## Maurizio Massari

# The OSCE Mission to Serbia and Montenegro

# Challenges for the Rule of Law

The assassination of Serbia's Prime Minister Zoran Djindjic in March 2003 epitomized the current difficulties hampering the democratic transition in Serbia. In March 2004, the country was once again shaken by the violence that erupted in Kosovo. Despite the restraint shown by the Serbian government, fighting spilled over into the cities of Belgrade, Nis and Novi Sad. Both events showed the fragility of regional stability and the need for the international community to intensify the fight against organized crime, support democratic reforms, and continue to engage in dialogue with all Serbia's communities.

These challenges were recognized by the OSCE's Dutch Chairmanship of 2003 and the Bulgarian Chairmanship of 2004, under which greater emphasis was placed on strengthening the institutions that deal with the fight against organized crime and corruption, securing borders, and combating terrorism.

Prior to Djindjic's murder, great progress had been achieved by the political leaders of Serbia and Montenegro in addressing an important political issue: the constitutional relationship between the two republics. On 4 February 2003, the Assembly of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (FRY) adopted the Constitutional Charter of the State Union of Serbia and Montenegro. This placed the relationship between the two constituent republics on a new political foundation. Subsequently the "OSCE Mission to the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia" was renamed the "OSCE Mission to Serbia and Montenegro" by the OSCE Permanent Council in Vienna.

In the past three years, the Mission has worked closely with the government providing advice and making suggestions on framing new legislation and building institutions. The Mission co-operates with the governments and institutions of both constituent republics. It focuses on the enhancement of existing institutions, the adoption of laws and procedures in line with international standards, and their implementation. Its activities also reach out to non-governmental organizations, civil society, local government, and young people. Since it was established, the Mission has endeavoured to provide assistance and expertise in accordance with its mandate and has succeeded in bringing together government representatives, NGOs, and other interested parties to discuss and agree on common projects and plans.

The Mission enhances the efforts of its various partners in the following areas: reform of the judiciary and police; training of public administrators at central and local levels; strengthening of the parliamentary dimension; sup-

port for the creation of a national ombudsman/peoples advocate institution; support for governmental programmes to combat discrimination against vulnerable groups, including national minorities; the fight against trafficking in human beings; media transparency and the transformation of the national radio and television stations; the establishment of an environment ministry and the drafting of environmental legislation; and assisting the State Union of Serbia and Montenegro in implementing its commitments relating to confidence- and security-building measures (CSBMs).

The Mission is also tasked, as are other missions in the region, with advising the OSCE Chairman-in-Office, the OSCE Secretary General, and the Permanent Council on the political situation and developments in Serbia and Montenegro, particularly to the extent that these relate to the stability of the country, electoral and election monitoring issues, and the overall implementation of the Mission's mandate.

## General Overview

The political establishment of Serbia and Montenegro was shaken by the assassination of Prime Minister Djindjic by unknown assailants as he was leaving his office in downtown Belgrade. A state of emergency was imposed immediately, which lasted for 42 days and led to hundreds of arrests. The Mission monitored the situation carefully and reminded the government of the need to respect basic human rights. Six men are currently on trial,<sup>1</sup> including former members of a special police unit.

Credit can be given to the OSCE and its partners for their actions during the past two difficult years. The assassination of the Serbian prime minister did not lead to the collapse of the democratic transition. The events in Kosovo did not result in a renewal of violence in southern Serbia, where the ethnic Albanian and Serbian communities have been able to continue to co-exist peacefully. Despite the change of government, reforms are being implemented and the work of the Mission continues.

Djindjic's murder came on top of the many problems that the country is already facing. These relate to both internal governance and the regional political context, comprising matters such as the economic situation; the maintenance of law and order, including the fight against organized crime and corruption; and the situation in southern Serbia and Kosovo

In Serbia itself, reform efforts were overshadowed by highly publicized corruption scandals and growing public opposition due to the decline in living standards.

Internal dissent within the coalition of the ruling democratic parties over policies and personalities eventually caused the government to collapse in late 2003, leading to new parliamentary elections in December of that year.

<sup>1</sup> The article covers the period up to October 2004.

Public disaffection with the democratic parties was reflected in the results of the election, with the Serbian Radical Party gaining the most seats in parliament. The democratic parties received 65 per cent of the popular vote but remain deeply divided. Although a minority government under the leadership of Vojislav Kostunica was formed in February 2004, it has to rely on the tacit parliamentary support of the Socialist Party of Slobodan Milosevic. The democratic pro-European side received a boost when Democratic Party leader Boris Tadic beat his Radical Party challenger in the second round of the presidential elections on 27 June. However, the results of the local elections in September showed that nationalist anti-Europeans remain a powerful force on the Serbian political scene.

The developments in Kosovo also had an impact. The widespread violence in the province in March 2004 led to a hardening of positions in Serbian politics. There were several demonstrations that led to the burning of mosques in Belgrade and Nis by mobs of youths. The future status of Kosovo sporadically dominates political discussions among Serbian political parties, among whom there is widespread consensus that some kind of decentralization should be established in Kosovo. A plan to this effect has been adopted unanimously by both the Serbian and the State Union parliaments. Despite the difficult political environment, the new government is attempting to implement critical reforms at all levels, especially in the judiciary.

## Rule of Law

In the past two years, efforts have increased in the struggle against organized crime. Many of the reforms have also impacted on the issue of indicted war criminals and the fight against corruption.

The Law on Organization and Jurisdiction of Government Authorities in Suppression of Organized Crime created several institutions dedicated to the suppression of organized crime. These are a special prosecutor's office; a special law enforcement service, whose duties are to act upon requests of the special prosecutor's office; a special chamber of the District Court in Belgrade; and a special detention unit.

Thousands of persons suspected of being involved in organized crime were arrested, and a number of indictments brought by the special prosecutor following investigations. The first trials against participants in organized crime have commenced, including the trial of the alleged perpetrators of the assassination of Prime Minister Djindjic.

The Mission is taking the lead in co-ordinating a witness-protection programme, including the development of legislation and assistance in the implementation phase. This will make it more likely that high-quality firsthand evidence can be presented in important trials. The Mission closely monitors the trials and checks whether the judiciary complies with international standards.

An independent judiciary is a vital aspect of the ongoing reforms. The Serbian government has adopted a number of reforms to strengthen the High Judicial Council, which is responsible for the appointment of judges. A number of posts are due to be filled soon, which will be a first indication that direct political intervention can now be avoided.

In July 2003, the Serbian parliament adopted the Law on Organization and Jurisdiction of Government Authorities in Prosecuting Perpetrators of War Crimes, which established specialized judicial and police authorities for the prosecution of war crimes. The OSCE Mission established a team of international experts through the International Bar Association (IBA), who, together with representatives of the Council of Europe, provided substantive amendments to the initial draft presented by the Serbian Ministry of Justice. Most of the suggestions were inserted in the law as finally adopted. However, there is still a long way to go not only with regard to the creation of an effective witness protection programme, but also to strengthen the prosecutor's office so that trials meet international standards.

In general, co-operation with the International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia (ICTY) remains below expectations. The issue of surrendering several high-profile indictees remains extremely politically sensitive.

The continued existence of military courts in both Serbia and Montenegro, in violation of the State Union constitution, remains an obstacle to strengthening the rule of law.

On 21 May 2004, the Mission signed a memorandum of understanding with the Serbian Ministry of Justice, creating a framework for the further cooperation between the OSCE Mission and the ministry.

#### Legislative Reform

The process of legislative reform has made a number of advances in the past three years but, here too, much remains to be done.

This is especially true regarding the adoption of new constitutions in line with the Framework Agreement for Serbia and Montenegro, brokered by the European Union and adopted by the two republics in February 2003. Serbia is now preparing a draft constitution, which it hopes to adopt by the end of 2004. Other areas in need of reforms are the Public Information Law and laws and regulations concerning the democratic control of the armed forces and the security sector. Both republics adopted new broadcasting laws, which have faced a number of procedural problems in the implementation phase. In Serbia especially this has held up the transformation of the state broadcaster into a self-sustaining public broadcaster. As mentioned above, the Mission acts in a supportive and advisory capacity in the creation and revision of legislation. This is made possible by the Mission's experts in fields ranging from judicial reform to media reform, who are in a position to provide information regarding best-practices within their given field. For example, during the drafting of the Law on the Protection of Minorities, the Mission provided the ministry with advice on how the legislation could best be improved and on the various sensitive issues that should be taken into account. The result is an exceedingly comprehensive piece of legislation that conforms with the highest standards and will invariably contribute to both minority representation and stability within the country.

We believe the Mission's success, as seen in areas such as the adoption of better legislation, is founded upon two things: first, its possession of the necessary expertise and, second, its respect for the democratic mandate of the government and its ministers.

In the interest of protecting the rights of all citizens, the Mission assisted the governments of the two republics in drafting legislation to establish the office of the ombudsman. In Serbia, a law to this effect is currently being drafted. In both Vojvodina and Montenegro, appointments have been made and, with the help of the international community, the various offices have been provided with financial and technical resources. The ombudsman will be an additional instrument that will enable the citizens to hold their governments to account.

# Policing

Assistance in the creation of a modern and accountable police force is considered by the Mission to be one of the key elements of institutional reform. A representative and competent police force is vital for generating respect for government authority more generally.

The OSCE's Charter for European Security signed in Istanbul in November 1999 guarantees the participating States' support for the OSCE's role in civilian police activities. Furthermore, considering the diverse ethnic make-up of the region and the fact that remnants of prejudices with their origins in the actions of the previous regime may still exist, it is important that all sections of society feel represented and protected by the new democratic police forces. In this regard, the Mission, through its Law Enforcement Department, has created "priority areas" focused on the re-training of police with emphasis upon human rights, policing principles, and ethics. International experts have conducted training courses in the police academies of both republics, focusing much of their work on training police instructors in order to pass on best practices and the latest skills. In addition, internal oversight has been strengthened through training and technical assistance to the Inspector General's office in order to reduce the incidence of police abuse and corruption.

# Southern Serbia

The Mission is highly positive about the work undertaken in southern Serbia. Despite the assassination of the Serbian prime minister in Belgrade and the unrest in Kosovo, the situation in this region remained calm.

The Mission and its local partners became involved with this region immediately after the signing, on 21 May 2001, of the peace agreement brokered by Nebosja Covic, the then deputy prime minister and head of the Serbian government's Co-ordination Body for Presevo, Bujanovac, and Medvedja,. This brought an end to a spring of violence in this region. The Mission appointed a Southern Serbia Co-ordinator in order to further concentrate its activities.

The development of multi-ethnic police training is fundamental to maintaining security in southern Serbian society. The Mission is conducting a multi-ethnic police-training project, aimed specifically at southern Serbia. More than 600 police cadets have gone through the series of training courses, raising the number of police officers from minority groups.

Regarding the media situation in southern Serbia, the Mission has been conducting a series of training programmes for journalists from various media organizations aimed at improving their journalistic, technical, and managerial skills.

Greater focus is now being placed on economic development in the region in order to improve the socio-economic situation.

The Mission instigated a round table focusing on how to positively respond to the socio-economic challenges facing the region around the towns of Presevo, Bujanovac, and Medvedja. The event was co-organized by then Deputy Prime Minister Covic and opened by the Head of the OSCE Mission, Ambassador Maurizio Massari. Participants included municipal mayors and senior civil servants, and representatives of government ministries, international organizations, and the private sector.

Small-business development is a priority for the region, and the Mission works with key partners such as the national Agency for Small and Medium-Sized Enterprises Development and the International Labour Organization to ensure that access to business-development services is available to all communities of southern Serbia.

## Montenegro

The OSCE played a role in the Republic of Montenegro even before the formation of the OSCE Mission to the FRY; the OSCE presence in Montenegro had been established on an *ad hoc* basis with the opening of an ODIHR office in 1999. On 15 November 2001, the OSCE Permanent Council in Vienna decided that responsibility for the office in Podgorica was to be transferred from ODIHR to the OSCE Mission to the FRY, now the Mission to Serbia and Montenegro. The Podgorica office has been in operation since 1 January 2002 as a part of the Mission, but is in direct daily contact with the Montenegrin authorities and can pursue initiatives tailor-made for that republic.

On 14 March 2002, an agreement regarding the future status of Serbia-Montenegro relations was finally brokered by the EU's High Representative for the Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP), Javier Solana, and signed by all the key political players. The two republics ratified the agreement in early 2003. The agreement gives both republics considerable autonomy, including economic autonomy. A number of areas, including foreign affairs and defence, remain common concerns and are to be the responsibility of the Ministerial Council of the State Union of Serbia and Montenegro.

Montenegro, like Serbia, is attempting to implement political and economic reforms under difficult circumstances. After more than 18 months, Montenegro, like Serbia, still has not adopted a new constitution as required by the Constitutional Charter. Political rivalries between the ruling party and the opposition led to a boycott of parliament by the opposition Socialist People's Party (SNP), which began in May 2003. The OSCE Mission has been actively engaged with all political parties, trying to facilitate a solution to the parliamentary impasse.

The political discourse continues to avoid the issue of Montenegro's future status. With the ratification of the Belgrade Agreement in February 2003 by the parliaments of both republics, Montenegro cannot stage a referendum on its independence before February 2006.

The OSCE holds a unique and constructive position regarding the question of Montenegro's status. The Mission endeavours to support the democratization process through the process of institution building. This was demonstrated by the personal commitment shown by the Head of Mission, who succeeded in persuading the Montenegrin opposition parties to return to parliament so that political debates would once more be held within political institutions.

On the whole, we believe that the Mission is having a stabilizing effect upon political developments in Serbia and Montenegro. Its efforts are based on the OSCE's functions in the areas of conflict prevention and preventive diplomacy. However, the role and activities of the Mission are also characterized by co-operation with the Serbian and Montenegrin authorities at all levels and the co-ordination of projects and initiatives with the governments.

## Special Activities of the Mission – The Departments

In addition to the Mission's general political activities, its various departments are engaged in a number of projects in specific fields under its overall mandate. These activities are aimed at reforming and reinforcing democratic institutions in key sectors of political and public life in order to strengthen the

rule of law, promote the values of civil society and bring the country closer to European standards. At the same time, the activities and projects are designed and implemented in full co-operation with the relevant local authorities and NGOs, giving the Mission an integral role in the domestic reform process.

This approach has been exemplified in the activities of the Law Enforcement Department. Its major achievements, as mentioned earlier, have been the establishment of multi-ethnic police forces in the southern Serbian municipalities of Presevo, Medvedia, and Bujanovac and its commitment to supporting police reform in the country as a whole. The long-term strategy for police reform, as part of the goal of creating a democratic and accountable police service in Serbia and Montenegro, has been one of the Mission's core activities since December 2001, when the OSCE was named the co-ordinator of international support for this reform process. There are seven priority areas for Serbia and Montenegro: 1. Internal control, 2. The fight against organized crime, 3. Police training and development, 4. Community policing, 5. Security and socio-economic development in southern Serbia, 6. Training and support for border police, and 7. Modernizing forensics. The aim is to enhance the structural capacity and professional integrity of the police service, thus fostering sustainable reforms and bringing the police service up to international standards.

Similarly, the *Rule of Law/Human Rights Department* has been directly involved in promoting respect for the law in the State Union of Serbia and Montenegro and supporting respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms. This department has developed a programme for ongoing education and retraining of judges, prosecutors, and lawyers.

Such activities became even more important following the assassination of Serbian Prime Minister Djindjic, which focused the Mission's attention on the fight against organized crime. The government passed a Law on the Suppression of Organized Crime and added an entire chapter on the fight against organized crime to the criminal code. The Mission is now assisting in the development of legislation on witness protection and is supporting the prosecutor's office. Planning is co-ordinated with the Council of Europe and other international organizations as well as the US Department of Justice.

The department's anti-corruption activities have also become particularly relevant following the Serbian government's December 2001 decision to establish the Council on Anti-Corruption, which the Head of the Mission was asked to join. The OSCE is the only international organization represented on the Council. In working with the Council and other international organizations, the department continues to take the lead in pushing forward economic reforms in areas such as taxation, privatization, and anti-corruption.

In accordance with the recommendations of a round table on the establishment of an ombudsman institution in the State Union, the Mission, the Serbian government, and the Montenegrin government agreed upon a programme that provides for legislative support, practical expert advice from existing institutions, study trips, and a public awareness campaign. The ombudsmen for Vojvodina and Montenegro have been appointed and the Mission has provided expertise and technical assistance so that they can take up their work.

A programme for penal reform has also started. Over 400 prison staff have received basic human rights training, focusing on their professional capabilities. A team of ten trainers have received "training for trainers" and are using their new skills in OSCE sponsored programmes. The Mission is also supporting the public debate on the Council of Europe's review of the Law on the Execution of Criminal Sanctions for the Serbian Ministry of Justice.

The main focus of the *Democratization Department* is capacity building within state structures so as to create a foundation for a system of democratic government that is more responsive to its citizens and to civil society. Parliamentary reform is an important focus of the department's activities. The department also has a number of key human rights functions, including the establishment of mechanisms to protect vulnerable groups such as minorities, refugees and internally displaced persons (IDPs), women, and the victims of trafficking in human beings.

In April 2004, the department co-organized the sixth round table under the auspices of the Stability Pact for South Eastern Europe's Task Force on Trafficking in Human Beings. It produced a set of recommendations to specifically target the trafficking of children, which is an increasingly prominent aspect of organized crime in the region.

In the area of refugees, progress has been made through the adoption of "common principles" and a joint action plan co-ordinated between the three OSCE Missions to Croatia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, and Serbia and Montenegro. A regional legal assistance programme has been set up to resolve difficulties pertaining to property rights, statutory rights, and acquired rights. Through its membership of the IDP working group established by the UNHCR, the Mission is also advocating legislative reform that would incorporate UN principles into domestic laws and practices.

Various initiatives have also been launched by the Democratization Department aimed at furthering the role and status of women in politics and in the workplace and establishing national gender protection and promotion mechanisms. This has primarily been done within the context of the Gender Task Force Action Plan of the Stability Pact for South Eastern Europe, which is just one example of the co-operation between the Mission and the Stability Pact.

As recognized both domestically and by international observers, the role of the parliaments is one of the weaknesses of the State Union's democracy. The Mission therefore attaches particular importance to its parliamentary support programme, which has helped strengthen the democratic functioning and institutional and human capacities of parliamentary institutions and political parties at State Union, republic, and provincial levels. Programme ac-

tivities include the provision of regulatory and training assistance to the offices of the parliamentary speakers, to members of parliament and parliamentary staff through seminars, networking with other parliamentary institutions, and various other *ad hoc* activities.

The media landscape in the State Union of Serbia and Montenegro is thriving, with hundreds of radio and TV stations and many thousands of printed titles. However, high levels of professionalism are not necessarily found throughout the vibrant media sector. Despite legislative changes, the state-owned radio and TV company, RTS, remains in the hands of the government. On the other hand, a number of independent private media outlets continue to provide critical and impartial information and promote freedom of expression. They have created an active and highly competent body of professional and democratically committed journalists. After the October 2000 changes, the main task of the reforms in the media sector has been to introduce "normality and international accepted standards" in the functioning of the media, while simultaneously preserving the achievements of independent journalism and introducing professionalism and impartiality in the public sector.

With these aims in mind, the Mission's *Media Department* has been assisting relevant government authorities and journalists' associations with legal advice on new broadcasting and public information legislation. The Mission supported the adoption of a new broadcasting law in both Serbia and Montenegro, which created independent regulatory agencies for broadcasting and telecommunications in order to ensure transparent and fair licensing procedures for private electronic media. Legal and technical support is also being provided in other areas, including the drafting of legislation relating to freedom of information, advertising standards, and a review of media-related provisions in the civil and penal codes. These reforms should eliminate anachronisms dating from the period of authoritarian government.

The new independent regulatory body in Serbia, the Broadcasting Council, has been handicapped since its inception by irregularities in the appointment of some of its members. This prevented further reforms at RTS and led to the suspension of assistance from the international community for the broadcaster's transformation. The Media Department has actively engaged the new government in order to find a solution to the impasse affecting the proper functioning of the Broadcasting Council.

The new Broadcasting Law also provides for the complete transformation of local municipal broadcasting stations into private or community broadcasters. To enable these stations to implement the necessary changes, the department facilitates or directly contributes to training initiatives for media managers, editors, journalists, and technicians. These initiatives are also part of various development projects aimed at improving professional and ethical standards, as well as promoting co-operation and confidence between different ethnic communities, particularly in southern Serbia. One of the unique characteristics of the Mission to Serbia and Montenegro is its mandate to perform work in the economic and environmental fields. One of the main achievements of the Mission's *Economy and Environment Department* has been assembling an international donor and advisory constituency to support the efforts of the Serbian authorities in drafting new environmental legislation in line with European and international standards. The institutions in this area, however, remain fragile. In order to address risks to economic and environmental security, the Mission not only targets local problems but also seeks to attract sources of outside support. The Aarhus Convention, which promotes extensive public participation in the decisionmaking process, full transparency, access to all relevant information for all concerned, as well as an unbiased information exchange, is particularly relevant here. A recent notable success is the signing of a memorandum of understanding with the city of Nis, which aims to promote the drafting of a new strategy for sustainable development of the region around Nis.

Finally, the Mission has been mandated with assisting and promoting implementation in the area of CSBMs, which is closely linked to defence and security matters. In particular, the Mission's efforts in this field are focused on implementation of two OSCE documents: the Code of Conduct on Politico-Military Aspects of Security and the OSCE Document on Small Arms and Light Weapons (SALW). The relevance of the Code of Conduct is closely linked to the issue of democratic control of armed forces, which has steadily gained in importance in the State Union. Recent events demonstrate a clear and urgent need to introduce the standards applicable in established democracies for the oversight of the military and security sectors. Efforts to improve and make active use of parliamentary oversight over the defence and security sector is, therefore, also an aspect of the Mission's work.

Stability and security in the State Union – and the region as whole – would benefit from stricter controls and the reduction of the number of surplus small arms and light weapons that were used in past conflicts and remain in possession of organized crime, criminal groups, and individuals. The Mission supported the early implementation of the OSCE Document on Small Arms and Light Weapons and was involved in a programme, funded via the Stability Pact, for the destruction of stockpiles of surplus small arms and light weapons by the Army of Serbia and Montenegro. Together with the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) and the Stability Pact, the OSCE Mission assisted in setting up a Regional Clearinghouse for Small Arms and Light Weapons in Belgrade to co-ordinate the destruction of such weapons in the region.

The co-operative spirit of the Mission is also reflected in the common projects it pursues with other international organizations active in Serbia and Montenegro and the good working relationships it enjoys with them. In particular, regular contacts have been established with the Office of the Special Co-ordinator of the Stability Pact for South Eastern Europe. The Mission also

co-operates closely with the Council of Europe and its office in Belgrade through regular exchanges of relevant information, briefings, joint assessment visits, common projects, and participation in seminars and conferences.

In the performance of all the above-mentioned activities, particular importance is attached to encouraging a positive public perception of the Mission and its work, and extending its "outreach" to the population beyond the Belgrade city limits. This aspect of the Mission's work is concentrated in the Spokesperson's Office. Through regular personal contact with representatives of the press and the electronic media, an effective network has been established. There has been a high level of media coverage of the Mission's activities, which has generally been favourable. The Mission's involvement in multi-ethnic policing in southern Serbia has been particularly well covered. The outreach programme that was launched in July 2003 has promoted the view that the OSCE Mission to Serbia and Montenegro works closely with the Serbian public and actively seeks the involvement of the population in its activities. The Head of Mission and several senior mission members travel regularly to cities and towns throughout Serbia and Montenegro to meet local officials, NGOs, and students to promote the OSCE mandate and gather information on issues affecting local communities. Under the auspices of the outreach programme, the Mission also encouraged local communities in their efforts to promote tolerance and democracy by creating the "Most Tolerant City" award. This has met with great interest throughout the country, and the 2003 prize was awarded to the town of Kikinda in the Vojvodina region. To date, more than 15 towns and cities have been visited since the launch of the outreach programme in the summer of 2003.

As can be seen from this summary presentation, the Mission's activities in Serbia and Montenegro are fairly diverse and wide-ranging, but their main goal remains the consolidation of democracy in the State Union and its stabilization and accelerated integration into European structures. As such, the role of the Mission is fully compatible with the efforts of the reform-oriented political forces in the country, both at the governmental and NGO levels, as well as with the activities of other international organizations active in Serbia and Montenegro.

Despite setbacks during the past three years, the Mission continues to work with its local and international partners to promote democracy building. The best way to vindicate the role of the Mission and the vision of the democratic forces is via the further consolidation of the democratic credentials of the State Union of Serbia and Montenegro. There can be no doubt that the country is now firmly on the road that leads to integration into Euro-Atlantic structures such as the EU. When this will happen depends on the people of the State Union of Serbia and Montenegro. The OSCE Mission will continue to assist these efforts and support those who support our common European values.