke agencije ili samostalno?

To zavisi od toga da li posećujemo neku zemlju prvi put ili ne. Po mom mišljenju, pri prvoj poseti, putovanje će biti mnogo bolje i ugodnije ukoliko ga je organizovala turistička agencija, jer u današnje vreme planiranje putovanja može biti zburujuće i oduzima mnogo vremena. Agencija ne samo da obezbeđuje različite

**A**beer Jaber, wife of Lebanese ambassador in Belgrade, likes to travel and seems whenever her duties and responsibilities allow her husband. She enjoys visits to Europa, as well as visit to Serbia, where she feels like home.

### Which are the five destinations that you have visited, and top five destinations that you want to visit?

Actually, I have been to many countries. First I went to Belgium and after it to Germany where my family lives. Also, I have been to Canada on a mission to the Lebanese Consulate General and it was a great chance for me to see the Canadian provinces where the Lebanese communities live. Further, I have been to Italy, which I adore as the 2nd charming country immediately after Lebanon. I have been to Turkey as well as to Jordan which was equally fascinating. I would like to visit these countries again. My husband and me have made a list of countries that we would like to visit together; he has been to most of them before and stayed there for a few years like New York city, France and Japan. Sharm El-Sheikh and Dubai are both attractive destinations in the winter season, and we are planning to visit them. And for sure our plan includes visiting the countries that border Serbia.

### Do you prefer travel using a service or a travel agency or independently?

It depends whether we are visiting the country for the first time or not. I think, for the first visit, the trip will be much better and more convenient if it is organized by a travel agency, because planning



vrste transporta već može da nam uštedi vreme ranim rezervacijama, hotelima i savetima u pogledu putovanja. Ali ukoliko smo se već navikli na neku zemlju, možemo da se snađemo sami, što nam omogućava da sačuvamo privatnost i organizujemo vreme po svojoj volji.

#### **Da li volite luksuzne hotele ili smeštaj u privatnoj režiji?**

Iskreno, radije bih odsela u luksuznom hotelu, preciznije rečeno, u hotelskom odmaralištu, zbog kvaliteta, udobnosti, usluge čišćenja, odličnih pratećih sadržaja i boljeg interneta. Luksuzni hoteli takođe nude bogatu ponudu međunarodnih kuhinja. Volim da uživam u udobnosti usluge sa pet zvezdica tokom putovanja.

#### **Šta najčešće nosite na putovanja?**

Često volim da putujem i pakujem sve ono neophodno za put, uključujući ležernu odeću i odeću za zvanične prilike, odgovarajuće modne detalje, uparene cipele, šminku i sve ostalo što je potrebno. Takođe, iz zemlje koju sam posetila donosim suvenire za sebe, prijatelje i porodicu. Ali ne mogu da odem u Italiju, a da se ne vratim sa ogromnim koferom punim odeće, tašni i cipela. Kad je reč o dizajnu odeće, bojama i, što je bitno, kvalitetu tkanina, kupovina u Italiji je neosporno neodoljiva i priyatna. Primetila sam da italijanska odeća nema premca.

#### **Kakav odmor preferirate?**

Svaki odmor je poučan i govori nam mnogo o zemlji koju posećujemo. Stoga volim sve vrste odmora, kako one turističke, tako i one u svrhu kupovine ili relaksacije, ali bih najverovatnije prednost dala odmoru tokom kojeg mogu da objedinim sve to. Bitno je obići

a trip today can be confusing and time consuming. A travel agent not only arranges the various modes of transportation but also is able to save us time with early booking, hotel and various travel advisories. But if we already have got used to the country we can manage ourselves independently as it gives more privacy and options to organize our time as we please.

#### **Do you prefer luxury hotels or privately arranged accommodation?**

To be honest I would rather stay in luxury hotels, to be more precise resort hotels, as they provide quality, comfort, clean service and excellent facilities and better internet service. Luxury hotels also provide wider range of international food menus. I like to enjoy the comfort of five-star service in my travel.

#### **What do you pack, what to you always bring with you?**

Often I like to travel and pack all the important things needed for my trip, including casual and official clothes, their respective accessories, matching shoes, make up kit and other main necessities. I also bring back with me from the country I am visiting souvenirs for myself, for my friends and for my family. But I can't visit Italy without coming back with a huge suitcase piled with clothes, bags and shoes. Shopping in Italy is unequivocally irresistible and enjoyable, in terms of design, colours and, importantly, the quality of fabrics used to make clothes. I came to notice that the clothes in Italy are second to none.

#### **What kind of vacation you prefer?**

Every vacation is educational and teaches us a lot about the country we are visiting. Therefore, I prefer all kind of vacations, touris-

nacionalne parkove tokom odmora, šetati se po prirodi, ići na plažu, posetiti lokalne festivale i odlaziti na obrazovne izlete... sve je to dobro po mom mišljenju. No, možda su mi ipak draži živopisni divni krajolici u kojima suprug i ja možemo da provedemo posebne trenutke zajedno.

#### Koja zemlja Vas je najviše inspirisala?

Zapravo, Jordan je ostavio najjači utisak na mene. Posetila sam ga oktobra 2012. godine i brinula se kakvo će vreme biti i hoću li uživati u tom putovanju. U zemlji poput Jordana mogla sam da iskusim sva godišnja doba u toku jednog meseca. Išli smo na more i u pustinju, dok je u Amanu padaо sneg. Uživala sam u poseti Akabi, Petri i toplim izvorima Maana i Mrtvom moru. Takođe sam uživala u razgledanju starih trgovачkih ulica, gde sam kupila mnoge poklone za porodicu i prijatelje. Uživala sam u vremenu proveđenom u Jordanu. Iskreno rečeno i bez namere da to zvuči kao kompliment, Srbija me je prijatno iznenadila. U njoj imam utisak da živim u nekom libanskom gradu i da mi je porodica blizu.

#### Koja je Vaša sledeća destinacija?

Kako se bližimo zimi, moј suprug i ja se nadamo da ćemo posetiti Dubai, gde je vreme prijatno i umereno u ovo doba godine.

#### Kakvi su Vaši utisci o Srbiji, da li ste obišli neka turistička mesta u Srbiji?

Kada me pitaju za neku zemlju, dobro razmislim kako bih dala diplomatski odgovor, ali sada ću odgovoriti bez razmišljanja. U svim zemljama u kojima sam bila ne bih mogla da ostanem duže od mesec dana, jer bi me obuzela nostalgija za domom. Nikada nisam ni pomislila da bih mogla da živim u nekoj drugoj zemlji osim u Libanu. Ali u Srbiji sam zaista samu sebe iznenadila. Mir i spokoj, očaravajuća priroda i ljubaznost ljudi odagnali su mi nostalгију i čežnju za Libanom. Sa uživanjem jedem sveže i kvalitetno voće i povrće. Ali više od svega uživam u toplini, ljubaznosti i gostoljubivosti Srba, kao i njihovim folklornim igrama i narodnoj nošnji. U tom pogledu su vrlo slični Libancima. Do sada sam posetila brojna turistička mesta kao što su Kalemeđan, mesta uz Dunav, Skadarliju, tvrđavu u Novom Sadu i neke manastire koje sam obišla sa Međunarodnim klubom žena, a sada planiramo da posetimo i druga mesta, na primer, Novi Pazar i planinu Kopaonik. ■

AUTOR / AUTHOR:  
Mirela Krajinović

sm vacation, shopping vacation, relaxing vacation but most likely I would prefer a vacation where I can do all of these things at the same time. It's important during vacations to visit national parks, country side walking, going to the beach, visiting local festivals and educational tours ... they are all good to me. But perhaps I have a preference for picturesque, scenic location where my husband and I can have special moments of being together.

#### Which country has inspired u most?

Actually, Jordan has impressed me the most. I visited it in October 2012 and I was worried about the weather how it will be like and whether I will enjoy the trip or not. In a country like Jordan I was able to enjoy all the seasons in one month. We went to the sea and desert while it was snowing in Amman. I enjoyed visiting Aqaba, Petra and Ma'ain hot springs and the Dead sea. Also, I enjoyed visiting the traditional shopping streets where I bought many presents for my family and friends. I had enjoyable time in Jordan. And to be honest and without meaning to say it as a compliment, Serbia shocked me positively. It makes me feel I am living in another Lebanese city and that my family is close to me.

#### What is your next destination?

As we are approaching the winter, my husband and I are hoping to visit Dubai where the weather will be bearable and moderate at this time of the year.

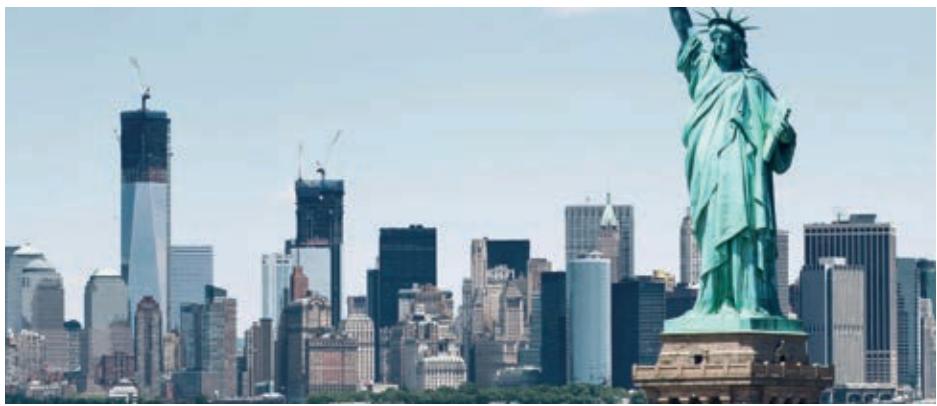
#### What is your impression of Serbia; did u visit some tourist destination?

When I am asked about a country, I think deeply in order to give a diplomatic answer, but now I will be spontaneous. In all the countries I have visited I could not stay longer than one month, because then I start getting homesick. I have never thought I could live in a country other than Lebanon. But in Serbia, really, I am surprised with myself. The peace and calmness, the charming nature and kindness of the people have compensated my nostalgia and longing for Lebanon. I enjoy eating the fresh and good quality fruit and vegetables. But above all I enjoy the warmth, kindness and hospitality of the Serbian people, in addition to the folk dances and traditional costumes. In this respect, they are very similar to the Lebanese people. So far I have visited a lot of tourist places, like Kalemeđan, the Danube river area, Skadarlija, Novi Sad fortress and some monasteries which I visited with the IWC, and now we are planning to visit other cities like Novi Pazar and Kopaonik mountain. ■





**Belgrade  
Nikola Tesla  
Airport**



## LET ZA NJUJORK JE VELIKO PRIZNANJE ZA SRBIJU

Prvi avion iz Beograda za Njujork poleteće sa Aerodroma Nikola Tesla 23. juna ove godine i biće to prvi put nakon skoro 30 godina da se sa avionima I posadom srpske avio-kompanije leti za Sjedinjene amerike države.

Nacionalna aviokompanija Er Srbija od tog datuma uspostavlja dugolinijske letove za Njujork i leteće pet puta nedeljno, radnim danima, za ovaj američki grad, koji je ujedno i najpoželjnija destinacija na severnoameričkom kontinentu. Karte za tu destinaciju se od nedavno mogu naći i u prodaji.

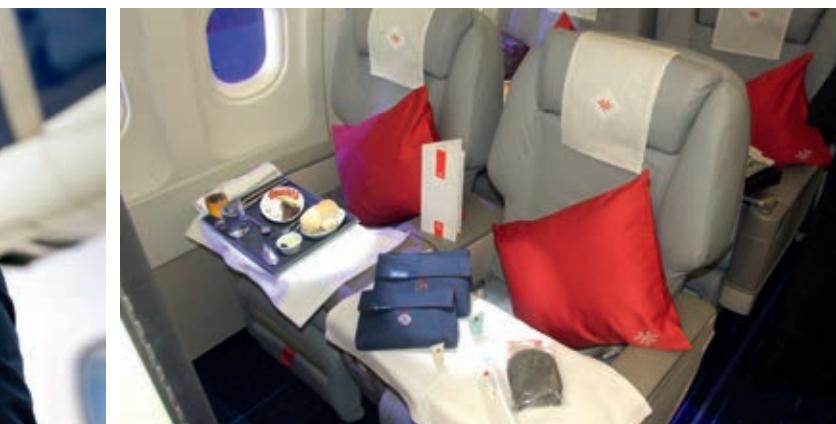
Značaj uspostavljanja ovog leta je nemerljiv za Beograd i Srbiju, ali predstavlja i priznanje za sve uspehe koje je Er Srbija postigla od svog osnivanja, smatra gradonačelnik Beograda i predsednik Nadzornog odbora ove kompanije Siniša Mali.

„Kada je Er Srbija ušla u partnerstvo sa Etihadom, plan je bio da nacionalna aviokompanija postane komercijalna kompanija, da poveća mrežu linija, kao i flotu i sve je to ostvareno za relativno

kratko vreme. Er Srbija sada ima mrežu linija na 39 destinacija, a cene letova za Njujork biće konkurentne, jer ova kompanija staje rame uz rame sa najboljim evropskim manjim avio-prevoznicima”, istakao je Siniša Mali.

On je naglasio da kompanija Er Srbija ostvaruje stalni rast po svim parametrima i da je let za Njujork priznanje za to, kao i dokaz da je Beogradski aerodrom po pitanju bezbednosti visoko ocenjen. On napominje da će uspostavljanje letova do Njujorka biti pun pogodak za Srbiju, jer će Beograd biti jedini grad u regionu koji će imati direktnе letove do SAD, što umnogome doprinosi i boljoj investicionoj klimi u srpskoj prestonici.

„Čim ste dobro povezani sa velikim gradovima, to automatski znači i da ste poželjnija destinacija za investiranje. To implicira i da ćemo dovesti hiljade poslovnih putnika i turista u Beograd i Srbiju”, zaključio je Mali.



# THE FLIGHT TO NEW YORK IS A HUGE RECOGNITION FOR SERBIA

The first plane from Belgrade to New York takes off from the Nikola Tesla airport on June 23 this year, and it will be the first time that planes and crew of the Serbian airline fly to the United States of America, in almost 30 years.

As of that day, the national airline Air Serbia will organize long-haul flights to New York and will fly five times a week, on working days, to the American city, the most desirable destination in the north American continent. Recently, the tickets for this flight have gone on sale.

“The importance of this flight is immeasurable for Belgrade and Serbia and also represents recognition for all the successes that Air Serbia has accomplished since its opening,” says the mayor of Belgrade and the Chairman of Supervisory Board of this company Siniša Mali.

In the beginning of Air Serbia’s partnership with Etihad, we had a plan to make the national airline a commercial company, to increase its route network and its fleet, and this has all been accom-

plished in a relatively short period of time. Air Serbia has a route network of 39 destinations. The prices of flights to New York will be competitive, because this company stands shoulder to shoulder with the best European small airlines,” stated Siniša Mali. He emphasizes that Air Serbia achieves its continuous growth in all parameters, and the flight to New York is confirmation of it, as well as proof that the Belgrade airport is highly regarded in terms of security.

He points out that the flights to New York will be a real win, since Belgrade will be the only city in the region with direct flights to the USA, which largely contributes to a better investment environment in the Serbian capital.

“When you have good connections to the big cities, it automatically means that you are a much more desirable destination for investment. This implies that we will bring thousands of business travelers and tourists to Belgrade and Serbia,” concluded Mali.



V. D. UPRAVNIKA NARODNOG POZORIŠTA /  
ACTING MANAGER OF THE NATIONAL THEATER

# DEJAN SAVIĆ

MAESTRO NARODNOG POZORIŠTA

MAESTRO OF THE NATIONAL THEATER





**D**irigent, apsolvent na građevinskom fakultetu, odličan matematičar, sportista – nekadašnji košarkaš, Dejan Savić, V. D. upravnika Narodnog pozorišta, vrhunski je dirigent sa zavidnom umetničkom karijerom. Dvadeset četiri godine je član Narodnog pozorišta. Za magazin THE GLOBE otkriva svoje prve profesionalne nastupe, šta mu je bio najveći izazov za dvadeset četiri godine službovanja u Narodnom pozorištu, i kao umetnika i kao upravnika. Za najveći profesionalni izazov smatra posao dirigenta u operi i baletu.

#### **Kako je počela vaša karijera dirigenta, i uopšte umetnika?**

Kao dirigent sam radio sa dečjim, ženskim, muškim i mešovitim horom, te duvačkim ansamblom, sa simfonijskim orkestrom. Dirigovao sam baletom, operom, operetom, velikim simfonijskim orkestrom. Gde god je postojala potreba za dirigentom, ja sam učestvovao i dirigovao, i to sa velikim uspehom. Kada sam iz Niša prešao u Beograd, smatralo sam da nisam dovoljno dorastao Narodnom pozorištu, pa sam se okrenuo manjim teatrima. Međutim, bilo je onih koji su me godinama pratili i smatrali da imam potencijala te da mi je mesto u velikom teatru, u Narodnom pozorištu.

**T**he orchestra conductor, DEJAN SAVIĆ, who is also a former student of the Faculty of Civil Engineering, sportsman – former basketball player, acting manager of the National Theater, and prominent conductor with an outstanding career in the arts. For 24 years, he has been a member of the National Theater. For THE GLOBE Magazine, he unveils his first professional performances, the challenges in his 24 years long service at the National Theater, both as an artist and manager. He considers his biggest professional challenge as a conductor to be working in opera and ballet.

#### **How was the start of your career as a conductor, and artist in general?**

As a conductor, I worked with a children's choir, female choir, male choir, mixed as well, with brass ensemble, symphony orchestra, I conducted ballets, operas, operettas, and large symphony orchestras. Wherever a conductor was needed, I worked, conducted, and with great success. When I left Niš for Belgrade, I thought I was not mature enough for the National Theater. I looked up some smaller theaters, but there were people who followed my work for years and thought that I had potential and that my place is in the major theater, the National Theater.

**U Narodnom pozorištu, za te dvadeset četiri godine, promenili ste nekoliko funkcija i dirigovali prilikom izvođenja svih većih dela.**

Bio sam direktor opere i baleta od 2001. do 2004, pre toga šef dirigent, a posle toga glavni dirigent. Za vreme svog mandata, odvojio sam balet i operu u dva sektora, što se pokazalo kao pametna odluka. Moja karijera kao rukovodioca u Narodnom pozorištu traje već petnaest godina. Vodio sam dva najveća hora – „Abrašević” i „Braća Baruh”. To je bilo lepo vreme – bavili smo se sportom, a materizmom, družili smo se bez interneta.

**Kao mlad čovek odlučili ste se da postanete dirigent. Kako ste se opredelili za tu profesiju?**

Moj otac je bio dirigent, moj teča je dirigent. Potičem iz umjetničke porodice. Majka mi je bila profesor na Muzičkoj akademiji. Nikada se nisam dvoumio šta će biti kada odrastem. Pored klavira sam se rodio i oduvek znao da ću biti upravo to što sam danas – dirigent, muzički umetnik.

Igrao sam košarku, studirao građevinu i apsolvirao na građevinskom fakultetu kao već afirmisani dirigent.

**Kada ste prvi put samostalno nastupili kao dirigent i koji su vam nastupi najznačajniji?**

Pre četrdeset godina u Španiji, u Barseloni, ukazala mi se prilika, kao mlađom čoveku, da učestvujem sa našim horom „Abrašević” na horskom festivalu, i to u dvorani gde je kraljica Izabela primila Kolumba kada se vratio iz Amerike.

Snimao sam sa Londonskim simfonijskim orkestrom, filharmonijom, dirigovao u Bečkoj operi. Moja prava profesionalna umjetnička karijera počela je sa Niškim simfonijskim orkestrom u Nišu, gde smo zabeležili odlične rezultate. Takođe sam imao uspeha nastupajući sa domaćim ansambilima, pogotovo sa svojim dragim kolegama u Narodnom pozorištu. Pokazali smo se i dokazali i u inostranstvu, i teško mi je da posebno izdvojam neki nastup.

**Šta je jednom dirigentu iziskuje najviše napora?**

To je zahtevan i složen posao. Dirigent mora dobro da poznaje balet, a operu pogotovo. Dirigent u operi vodi sve, od solista, ansambala solista, hora na sceni, baleta na sceni, orkestra, solista u orkestru, dečjeg hora na sceni do instrumentalnih solista. Najsloženiji zadatak nalazi se pred dirigentom.

**Koliko je vremena potrebno da se uvežba delo?**

Moj repertoar je ogroman. I dan-danas, iako sam toliko godina u ovom poslu i imam dosta iskustva, nije mi teško da pripremim neko novo delo. Ja ne recikliram stare partiture koje je neko već obradio. Vrlo brzo, sa ovim znanjem i iskustvom, od nepoznate partiture uspevam da napravim delo za prikazivanje. Teškoće mi ne predstavlja čak ni opera koja traje tri-četiri sata. Ja uvek vežbam.

**Narodno pozorište je naša najveća kulturna institucija, ali mi još uvek nemamo odvojenu operu kao većina metropola.**

Postojalo je nekoliko pokušaja da se to izvede. Godine 1971. bio je raspisan konkurs na Ušće. Na njemu je pobedio danski arhitekta sa projektom koji bi i danas mogao da se iskoristi. Posle toga se razgovaralo o tome da opera bude prekoputa Narodnog pozorišta, u „Staklencu”. Ali, nažalost, ništa od toga nije reali-

**You have been in the National Theater for 24 years, you changed several positions, and conducted all major pieces.**

Between 2001 – 2004, I conducted operas and ballets. Before that, I was chief conductor, and then principal conductor. During my mandate, I separated ballet and opera into two sectors, which was a smart thing to do. My managerial career in the National Theater has lasted for 15 years. I managed the two biggest choirs, the Abrasević Choir, and the Baruh Brothers Choir; those were nice times when we did sports, amateurism, and hanging out without Internet.

**Where did you get your ambition, as a young man, to become a conductor? How did you decide on this profession?**

My father was a conductor, my uncle is a conductor, and I come from a family of artists as my mother was a professor at the Faculty of Music. I never had any doubts what I would be when I grew up. I practically grew up with piano next to me, and I always knew that I would be what I am now, a conductor and an artistic director.

I played basketball, I was also a graduate at the Faculty of Civil Engineering, all as an already affirmed conductor.

**When was your first independent conducting performance and what are your most important performances?**

Forty years ago, in Barcelona, Spain, I had an opportunity, as a young man, to perform with our choir, the Abrasević Choir. It was in the hall, where Queen Isabella received Columbus on his return from America.

I recorded with the London Symphony Orchestra, and I conducted in the Vienna State Opera. My real artistic professional career started in Niš, with their symphony orchestra, with which we had great results, also all the performances with domestic ensembles, especially my dear colleagues at the National Theater. We also had great successes abroad, and it is hard to point to any in particular.

**What is the most complicating to conduct?**

It is all very complex and demanding. You must know ballet, and especially opera. In opera, the conductor runs the whole show, from the soloists ensemble, to the stage choir, stage ballet, orchestra, orchestra soloists, children's choir on stage, and instrumental soloists on stage. This is the most complex thing that the conductor must face.

**How long does it take to practice a piece?**

I have a large repertoire, and still, with so many years of experience, I do put together a new piece, I do not recycle old partitures someone has done before. With this knowledge and experience, it does not take me too long to turn an unknown partiture into a work to show. It is not a problem even with operas that are 3-4 hours long. I always practice.

**The National Theater is our greatest institution of culture, however, we still do not have a separate opera house, as most of the metropoles.**

There were several projects, in 1971, there was a tender opened in Ušće, and a Danish architect won with a project that would have been good even today, but unfortunately, it was never realized. After that, there were some discussions about an opera house, which should be located in a building across the street from the Natio-

zovano. Ono u šta se mi najviše uzdamo jeste projekat „Beograd na vodi“ jer smo, u dogovoru sa investitorima, premijerom g. Aleksandrom Vučićem i planerima tog velikog projekta važnog za Beograd, uspeli da se izborimo za Operu distrikt, koji će se sastojati od trga i nove zgrade baleta i opere Narodnog pozorišta, pogodnih za izvođenje na otvorenom. Zgrada će služiti i operi i baletu, a i drami, našim kolegama iz Narodnog pozorišta, jer mi ne zamišljamo da se Narodno pozorište razdvoji, već ostane jedna kuća, ali da ima dve scene. Mnoga pozorišta u svetu imaju po osam scena. Narodno pozorište ima samo jednu scenu. Imali smo još jednu scenu u Zemunu, koju smo izdali „Madlenianumu“.

#### **Otvoren je muzej Narodnog pozorišta, šta možete da nam kaže o tome?**

Muzej je izuzetno važan za Narodno pozorište. S obzirom na to da ono postoji skoro sto pedeset godina, njegova istorija mora da bude sačuvana i dostupna javnosti. Upravo tome služi Muzej Narodnog pozorišta. U njemu imamo stalne postavke, izložbe sa recitalima, pravim manjim dramskim programima. Muzej je i te kako važan sada kada Beograd postaje sve primamljivija turistička destinacija i uključen je u turističku ponudu Beograda. Muzej je opravdao svoju ulogu.

#### **Jeste li zadovoljni saradnjom Narodnog pozorišta sa drugim pozorištima ne samo u evropi već i u svetu?**

Iako ta saradnja može da bude bolja, zasad smo zadovoljni. Svi ansambl ravnopravno učestvuju u tome i najčešće su u pitanju razmene. To je velik finansijski izdatak.

Razvili smo kulturnu mrežu Srbije i poboljšali saradnju s pozorištem iz Niša. U Nišu je pokrenuta Operska scena Novog Sada i Narodnog pozorišta u Beogradu. Svaka premijera u Novom Sadu mora da se odigra i u Nišu i u Beogradu, kao što i niška premijera mora da se prikaže u Beogradu i Novom Sadu.

#### **Šta ste nam pripremili za novu sezonu?**

U sezoni 2015/2016, ono što smo najavili jeste repertoar u drami, koji po definiciji pripada Narodnom pozorištu, na kojem će se naći domaća i svetska velika dela. Reč je o domaćim i svetskim velikim delima: „Rodoljupci“, „Marija Stuart“, „Ivanov“ u režiji Tanje Mandić i drugi komadi koji će doći u drugom delu jesenje sezone.

Što se tiče opere, dovršavamo Pučinijev „Triptih“, sva tri dela – „Sestra Anđelika“, „Plaš“ i „Đani Skiki“. Obnova iz prošle godine uključuje Rosinijevu operu „Italijanka u Alžiru“. Na jesen, takođe, planiramo veliki nastup Verdijeve opere, Moć sudbine, sa našim prvacima u tim ulogama. Skoro svakog meseca dovodimo svetska imena, u junu dovodimo velike umetnike, Anu Kos i Invu Mulu. Želimo da operu približimo i onima koji nisu mnogo marili za nju.

Balet takođe gostuje ne samo u zemlji već i u inostranstvu. Sada su tu dvoje svetskih baletana, Jozef Molnar i Ana Cigankova, koji će sa nama proslaviti jubilej „Labudovog jezera“ u centru „Sava“, gde naš balet s velikim zadovoljstvom nastupa.

Upravo smo završili i odiglići premijeru iz programa Mladi koreografi, Jovana Veselinovića i Milice Jević, koji su imali veliki uspeh kod publike. Na jesen ćemo ponovo imati balet „Žizela“, naš najstariji balet u originalnoj postavi Lavrovskog.

nal Theater, so called Staklenac. But nothing has been realized so far. What we most hope for is the Belgrade Waterfront project, as we have negotiated with the investors, Prime Minister Aleksandar Vučić, and planners of this big project of great importance for Belgrade, to build the Opera District, which will comprise of the square, the new ballet and opera building of the National Theater, and will be adjusted for outdoor performances; the building will be at the disposal for not only opera and ballet, but also for drama, for our colleagues from the National Theater, because our concept is not to separate the National Theater, but to keep it as one house with two stages. Today theaters around the world can have even 8 stages. The National Theater has only one. We had the second stage in Zemun, but we rented it to the Madlenianum Theater.

#### **The Museum of the National Theater is open now.**

This is a place of great importance for the National Theater. We have existed for almost 150 years, and that part of history must be preserved, and displayed for the public, that is the purpose of the Museum of the National Theater. We have our permanent exhibitions, recital exhibitions, and true small drama programs. This is a significant place, included in the touristic offer of Belgrade, now that Belgrade is growing as a touristic destination. The Museum has justified its purpose.

#### **Are you satisfied with the cooperation of the National Theater with other theaters in Europe and the world?**

We are satisfied, but it could be even better. All the ensembles participate equally and mostly, these are exchanges. But it is a huge financial cost.

We have developed a cultural network of Serbia and a cooperation with the theater in Niš. Niš has also started with stages of the Opera of Novi Sad and The National Theater of Belgrade. Every premiere from Novi Sad must be played in Niš, as well as in Belgrade, just as every premiere from Niš must be played in Belgrade and Novi Sad.

#### **How does it feel to be the manager of the biggest shrine to culture?**

I have been a manager for a long time now, I have great support from my colleagues, I have also achieved great and significant results, and that is the reason why I have been in this position for so long.

It is a great challenge, but it does affect my career, I had to cancel many of my performances because of managerial duties. Wherever our ensembles perform, I send our directors, as I have to keep some time for my professional duties, as I live off my profession as a conductor.

It has been a pleasure and a challenge to be the manager of the National Theater. The position of the Manager of the National Theater certainly takes up a lot of time, energy and puts plenty of duties ahead of someone who wants to run this position in a responsible way. I definitely must refuse some performances, minor concerts and plays. I try to accomplish all major and important visits, but I also try to fulfill the duties that the state has entrusted me with, which is the care of the National Theater, and that is my priority concerning my art. We are the only ones in the region who have two plays performing every evening as well as frequent premieres and guest appearances.



#### **Kako je biti upravnik najvećeg hrama kulture u Srbiji?**

Dosta dugo sam upravnik, imam veliku podršku kolega, ali i velike i ozbiljne rezultate, i to je razlog zašto i jesam ovde toliko dugo. Posao upravnika mi predstavlja veliki izazov, ali na moju karijeru ne utiče najbolje, mnoge nastupe sam morao da otkažem, da ih pomerim zbog obaveza koje mi nameće posao upravnika. Gde god sam pozvan, gde god naši ansambl nastupaju, pošaljem naše direktore, jer moram da sačuvam neko vreme za sebe, za neke svoje profesionalne obaveze, jer ja živim od svoje profesije, kao dirigent.

Zadovoljstvo i izazov je biti upravnik Narodnog pozorišta. Posao upravnika svakako oduzima mnogo vremena i sange i nameće mnogo obaveza onom ko hoće da odgovorno radi. Trudim se da odem na sva velika i značajnija gostovanja, ali i da posao koji mi je država poverila – a to je briga o Narodnom pozorištu – ne trpi, i upravo to je moj prioritet kada je moja umetnost u pitanju, kao i briga o Narodnom pozorištu. Mi smo jdini u regionu koji svako veče imamo po dve predstave, toliko izvođenja, česte premijere i strana gostovanja.

Kao i u svakom poslu, biti savestan i odgovoran upravnik je veoma težak i ozbiljan posao. Ovaj posao može da vodi neko ko i nije iz umetničke branše, kome je bitno da u biografiju upiše svoj mandat. U ovim teškim i turbulentnim vremenima, gde država postavlja ozbiljne zahteve pred nas, gde se zakoni menjaju, gde

#### **What have you prepared for us in the new season?**

For the season 2015/2016, for the Drama division, which is a part of the National Theater, we have prepared a repertoire consisting of both domestic as well as great world pieces: The Patriot, Mary Stewart, Ivanov directed by Tanja Mandic, as well as other works that will be played in the second part of the fall season.

For the Opera division, we are finalizing Puccini's Il Trittico, all three acts, Sour Angelica, Il Tabaro and Gianni Schicchi; the revivals from the last year: Rossini's L'Italiana in Algeria.

This fall, we are planning a big performance of Verdi's La Forca Del Destino, with our top artists performing the roles. Almost every month, we bring in worldwide famous names. In June, we will host some great, names, such as Ana Kos and Inva Mula. We want to bring opera closer to the listeners and viewers who have not cared about it before. Our ballet also makes a lot of visits both abroad and in the country. Now we are hosting two world famous ballet dancers, Josef Molnar and Ana Cigankova, who will celebrate our 400th jubilee performance of Swan Lake at Sava Center, where our ballet has the great pleasure of performing.

We have just finished and performed the premiere of the program Young Choreographers. Jovana Veselinovic and Milica Jevic achieved great success among the audience. This fall, we will revive the ballet Gizelle, which is our oldest ballet performance originally directed by Lavrovski.



se ustanovljavaju nova pravila u skladu sa zahtevima Evropske unije, kojoj težimo, i sa zahtevima MMF-a, ja želim da sačuvam pozorište. Naš prioritet je održavanje visokog umetničkog nivoa, jer Narodno pozorište ima jedan jedini nacionalni balet i nacionalnu operu.

Ja mnogo vodim računa o socijalnom elementu. Naši ljudi u kulturi imaju veoma loš tretman. Plate i cene rada su nam među najnižima u državi. Nadamo se da ćemo posle predstojećih izbora imati boljeg ministra i bolji sastav ministarstva te bolji odnos države prema kulturi.

Ne treba zaboraviti da Narodno pozorište ima edukativan karakter i edukativanmomenat u svom radu. U Narodno pozorište se ulazi da bi se peko predstava zavolela pozorišna umetnost. ■



**How does it feel to be the manager of the biggest shrine to culture?**

I have been a manager for a long time now, I have great support from my colleagues, I have also achieved great and significant results, and that is the reason why I have been in this position for so long.

It is a great challenge, but it does affect my career, I had to cancel many of my performances because of managerial duties. Whenever our ensembles perform, I send our directors, as I have to keep some time for my professional duties, as I live off my profession as a conductor.

It has been a pleasure and a challenge to be the manager of the National Theater. The position of the Manager of the National Theater certainly takes up a lot of time, energy and puts plenty of duties ahead of someone who

wants to run this position in a responsible way. I definitely must refuse some performances, minor concerts and plays. I try to accomplish all major and important visits, but I also try to fulfill the duties that the state has entrusted me with, which is the care of the National Theater, and that is my priority concerning my art. We are the only ones in the region who have two plays performing every evening as well as frequent premieres and guest appearances.

As in any other job, being a responsible and conscientious manager is a hard and serious job. This job can be done by someone who does not belong to the artistic sector, someone who cares to write down the experience in his resume. One thing that I really want to do in these difficult and turbulent times, when the state sets some serious requirements for us, when the laws change, when the new rules are set up, co-related with the EU that we strive towards and IMF demands, is to preserve the theater. Our priority is maintaining a high level of art, because the National Theater has the only one National Ballet and National Opera. We have also managed to renew a music division in Niš, after 50 years.

In my job, I put a lot of emphasis on the social element. Our people in the arts have very bad treatment. Salaries among the lowest in the country. I hope that after the upcoming elections, we can expect both a better minister and better ministry members, as well as better treatment by the state in the area of the arts.

We should also not forget that the National Theater presents an educational element in its work. Through the National Theater, through the plays performed, people learn to love the performing arts. ■

AUTOR / AUTHOR: *Mirela Krajinović*

# РЕПЕРТОАР ЗА

## ВЕЛИКА СЦЕНА



МАРТ 2016.

## СЦЕНА „РАША ПЛАОВИЋ“

сезона  
15/16

УТО.	ПРОФЕСОРКИ, ОД СРЦА
01. 20.00	концерт у част примадоне и професорке Радмиле Бакочевић
СРЕ.	МАГБЕТ / ПРЕМЈЕРНА ПРОЈЕКЦИЈА ФИЛАМА
02. 19.30	редитељ Џастина Курција, у оквиру 44. ФЕСТ-а
ЧЕТ.	КРАЉИЦА МАРГО
03. 19.30	балет на музику Горана Бреговића
ПЕТ.	КАИНОВ ОЖИЉАК
04. 19.30	В. Кејмановић / А. Стојилковић, гостује Шабачко позориште
СУБ.	ЧАРОБНА ФРУЛА
05. 19.30	опера В. А. Моцарта
НЕД.	АНТИГОНА
06. 19.30	трагедија Софокла
ПОН.	ПРОМОЦИЈА МОНОГРАФИЈЕ О ЖИВАНИУ САРАМАНДИЋУ И СД-а
07. 19.30	аутор монографије Љубиша Милановић, издавачи Службени гласник / ППТ РТС
УТО.	КО ТО ТАМО ПЕВА
08. 19.30	балет на музику Војислава Вокића Костића
СРЕ.	ПЛАШТ / СЕСТРА АНЂЕЛИКА / ПРЕМЈЕРНЕ ОБНОВЕ
09. 19.30	опере Ђакома Пучинија
ЧЕТ.	ДОДЕЛА НАГРАДЕ „МЕША СЕЛИМОВИЋ“
12.00	
10.	ДАМА С КАМЕЛИЈАМА
19.30	мелиорама Александра Ћиме Сина
ПЕТ.	ХЕНРИ ШЕСТИ
11. 19.30	драма Вилијама Шекспира
СУБ.	ТРАВИЈАТА
12. 19.30	опере Ђузепе Вердија
НЕД.	GRUBB SHOW
13. 20.00	десетогодишњица GRUBB фондације
ПОН.	ВЕЛИКА ДРАМА
14. 19.30	драма Синише Ковачевића
УТО.	МАРИЈА СТЈУАРТ
15. 19.30	драма Фридриха Шилера
СРЕ.	ПЛАШТ / СЕСТРА АНЂЕЛИКА
16. 19.30	опере Ђакома Пучинија
ЧЕТ.	СВЕЧАНА АКАДЕМИЈА
17. 19.00	помоћу обележавања годишњице погрома на Косову и Метохији
ПЕТ.	ЧУДО У ШАРГАРНУ
18. 19.30	драма Љубомира Симовића
СУБ.	РОДОЉУПЦИ
19. 19.30	комедија Јована Стерије Поповића
НЕД.	АИДА
20. 19.00	опере Ђузепе Вердија
ПОН.	ИЗБИРАЧИЦА
21. 19.30	комедија Косте Трифковића
УТО.	СЛИКА ДОРИЈАНА ГРЕЈА
22. 19.30	балет у кореографији Владимира Логунова, према роману Оскара Вајлда
СРЕ.	ИТАЛИЈАНКА У АЛЖИРУ / ПРЕМЈЕРНА ОБНОВА
23. 19.30	опере Ђокакина Росинија
ЧЕТ.	КРЦКО ОРАШЧИЋ
24. 19.30	балет П. И. Чайковског
ПЕТ.	КОНЦЕРТ МАРИЈЕ ШЕРИФОВИЋ
25. 20.00	
СУБ.	ТОСКА
26. 19.30	опере Ђакома Пучинија
НЕД.	ОНИ
27. 19.30	балет у кореографији Ђорђа Макаревића, у оквиру Београдског фестивала игре
ПОН.	НАРОДНИ ПОСЛАНИК
28. 19.30	комедија Бранислава Нушића
УТО.	АЛЕКСАНДАР
29. 19.30	балет у кореографији Роналда Савковића
СРЕ.	РИГОЛЕТО / са гостом
30. 19.30	опере Ђузепе Вердија
ЧЕТ.	25 ГОДИНА HYUNDAI-а У СРБИЈИ
01. 19.30	МАЈКА ХРАБРОСТ И ЊЕНА ДЕЦА
драма Бертолта Брехта	
СУБ.	МЕЛАНХОЛИЧНИ СНОВИ ГРОФА САВЕ ВЛАДИСЛАВИЋА
02. 19.30	опере Светислава Божића
НЕД.	ПУТ У ДАМАСК
03. 19.30	драма Августа Стриндберга
ПОН.	ПОКОЈНИК
04. 19.30	комедија Бранислава Нушића
УТО.	ДОН КИХОТ
05. 19.30	балет Људвига Минкуса

### ГОСТОВАЊА

- 01.03. БЕЛА КАФА - Алексиначан
- 07.03. КИР ЈАНА - Алексовачан
- 20.03. РОДОЉУПЦИ - Данни комедије, Јагодина
- 30.03. РОДОЉУПЦИ - Ваљево
- 02.04. РОДОЉУПЦИ - Глаумачке свечаности „Миливоје Живановић“, Пожаревац

### САВА ЦЕНТАР

- 11.03. ЛАБУДОВО ЈЕЗЕРО, балет П. И. Чайковског | 400-та представа, гостују прваци Националног балета из Амстердама, Ана Џиганкова и Јозеф Варга

УТО.	БИЗАРНО
01. 20.30	црна комедија Јелка Хубача
СРЕ.	ЖЕНИДБА
02. 20.30	комедија Николаја В. Гогола
ЧЕТ.	КЊИГА ДРУГА
03. 20.30	драма Бранислава Нушића
ПЕТ.	ВАЖНО јЕ ЗВАТИ СЕ ЕРНЕСТ
04. 20.30	комедија Оскара Вајла
СУБ.	ЛАЖА И ПАРАЛАЖА
05. 20.30	комедија Јована Стерије Поповића
НЕД.	ПРОГРАМ - МЛАДИ КОРЕОГРАФИ
06. 20.30	Милица Јевић Дрндаревић, ПРОЦЕС... / Јован Веселиновић, ПУШКИН
ПОН.	МАЛИ БРАЧНИ ЗЛОЧИНИ
07. 20.30	драма Ерика Е. Шмита
УТО.	ЗЛИ ДУСИ
08. 20.30	Т. М. Ригонат, по роману Ф. М. Достојевског
СРЕ.	УСПЛАВАНКА ЗА ВУКА НИЧИЈЕГ
09. 20.30	Ксенija Поповић / Ђојана Мијовић
ЧЕТ.	КОВАЧИ
10. 20.30	комедија Милоша Николића
ПЕТ.	РАЗВОЈНИ ПУТ БОРЕ ШИНАЈДЕРА
11. 20.30	комедија Александра Поповића, гостује Српска драма НП Приштина у Грачаници
СУБ.	БЕЛА КАФА
12. 20.30	комедија Александра Поповића
НЕД.	НА ДНУ
13. 20.30	драма Максима Горког
ПОН.	ПРАХ
14. 20.30	комедија Ђерђа Шпира, Народно позориште у Београду и Шабачко позориште
15. 20.30	ЖЕНСКИ ОРКЕСТАР
ПЕТ.	ВАЖНО јЕ ЗВАТИ СЕ ЕРНЕСТ
16. 20.30	комедија Оскара Вајла
ЧЕТ.	ПРОГРАМ - МЛАДИ КОРЕОГРАФИ
17. 20.30	Ђорђа Макаревић, ОНИ / Дејан Коларов, ЂЕЛАВА ПЕВАЧИЦА
ПЕТ.	МОЈЕ НАГРАДЕ
18. 20.30	по роману Т.Бернхарда, ауторски пројекат М.Пелевић / С.Бештић, копродукција
СУБ.	ПРОГРАМ - МЛАДИ КОРЕОГРАФИ
19. 20.30	Милица Јевић Дрндаревић, ПРОЦЕС... / Јован Веселиновић, ПУШКИН
НЕД.	ЛАЖА И ПАРАЛАЖА
20. 20.30	комедија Јована Стерије Поповића
ПОН.	БЕЛА КАФА
21. 20.30	комедија Александра Поповића
УТО.	ЧЕХОВ ОТ ОЛСТОЈУ РЕКАО ЗБОГОМ
22. 20.30	драма Мира Јаврена, у продукцији „YUGOART-a“
СРЕ.	ЗЛИ ДУСИ
23. 20.30	Т. М. Ригонат, по роману Ф. М. Достојевског
ЧЕТ.	СЕКСУАЛНЕ НЕУРОЗЕ НАШИХ РОДИТЕЉА
24. 20.30	драма Лукаса Берфуса
ПЕТ.	ЖЕНИДБА
25. 20.30	комедија Николаја В. Гогола
СУБ.	КОВАЧИ
26. 20.30	комедија Милоша Николића
НЕД.	СТАКЛЕНА МЕНАЖЕРИЈА
27. 20.30	драма Тенесија Вилијамса
ПОН.	ОПЕРСКИ КОНЦЕРТ
28. 20.30	мали брачни злочини
20.30	драма Ерика Е. Шмита
УТО.	ХАСАНАГИНИЦА
29. 20.30	драма Љубомира Симовића
СРЕ.	ПРАХ
30. 20.30	комедија Ђерђа Шпира, Народно позориште у Београду и Шабачко позориште
ЧЕТ.	БЕЛА КАФА
31. 20.30	комедија Александра Поповића
СУБ.	НА ДНУ
02. 20.30	драма Максима Горког
НЕД.	БИЗАРНО
03. 20.30	црна комедија Јелька Хубача
ПОН.	НЕСПОРАЗУМ
04. 20.30	драма Альбера Камија

### ДОГАЂАЈИ

- 01.03. ПРОФЕСОРКИ, ОД СРЦА, концерт поводом 60 година учества и 40 година педагошког рада Рајмиље Бакочевић, у 20 часова, Велика сцена
- 02.03. МАГБЕТ / ПРЕМЈЕРНА ПРОЈЕКЦИЈА ФИЛАМА, радио-Кирил Курција, у зонти #4, ФЕСТ-а, Велика сцена
- 04.03. КАИНОВ ОЖИЉАК / А. Стојилковић, гостује Шабачко позориште, Велика сцена
- 07.03. ПРОМОЦИЈА МОНОГРАФИЈЕ О ЖИВАНИУ САРАМАНДИЋУ И СД-а, аутор монографије Љубиша Милановић, издавач Службени гласник / ППТ РТС, Велика сцена
- 09.03. ПЛАШТ / СЕСТРА АНЂЕЛИКА / ПРЕМЈЕРНА ОБНОВА, опере Ђакома Пучинија, Велика сцена
- 10.03. АДАЕЛА НАТРАЕ - МЕША СЕЛИМОВИЋ /, у 12 часова, Велика сцена
- 11.03. СВЕЧАНА АКАДЕМИЈА, радио-Кирил Курција, гостује Српска драма НП Приштина у Грачаници, Сцена „Раша Плаовић“
- 13.03. ГРУБВ-ЗНОУ, радио-Кирил Курција, гостује Српска драма НП Приштина у Грачаници, Сцена „Раша Плаовић“
- 17.03. СВЕЧАНА АКАДЕМИЈА, новом обележавању годишњице погрома на Косову и Метохији, у 19 часова, Велика сцена
- 23.03. ИТАЛИЈАНКА У АЛЖИРУ / ПРЕМЈЕРНА ОБНОВА, опере Ђокакина Росинија, Велика сцена
- 25.03. КОНЦЕРТ МАРИЈЕ ШЕРИФОВИЋ, у 20 часова, Велика сцена
- 27.03. ОНИ, балет у кореографији Ђорђа Макаревића, у оквиру Београдског фестивала игре, Велика сцена
- 30.03. РИГОЛЕТО, опере Ђузепе Вердија, гостује директор Крик Руслан, Велика сцена
- 31.03. 25 ГОДИНА HYUNDAI-а У СРБИЈИ, Велика сцена



BETI EN DŽERMAN, AMBASADA KANADE U BEOGRADU, VOĐA HORA  
INTERNATIONAL BELGRADE SINGERS / EMBASSY OF CANADA IN BELGRADE,  
DIRECTOR OF THE INTERNATIONAL BELGRADE SINGERS CHOIR

# Betty Ann GERMAN

GLAS ČOVEČNOSTI

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THE VOICE OF HUMANITY





**T**oplog pogleda, srdačna i gostoljubiva – čim smo upoznali gđu Džerman, iščilele su sve kulturne razlike ili one koje proističu iz razlike u poreklu. Ono što zagovara ova energična žena prevazilazi sve zebnje koje može da nam nametne nešto što nam je nepoznato i vraća nas u tačku u kojoj smo svi isti – težnju da primećujemo one kojima smo potrebni i učinimo sve što možemo da im ulepšamo i olakšamo život. Prvo što ćete primetiti na Beti En jeste njen zarazni osmeh.

#### Kako je i kada rođena ideja o ovako jedinstvenom horu?

Prvobitni hor se zvao *Belgrade singers* i bio je to hor diplomata raspoloženih da se okupe zbog muzike. Sve se dešava 1990. godine u Beogradu, kada nam je dirigent bio kompozitor Aleksandar Vujić, drag i vrlo talentovan muzičar. To je zapravo pravi koren ovog sastava. Nažalost, otišla sam iz Beograda 1993, hor je prestao da radi, ali se ponovo rađa ista ideja da okupim ljude iz inostranstva koji žive ovde i imaju različita iskustva iz oblasti horske muzike. To sam mogla da sprovedem u delo kada sam se vratila u Beograd 2011, kada sam uspela da okupim 19 ljudi – uglavnom preko Kanadske ambasade – koji čine hor *International Belgrade Singers*. Prvi nastup smo održali pretprošlog Božića, povodom jubileja kraljice Velike Britanije. Tada smo imali priliku da pevamo manje poznata horska dela koja se ovde ranije nisu mogla čuti, a koncert smo održali u dvorani Kolarčeve zadužbine Važno je reći da je moto našeg hora – ulaganje u zajednicu u kojoj živimo, tako da je sav novac od karata doniran školi za slabovide „Kosta Manojlović“. Konkretno, zamisao nam je bila da obezbedimo kupovinu Brajevog štampača notne muzike. Taj vrlo dragocen aparat košta oko 4.000 evra, a mi smo uspeli da skupimo 1.100... pa i nije tako loše za prvi put!

Na našem drugom nastupu sam videla koliko sam potcenjivala popularnost hora u okviru zajednice stranaca u Beogradu – atrijum Kanadske ambasade, koji prima oko 120 ljudi, bio je dupke pun te smo morali da organizujemo još jedan koncert...

**H**aving a warm look in her eyes, welcoming and cordial – Ms. German – the moment we met her, all cultural differences or differences having resulted from the different geographic origins, just vanished. What this energetic woman advocates transcends all the anxiety that the unknown can impose on us, taking us back to the point where we are all the same – the need to notice that we are needed, and the need that we do everything we can to help people in need by making their life nicer and easier. What you notice first about Betty Ann is the infectious smile of hers.

#### How and when did people get the idea of this unique choir?

The original choir was called Belgrade singers, having consisted of diplomats willing to gather around and make music. Everything happened in 1990 in Belgrade, when our conductor was the composer Aleksandar Vujić, very nice and very talented musician. These are, in fact, the real roots of this choir - unfortunately, I left Belgrade in 1993, the choir stopped working, but I got the same idea to bring together some people who were from abroad and lived here, and had different experiences in the field of choral music soon after that. I was able to realize the idea when I returned to Belgrade in 2011, and then 19 people gathered together and they made the International Belgrade Singers choir at the time. I mostly gathered members through the Canadian Embassy. Our first performance was held on the occasion of the Queen of Great Britain Jubilee, two years ago, for Christmas. We had the opportunity to sing the kind of choral music that could not have been heard here, the less known works, and the concert was held at Kolarac. It is important to say that the motto of our choir is investing into the community in which we live, so that all the money from the tickets was transferred to school for the visually impaired children, ‘Kosta Manojlović’. In particular, our idea was to secure the purchase of Braille printer of music notes. This very valuable device costs approximately 4,000 EUR, and we managed to raise 1,100 EUR... well, it's not too bad for the first time! It was on our second concert when I saw how much I had underestimated the

**Zanimljiva je ideja da povežete muziku i humanitarni rad.  
Zbog prirode posla radili ste na nekoliko kontinenata i sreli  
se s raznim problemima...**

Zaista, radeći i boraveći na mestima gde su invalidi ili ljudi sa smetnjama u razvoju nekako sklonjeni u stranu, nedovoljno integrисани u društvo ili bez odgovarajuće pomoći od zajednice, osetila sam potrebu da nešto učinim. Veoma sam zadovoljna saradnjom s velikim humanitarnim organizacijama – povezani smo sa svima u Beogradu, evo, ostvarili smo saradnju i sa Fondacijom Novaka Đokovića. Tako je divno spojiti dve strasti u jednu – muziku s jedne strane i osećanje da ste učinili nešto konkretno za ljude kojima je potrebna pomoć s druge. Inače, ja sam rođena u vrlo malom mestu sa svega 400 stanovnika, i svaki put kada bi se neko našao u nevolji, svi bi se angažovali da mu pomognu, sakupljući pomoć u hrani, odeći, novcu... Verovatno i to igra veliku ulogu u ovoj ideji. Ostaje potreba da se čovek angažuje, da učini nešto za budućnost u kojoj svi možemo da se oslonimo jedni na druge. Podizanje svesti o tome da imamo mogućnost da nekome olakšamo život veoma je važno u radu našeg hora. Zapravo, gde god da sam boravila, od Meksika do Beograda, pomoću muzike uspeli smo da širimo svest o tome, po mom mišljenju, na jedan od najkreativnijih načina... Ljudi su velikodušniji kada im se omogući da prethodno uživaju u kvalitetnoj muzici. Ovu velikodušnost sam mogla da osetim i u Srbiji – od samog početka organizovanja koncerta, kada treba da dođete i zatražite, recimo, da vam neko ustupi prostor bez nadoknade, nikada nismo naišli na odbijanje, i to je sjajno. Kada zatražite pomoć – dobicećete je... Setila sam se, recimo, vremena hiperinflacije, kada nikako nisam mogla da rastumačim šta koliko košta. Tada bih jednostavno otvorila novčanik i zamolila gospodu do sebe da izvadi onoliko koliko treba da platim i ona bi to i učinila. Na nekom drugom mestu bih doživela vrlo neprijatna iznenađenja, u to sam sasvim sigurna.

**Ima li među članovima hora nekoga iz Srbije?**

Da, naravno da ima, jedino što je ovdašnja tradicija horske muzike prilično konzervativna, a ja bih tu ukalupljenost želeta nekako da razbijem kompozicijama neočekivanim za ovo podneblje. Ima tu i dosta kontroverzi kao što je povod – 100 godina od završetka Prvog svetskog rata... Neko od pevača je, recimo, izgubio članove porodice u tom ratu, ali ja bih radije slavila život nego tugovala za onim što sam izgubila u prošlosti. Nekada je teško doći do dogovora, ali ipak uspevamo da prebrodimo sve kulturološke razlike. Stalno govorim ljudima ovde – pa, sve ste to preživeli, sve te ratove, osvajanja, nevolje koje su meni nezamislive, zašto ne slaviti činjenicu da ste tu, sa sačuvanom tradicijom, kulturom, jezikom?

**Slušajući vaš hor, ljudi osećaju vrlo jaku energiju, životnu ra-dost i potrebu da to podelite sa publikom...**

Da, ovo nije uobičajen hor koji biste očekivali. Biramo muziku kakvu bismo i inače slušali, a ima nas sa raznih strana. Lepo je što postoji velika želja da radimo, a ja ne namećem preteranu disciplinu. Ima tu i oslobođanja od svakodnevног stresa, i to je sigurno tačno. I sâm hor je napredovao tokom ove tri godine koliko radimo. Ljudi se druže, izlaze, stvaraju se i neguju pri-jateljstva.

popularity of the choir among the foreigners in Belgrade – the atrium of the Canadian Embassy, which can host 120 people was overcrowded, to such an extent that we had to organize another concert the following evening...

**Connecting music and charity work is an interesting idea. You worked, as that is the nature of your work, on several continents and came across various problems ...**

Indeed, having been working and staying in places where disabled people lived or people with disabilities were somehow marginalized, insufficiently integrated or got insufficient assistance from the community, I felt the need to do something. I have great satisfaction in cooperating with major humanitarian organizations here - we are connected in Belgrade with every humanitarian organization, we also established the cooperation with the Novak Djokovic Foundation. It is so wonderful to combine both passions into one - music, on the one hand, and the feeling that you have done something concrete for people who need help on the other hand. By the way, I was born in a very small town with only 400 inhabitants, and every time somebody was in trouble, somehow everyone around him used to engage themselves, gathering food, clothes, money ... Probably this fact from my past plays a major role in this idea. There remained the need in myself to engage myself in doing something for creating the future in which we can all rely on each other. The popularization of awareness that we have the ability to make somebody's life easier is very important in the work of our choir. In fact, wherever I lived, from Mexico to Belgrade, we were able to raise the awareness of this through music, in my opinion one of the most creative ways ... and people are more generous when they are previously provided with the opportunity to enjoy quality music. I could feel this kind of generosity in Serbia - from the very beginning of activities regarding the organization of the concert, when you should come and ask for, say, someone to provide space for free, to the follow up, we have never got a negative response, and that's great. When you ask for help - you'll get it ... I remember, for instance, the time of hyperinflation, when I was not able to realize how much something cost. I would simply open the wallet and ask the lady next to me, to pull out as much money as it was necessary for me to pay, and she would do it. Somewhere else I would experience very unpleasant surprises, I'm quite sure of that.

**Are there any members of the choir coming from Serbia?**

Yes, of course there are, the only thing is that here the tradition of choral music is quite conservative, and I would like to somehow break this type of stereotype by performing the compositions that are unexpected in this region. There's some controversy in this, as well as, for example, with the occasion - 100 years since the end of the World War II ... some of the singers, for example, lost family members in the war, but I'd be more engaged celebrating life rather than mourning over what I've lost in the past. Sometimes it is difficult to come to a mutual agreement, but we still manage to get through all the cultural differences. I am always telling people here -well, all of you survived all these wars, conquests, the troubles that are unimaginable to me, why not celebrate the fact that you are still here, with preserved tradition, culture, language?



#### **Kako birate repertoar?**

Zapravo ga zajedno stvaramo. Mnogo razgovaramo i o samom izboru – to je dosta eklektičan repertoar – od najklasičnijih dela do gotovo popularne muzike. Važno je da svi uživaju dok se pripremamo, a za to je potrebno da se svi prepoznaju u određenoj kompoziciji, bez obzira na to odakle dolaze. I sâm hor se širi, članova ima sve više, zaustavila sam se na broju 54. Ne znam da li bi bilo moguće organizovati već hor!

#### **Kako regrutujete muške članove hora? Ima li dovoljno zainte-resovanih?**

Najnoviji član našeg hora je bivši profesor muzike iz Danske. Lepo bi bilo da ima više muških glasova, pogotovu baritona i basova, ali radimo s onim što imamo (smeh). Ne, kada treba da proširimo hor nekim glasom, ja dam neku vrstu oglasa u diplomatskim krugovima. Uvek se neko javi, ovde smo zaista stekli veliku popularnost. U horu ima mnogo ljudi koji pevaju na jeziku koji im nije maternji – zato se mnogo radi na izgovoru reči, mnogo vežbamo i dobijamo rezultate, da bi hor zvučao skladno. Preslušavamo i ono što smo već uredili, slušamo svoje koncerte na Jutjubu. Zapravo je najvažnije da svi uživaju u onome što rade, inače sve ovo ne bi ni imalo smisla. Zaista je predivno usagašavati glasove da zvuče kao jedan – i izgovor, jezik, ritam, muzički kontekst i sama muzika, spajaju nas u jedno.

#### **Vi ste veoma zaposlena žena – rad u ambasadi, rad s horom, humanitarnim organizacijama i fondacijama koje su aktivne u Beogradu...**

Kako da ne! Ne mogu dovoljno da naglasim tu potrebu za ulaganjem u zajednicu u kojoj živim, gde god to bilo – od Afrike, preko Rima do Beograda – uvek postoji osećaj da se može učiniti više. Vrlo me usrećuje to što sam uspela da povežem u jedno ljubav prema muzici i pomaganje onima kojima je pomoći zaista potrebna i što sve to funkcioniše gotovo besprekorno. Mnogo je truda uloženo u ovo što radimo, i čitava životna filozofija... Širenje ideje o saosećanju, empatiji prema onima koji nas okružuju – možda je neko u nevolji, a mi možemo da pomognemo i to želimo da učinimo. Svi pevamo u ime nečega što je važnije od nas, u ime čovečnosti koju želimo ponovo da otkrijemo u sebi i da kod publike koja nas sluša podignemo svest o tome, jer naša muzika – muzika sveta – daje nam pravo da slavimo život i učinimo ga boljim za svakog od nas. ■

AUTOR / AUTHOR: Katarina Nedeljković Stojanović

#### **Listening to your choir, people can feel very strong energy, joy of life and the need that you share it with the audience ...**

Yes, this is not the usual choir which you would expect to hear. We choose the music that we would normally listen to, and we really come from very different places on the Earth. It's nice that there is a strong desire to work hard, and yet I am not someone who imposes some excessive discipline on people. One of the appealing sides of this is also escaping from everyday stress, and this is certainly true. The choir itself has progressed during the period of three years that we have been working. People socialize, go out together, create and nurture friendships.

#### **How do you choose the repertoire?**

Actually we make it together. We talk a lot about the selection, it is rather an eclectic repertoire - from the very classical pieces to almost popular music. It is important that we all enjoy as we practice, and it requires that everybody recognizes themselves in a given composition, regardless of where they are from. The choir itself becomes bigger and bigger, there are more members, I stopped at number 54. I do not know whether it would be possible to organize a more numerous choir!

#### **How do you 'recruit' male members of the choir? Are there enough people interested?**

The newest member of our choir is a former music teacher from Denmark. It would be nice to have more male voices, especially the baritone and bass, but we manage with what we have (laughter). No, when you need to expand the choir with some voice, I put some kind of an ad in diplomatic circles. There is always someone who answers, we really somehow became quite popular here. There are a lot of people in the choir who sing in a language other than their mother tongue – hence we have a lot of work on the pronunciation of words, we practice a lot, and get the result of the choir singing in unison. We listen to what we have already done, our concerts on YouTube. Actually, it is important that everyone enjoys what they are doing, otherwise all of this would not even make sense. It is really wonderful to harmonize the voices so that they sound like one – thus pronunciation, the language, rhythm, musical context and the music itself, connects us into one 'being'.

#### **All in all, you have a very busy day - working in the embassy, working with the choir, cooperating with humanitarian organizations and foundations that are active in Belgrade...**

Oh, yes! I do not know how to sufficiently emphasize the need for investing in the community in which I live, wherever that is, from Africa, via Rome to Belgrade, there is always a sense that more can be done. It makes me very happy that I managed to combine my love for music and helping those who really need assistance into one, and that the whole thing works in an almost impeccable way. A lot of energy is invested in what we do, and an entire philosophy of life ... Spreading the idea of 'feeling' each other, the empathy we feel towards one who is next to us – maybe the person is in trouble, and we can help him, and we want to do it. We all sing in the name of something that's bigger than us, in the name of humanity, which we want to re-discover in ourselves, and raise awareness of it among the audience that listens to our music – the music of the world, one that gives us the right to celebrate life and to make it better for all of us. ■

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# SRBIJA KAO CENTAR ISTOKA I ZAPADA

**U** prethodne dve godine Srbija je dokazala da zaslužuje važno mesto na svetskoj političkoj mapi. Iako mala država, naša zemlja je potvrdila da je spremna da odgovori na velike bezbednosne izazove i rizike. U razmaku od samo godinu dana, bila je domaćin dva važna skupa: Samita šefova vlada Kine i 16 zemalja jugoistočne Evrope i ministarskog saveta OEBS-a, koji su okupili ne samo evropske i regionalne već i visoke zvaničnike sveta na jednom mestu – u prestonici Srbije. U odvojenim susretima i uz najviše državne i vojne počasti, naša zemlja je ugostila i lidera tri velike države sveta: predsednika Ruske Federacije Vladimira Putina, premijera Narodne Republike Kine Lija Kećanga i nemačku kancelarku Angelu Merkel. Pred Srbijom su novi politički izazovi i poduhvati, ali prethodni događaji i skupovi koji su obeležili 2014. i 2015. godinu daju im poseban značaj. Stoga pravimo kratku retrospektivu najvažnijih događaja u tom periodu.

► **Godine 2015, 3. i 4. decembra**, Beograd je bio domaćin 22. Ministarskog saveta OEBS-a, koji je na jednom mestu okupio više od 1.000 delegata i šefova diplomatičkih misija iz oko 70 zemalja širom sveta. Ministarski sastanak je počeo zasedanje plenarnom sednicom, koju je otvorio predsedavajući OEBS-u i šef srpske diplomatičke misije Ivica Dačić, a delegatima su se obratili i predsednik Vlade Republike Srbije Aleksandar Vučić kao i zvaničnici OEBS-a. Glavne teme dvodnevног sastanka na kojem su učestvovali predstavnici 57 zemalja članica OEBS-a, kao i 11 zemalja mediteranskih i azijskih partnera, bile su borba protiv terorizma, ukrajinska

## SERBIA AS THE CENTER OF EAST AND WEST

In the past two years, Serbia has proven to deserve an important place on the political map of the world. Although a small country, Serbia has confirmed its readiness to answer to the great security challenges and risks. In only one year, Serbia hosted two important events: Summit of the Heads of Governments of China and 16 states of South-Eastern Europe and The 22nd OSCE Ministerial Council, which gathered around not only European and regional officials, but also high officials of the world in one place – the capital of Serbia. In separate meetings, with highest state and military honors, our country hosted the leaders of three great states: the President of the Russian Federation, Vladimir Putin, the Prime Minister of the People's Republic of China, Li Keqiang and the Chancellor of Germany Angela Merkel. There are new political challenges and ventures, but previous events and meetings from 2014 and 2015 assign them a special significance. For that reason, we will make a short retrospective of the most important events in that period.

► **December 3/4. 2015**, Belgrade hosted the 22nd OSCE Ministerial Council, which gathered over 1000 delegates and heads of diplomacy from around 70 countries from all around the world. Ministerial meetings started with a plenary session, opened by the OSCE Chairperson-in-Office and the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Serbia, Ivica Dačić followed by an address by the Prime Minister of Serbia Aleksandar Vučić, as well as OSCE officials. The main topics of the two-day meeting, which gathered together the representatives of 57 OSCE state members, as well as 11 states of the Mediterranean and Asian partners, were preventing and countering terrorism, Ukrainian and migrant crisis, climate changes, as well as the Russian-Turkish dispute after the shooting down of the Russian plane. At the end of the session, Serbia handed over the OSCE Chairmanship to Germany. Even though there was no agreement on some important issues raised during the ministerial meetings, the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Germany Frank Walter Steinmeier, considers the OSCE as needed, being a rare organization in which both East and West are engaged. Participants of

i migrantska kriza, klimatske promene, kao i rusko-turski spor posle obaranja ruskog aviona. Na kraju zasedanja, palicu predsedavanja Srbija je predala Nemačkoj. Iako nije bilo saglasnosti u nekim važnim pitanjima tokom ministarskog sastanka, šef nemačke diplomatiјe Frank Valter Štajnmajer smatra da je OEBS potreban, jer je jedna od retkih organizacija u kojoj učestvuju Istok i Zapad. Učesnici dvodnevног Ministarskog saveta OEBS-a složili su se u oceni da je Srbija uspešno predsedavala tom organizacijom, u veoma teškim okolnostima na međunarodnoj sceni.

► **Godine 2015, 27. septembra**, premijer Srbije Aleksandar Vučić i direktor IGL Hilsa Muhamed Alabar postavili su kamen temeljac za dve stambene kule, čime je zvanično počela izgradnja projekta „Beograd na vodi”, vrednog 3,5 milijardi evra. Uz kamen temeljac Vučić i Alabar su ubacili i „vremensku kapsulu” s porukama. „Postoji budućnost koja se stvara i budućnost koju stvaramo. I ono što smo danas počeli pokazuje da naši snovi mogu da stvore bolju budućnost za Srbiju”, deo je napisane poruke premijera Vučića, koju je preneo novinarima u svom obraćanju na svečanosti povodom polaganja kamena temeljca. Uprkos kiši, premijer Vučić i Alabar su se zajedno sa gradonačelnikom Beograda Sinišom Malim prošetali savskom promenadom i tom prilikom obišli prve ugostiteljske objekte koji su deo velikog projekta. Premijer je poručio da početkom gradnje „Beograda na vodi” Srbija ispisuje nove stranice istorije, dok je Alabar izjavio da taj projekat predstavlja pravi dragulj jer će postati ekonomsko čvorište koje će doprineti razvoju Beograda.

Dve stambene kule imaće 296 stanova, odnosno oko 60.000 kvadratnih metara. Prodaja stanova po principu registracije zainteresovanih kupaca, počela je u oktobru.

► **Godine 2015, 8. i 9. jula**, u okviru balkanske turneje, nemačka kancelarka Angela Merkel posetila je Srbiju, gde se sastala sa najvišim zvaničnicima naše zemlje. Nakon zvaničnog susreta sa premijerom Srbije Aleksandrom Vučićem u Palati Srbija, Merkelova je poručila da je Srbija ostvarila značajan napredak u odnosu s Kosovom, što je dovelo do početka pristupnih pregovora s Evropskom unijom. Nemačka kancelarka je tom prilikom izjavila da je pitanje trenutka kada će pregovaračka poglavila Evropske unije sa Srbijom biti otvorena. Vučić je zahvalio Merkelloj na njenom doprinosu politici mira i dobrih odnosa na Balkanu. Premijer Vučić je rekao i da su politički i ekonomski odnosi dveju zemalja sve bolji te da će Srbija i ubuduće davati sve od sebe da bude pouzdan partner Nemačkoj. Nakon zvaničnog susreta, premijer Vučić je Merkellovu ugostio na večeri u vili „Bokeljka”, gde su nemačkoj kancelarki servirani srpska hrana i piće.

► **Godine 2014, 18. decembra**, premijeri Srbije i Kine Aleksandar Vučić i Li Kečang svečano su otvorili most između Zemuna i Borče, koji je poneo naziv srpskog proslavljenog naučnika Mihajla Pupina. Događaju je prisustvovalo nekoliko hiljada građana koji su veselo mahali zastavicama dveju zemalja. Dvojica premijera zajedno su presekli crvenu vrpcu i otkrili spomen-ploču, na kojoj na srpskom i kineskom jeziku piše „Most Mihajla Pupina kao simbol prijateljstva dve zemlje”. Obraćajući se okupljenim građanima, premijer Vučić je citirao nobelovca Ivu Andrića, koji je govorio da ništa nije značajnije od mostova: „Nama ništa nije potrebnije od mostova, da povezujemo ljude, da povezujemo obale, prošlost sa budućnošću, da premošćavamo prepreke i razlike.”



the two-day OSCE Ministerial Council agreed in their evaluation that Serbia was a successful chair to this organization, in very difficult circumstances in the international political scene.

► **September 27. 2015**, the Prime Minister of Serbia, Aleksandar Vučić, and the Director of the Eagle Hills, Mohamed Alabbar, set the cornerstone for the two towers, which was an official launch of the construction project “Belgrade Waterfront”, valuing 3.5 billion euro. Vučić and Alabbar built in the cornerstone a “time capsule” containing messages. “There is a future that happens and a future that we create. What we have started today shows that our dreams can create a better future for Serbia”. This was a part of the message that the Prime Minister Vučić passed on to the journalists in his address at the cornerstone laying ceremony. Despite the rain, the Prime Minister Vučić and Alabbar, joined by the mayor of Belgrade, Siniša Mali, walked along the Sava promenade, and visited the first restaurants and cafes, which are part of this huge project. The prime minister stated that with the start-up of the construction of “Belgrade Waterfront,” Serbia is writing the new pages of its history, while Alabbar considers this project to be a true gem, because it will become an economic center, which will contribute to the development of Belgrade. Two housing towers will consist of 296 apartments, making a total 60,000 square meters. The sale of the apartments, which is based on registration principle, started in October.

► **July 08/09. 2015**, as part of the Balkan visit, German Chancellor Angela Merkel visited Serbia, where she met the highest officials of our country. After the official meeting with Prime Minister Aleksandar Vučić in the Palace of Serbia, Merkel stated that Serbia has made significant progress relating to Kosovo issues, which resulted in the start of accession negotiations with the EU. At this occasion, the German Chancellor stated that it is just a matter of time when the negotiation chapters of the EU with Serbia will be opened. Vučić thanked Merkel for her contribution to the politics of peace and good relations in the Balkans. The Prime Minister said that the political and economic relations between these two countries were improving, and that Serbia would make its best efforts to be a reliable partner with Germany in the future, as well. After the official meeting, the Prime Minister hosted Merkel at a dinner in Villa “Bokeljka”, where the German Chancellor enjoyed Serbian cuisine.



Premijer Kećang je prisutnim građanima na srpskom jeziku požeo „Dobar dan“. „Ovo je zajednički plod naše dve zemlje i naša dva naroda, rekao je Kećang i njavio da će Kina nastaviti da gradi i finansira infrastrukturne projekte u Srbiji i u regionu u skladu sa evropskim standardima.

► **Godine 2014, 17. decembra**, zvanično je otpočela bilateralna poseta premijera Narodne Republike Kine Lija Kećanga Srbiji. Susret sa domaćinom predsednikom Vlade Republike Srbije Aleksandrom Vučićem bio je svojevrsna prilika da premijeri u zemalja sumiraju rezultate Samita. U zajedničkom obraćanju novinarima, premijer Vučić je izjavio da građani Srbije doživljavaju Kinu kao iskrenog prijatelja. Srpski premijer je tom prilikom izrazio ogromno zadovoljstvo što je mogao da ugosti jednog od najmoćnijih lidera sveta. U prisustvu premijera Vučića i Kećanga, kao i ministara dveju država, Srbija i Kina potpisale su u Palati Srbija 13 sporazuma i memoranduma, i dogovorile se da sprovedu zajednički projekat – izgradnju pruge Beograd–Budimpešta, koja će biti povezana sa Lukom Pirej u Grčkoj. Na kraju obraćanja novinarima, dvojica premijera poručili su da se Srbija i Kina slažu u svim ključnim političkim pitanjima, da vode nezavisnu politiku i politiku mira te da ne ugrožavaju ničiji teritorijalni integritet.

► **Na izmaku 2014, 16. i 17. decembra**, Beograd je bio domaćin skupa kakav se ne pamti još iz vremena stare Jugoslavije, gde je pre 25 godina održana konferencija Pokreta nesvrstanih. Srbija je organizovala samit Kine i zemalja Centralne i Istočne Evrope i tom prilikom ugostila 14 premijera. Domaćin samita bio je predsednik Vlade Republike Srbije Aleksandar Vučić. Posebno važan je bio dolazak kineskog premijera Lija Kećanga sa najvišom državnom delegacijom. Poslednji put našu zemlju tako važan gost iz Kine posetio je pre 28 godina.

► **Godine 2014, 16. oktobra**, u Beogradu je povodom 70 godina od oslobođenja prestonice u Drugom svetskom ratu i pobede nad fašizmom kao i stogodišnjice od početka Prvog svetskog rata, održana vojna parada „Korak pobednika“, kojoj je pored državnog vrha

► **December 18, 2014.** The Prime Ministers of Serbia and China, Aleksandar Vučić and Li Kequiang jointly took part in the opening ceremony of the bridge between Zemun and Borča, named after the famous scientist Mihajlo Pupin. The ceremony was attended by a few thousand citizens, happily waving little flags of the two states. The two prime ministers jointly cut the red ribbon and revealed the memorial board, with an engraving in both Serbian and Chinese that says: “The bridge of Mihajlo Pupin is the symbol of friendship of two countries”. Addressing the citizens, Prime Minister Vučić quoted the Nobel winning author Ivo Andrić, who said that there was nothing more important than bridges: “There is nothing that we need more than bridges, to connect people, to connect riversides, past with future, to overcome obstacles and differences”. Prime Minister Li Kequiang wished the present citizens “Good afternoon” in the Serbian language. “This is a joint product of our two countries and our two peoples” said Kequiang and announced further construction projects and the financing of infrastructure projects in Serbia and the region, in accordance with European standards.

► **December 17. 2014.** The official start of the bilateral visit of the Prime Minister of The People’s Republic of China Li Kequiang to Serbia. Meeting with the hosting Prime Minister of the Republic of Serbia, Aleksandar Vučić, was an opportunity for both officials to summarize the results of holding the Summit. In a joint press conference, Prime Minister Vučić stated that the citizens of Serbia feel China to be a true friend. The Serbian Prime Minister used the opportunity to express his satisfaction for having a chance to host one of the most powerful world leaders. Represented by the Prime Ministers Vučić and Kequiang, as well as the ministers of the two states, Serbia and China signed 13 agreements and memorandums in the Palace of Serbia, where they also agreed on another joint project – the construction of the Belgrade – Budapest railway, which will be connected to the port in Piraeus in Greece. At the end of the press conference, the two Prime Ministers stated that Serbia and China agree upon all key political issues, to lead independent and peace oriented politics, without jeopardizing anyone’s territorial integrity.

► **December 16/17. 2014.** At the close of 2014, Belgrade hosted an event that has not been remembered since the times of the old Yugoslavia, when the first Conference of the Non-Aligned Movement 25 years ago was held. Serbia organized the Summit of China and States of Central and Eastern Europe, and hosted 14 Prime Ministers at that occasion. The host of the summit was the Prime Minister of the Republic of Serbia, Aleksandar Vučić. A special moment was the arrival of Chinese Prime Minister Li Kequiang accompanied by the highest state delegation. The last time our country was visited by such an important guest from China 28 years ago.

► **October 16. 2014.** For the 70th anniversary of the liberation of the capital in the Second World War and victory over fascism, as well as the 100th or one hundredth anniversary since the beginning of the First World War, Serbia held the military parade, “The March of the Victor,” attended by the highest state officials, as well as the President of Russia, Vladimir Putin. The programme started with ceremonial artillery fire and an address by the President of Serbia, Tomislav Nikolić. This was followed by a speech



Republike Srbije prisustvovao i predsednik Rusije Vladimir Putin. Program je počeo svečanom artiljerijskom paljboru i obraćanjem predsednika Republike Srbije Tomislava Nikolića. Nakon tога je reč uzeo ruski predsednik Putin, čije je obraćanje, gromoglasnim aplauzom pozdravilo nekoliko desetina hiljada prisutnih građana. Ceremoniji je prisustvovao i premijer Srbije Aleksandar Vučić, ministri njegovog kabineta, gradonačelnik Siniša Mali, predsednik Republike Srpske Milorad Dodik, Njegova svetost patrijarh srpski gospodin Irinej i predstavnici diplomatskog kora. Na paradi je učestvovalo oko 4.500 pripadnika Ministarstva odbrane i Vojske Srbije. Za tu priliku angažovano je više od 300 različitih pokretnih sredstava naoružanja i vojne opreme različite namene. Tokom svečanog defilea, prikazana su motorna i borbena vozila, tenkovi, različito artiljerijsko oružje i oružje za podršku Kopnenoj vojsci, kao i sredstva specijalne namene za elektronska izviđanje, avioni, helikopteri i protivoklopna sredstva. Parada se završila letom ruske akro-grupe „Striži“, čiji su piloti u avionima MIG 29 prikazali akrobatsko umeće u vazduhu nad Beogradom.

► **Godine 2014, 16. oktobra**, pre održavanja Vojne parade, otpočela je bilateralna poseta predsednika Ruske Federacije Vladimira Putina Srbiji. Ruskog zvaničnika u odvojenim susretima primili su predsednik Srbije Tomislav Nikolić i premijer Aleksandar Vučić. Tokom susreta sa predsednikom Nikolićem, Putin je poručio da Srbija i Rusija imaju mnogo toga zajedničkog u prošlosti i da pred sobom imaju dobru budućnost. Nikolić je ponovio da Srbija u Rusiji vidi iskrenog i velikog prijatelja i izrazio zahvalnost zbog ruskog principijelnog stava da ne prizna nezavisnost južne srpske pokrajine. Na kraju zvaničnog susreta dvojice predsednika, Putin je odlikovan najvišim ordenom Republike Srbije na velikoj ogrlici za izuzetne zasluge u unapređenju saradnje dveju zemalja. U razgovoru sa premijerom Vučićem, predsednik Putin je istakao da trgovinsko-ekonomski odnosi Srbije i Rusije idu uzlaznom putanjom. Jedna od tema na koju se razgovaralo bila je automobilska industrija, a na molbu premijera Vučića, predsednik Putin je privatio da se određeni broj fijat automobila izvozi u Rusiju. Istog dana, u prisustvu predsednika Nikolića i Putina, kao i premijera Vučića, ministri Srbije i Rusije potpisali su u Palati Srbija sedam sporazuma, memoranduma i protokola o saradnji dveju zemalja. ■

*Redakcija magazina The Globe/The Editorial Staff of the Magazine The Globe*



by Russian President Putin, whose address was greeted with a huge applause by tens of thousands of citizens. The ceremony was attended by the Prime Minister of Serbia, Aleksandar Vučić, all the ministers, the mayor of Belgrade Siniša Mali, President of the Republika Srpska Milorad Dodik, His Holiness Patriarch of the Serbian Orthodox Church Irinej and representatives of the diplomatic community. Around 4.500 troops of the Ministry of Defense and the Army of Serbia participated in the parade. For the occasion, over 300 different military vehicles and weapons were engaged. The parade demonstrated the whole range of motor and combat vehicles, tanks, as well as artillery weapons and weapons for land forces support, equipment for electronic reconnaissance, aircrafts, helicopters and anti-tank weapons. The parade finished with the performance of the Russian aerobatic group "Strizhi," whose pilots in MiG-29s demonstrated acrobatic skills in the air above Belgrade.

► **October 16, 2014.** The same day, before holding the military parade, the bilateral visit of Russian President Vladimir Putin in Serbia was held. The Russian leader was received by Serbian President, Tomislav Nikolić and Prime Minister Aleksandar Vučić, separately. During the meeting with President Nikolić, Putin stated that Serbia and Russia had lots in common throughout history, but also have bright future ahead. Nikolić repeated that Serbia sees Russia as a great and honest friend, and expressed his gratitude for the firm stands of Russia about non-recognition of the independence of the southern Serbian province. At the end of the official meeting of the two Presidents, Putin was awarded with the decoration of the highest order, The Order of the First Class on the Grand Collar, for his exceptional contribution in developing cooperation between the two states. During the discussion with Prime Minister Vučić, President Putin emphasized that the trade and economic relations between Serbia and Russia are improving. One of the topics they discussed was the automotive industry and upon the request of Prime Minister Vučić, President Putin accepted to import a certain number of "Fiat" vehicles. The same day, in the Palace of Serbia, in the presence of Presidents Nikolić and Putin, as well as Prime Minister Vučić, ministers of Serbia and Russia signed seven agreements, memorandums and protocols of cooperation between the two states.



Air Serbia je počela sa radom kao nacionalni avio-prevoznik Republike Srbije u oktobru 2013. godine. Letove obavlja do 39 destinacija u Evropi, na Mediteranu i Bliskom istoku sa svog matičnog Međunarodnog aerodroma „Nikola Tesla” u Beogradu, kako u putničkom tako i u teretnom saobraćaju. Air Serbia takođe nudi dugolinijske letove do Azije, Australije, Severne i Južne Amerike, u saradnji sa kod-šer partnerima i sa kompanijom Etihad ervez, svojim akcionarom sa 49 odsto vlasničkog udela. Flotu avio-kompanije trenutno čini 14 uskotrupnih i šest turboelisnih aviona. Za više detalja molimo da posetite [www.airserbia.com](http://www.airserbia.com).

Na beogradskom Međunarodnom sajmu turizma održanom u februaru, Air Serbia, nacionalna avio-kompanija Republike Srbije, objavila je da su karte za njen novi let za Njujork u prodaji. Ovom prilikom je takođe objavljen i datum prvog leta na ovoj liniji koji će biti obavljen 23. juna 2016. godine\*. Od tog dana, Air Serbia će uspostaviti redovne direktnе letove između svog matičnog Aerodroma „Nikola Tesla” i Međunarodnog aerodroma „Džon F. Kenedi”, koje će obavljati avionom Erbas A330-200. Letovima za Njujork su dodeljeni brojevi JU500 i JU501, isti brojevi leta koje je koristio prethodnik Air Serbia kada je pre 24 godine obavljao direktnе letove za Njujork.

Letovi će se obavljati pet puta nedeljno i polaziće iz Beograda u 07.30 ponedeljkom, utorkom i četvrtkom, a sletati na Međunarodni aerodrom „JFK” u 12.00. Petkom i subotom će poletati iz Beograda u 12.55 i sletati na „JFK” u 17.25. Povratni let će polaziti u 14.40 ponedeljkom, utorkom i četvrtkom i sletaće na Aerodrom „Nikola Tesla” u Beogradu u 05.30. Petkom i subotom će polaziti sa Aerodroma JFK u 19.30 i sletati u Beograd u 10.20.

\*Podložno odobrenju američkih vlasti.

Air Serbia was launched as the national airline of the Republic of Serbia in October 2013. It serves 39 destinations in Europe, Mediterranean and Middle East directly from its hub at Belgrade's Nikola Tesla International Airport with passenger and cargo services. The airline also offers long-haul and international destinations in Asia, Australia and Americas through its codeshare partners and its equity partner, Etihad Airways that holds a 49% share. The airline currently operates a fleet of 14 narrow-bodied and 6 turboprop aircraft. For more details please visit [www.airserbia.com](http://www.airserbia.com).

At the Belgrade Tourism Fair held in February, Air Serbia, the national airline of the Republic of Serbia, has announced that tickets for its historic new service to New York are on sale. The announcement also included the launch date for the flights which will be 23 June 2016\*. From that day, Air Serbia will launch a scheduled non-stop service between its Belgrade hub at Nikola Tesla Airport and John F. Kennedy International Airport, deploying an Airbus A330-200 aircraft on the route. The New York service has been assigned flight numbers JU500 and JU501, the same numbers used by Air Serbia's predecessor when the carrier operated non-stop flights to the United States 24 years ago.

Operating five times a week, the flight will depart Belgrade at 07:30 on Monday, Tuesday and Thursday, to arrive in JFK International Airport at 12:00. On Friday and Saturday, it will depart Belgrade at 12:55, to arrive in JFK at 17:25. The return service will take off at 14:40 on Monday, Tuesday and Thursday, to land in Belgrade's Nikola Tesla Airport at 05:30. On Friday and Saturday, it will depart JFK at 19:30 to arrive in Belgrade at 10:20.

\*Subject to government approval.



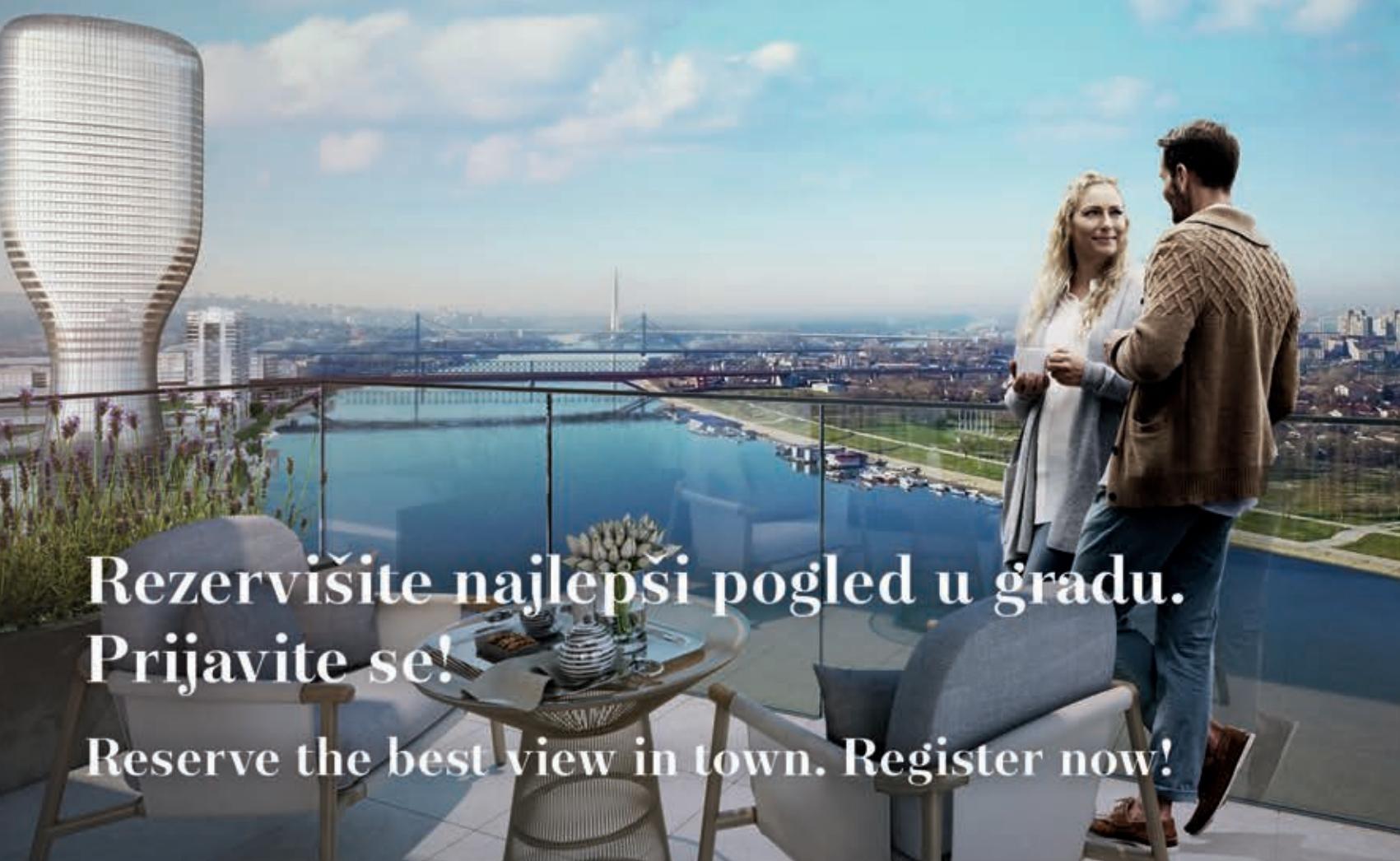
**S ponosom letimo  
direktno do Njujorka**

## Letite direktno do Njujorka

Uz 5 direktnih letova nedeljno, Njujork nikada nije bio bliži. Posetite grad koji nikada ne spava i uživajte u srpskom gostoprimstvu bez obzira na klasu kojom letite. Gosti biznis klase mogu da se potpuno opuste i odmaraju na sedištima koja se razvlače u ležeći položaj i mogu da obeduju kad god žele uz posluženje jela na zahtev. Gosti ekonomikske klase mogu da uživaju u zabavnim sadržajima tokom leta, koji uključuju mnoge holivudske, srpske i internacionalne filmske naslove, i da biraju jedno od 3 jela, koja podrazumevaju i tradicionalno srpsko jelo.

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