

His Excellency Ranko Krivokapic **15 May 2015**
President of the Parliament of Montenegro
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cc press@skupstina.me

Dear Mr. President,

On behalf of the co-signers of the open letter to You concerning Fortress Mamula, I am attaching the original of this letter in English, accompanied with its informal translation. We all expect that it will receive due consideration by you and your colleagues, as well as by the public opinion in Montenegro.

Yours sincerely,

Roberto Savio
President Emeritus
Inter Press Service, Rome

**Fortress “Mamula” – Montenegro’s national treasure
and world cultural heritage site**

An open letter to the President of the Parliament of Montenegro, Ranko Krivokapic

Slobodan prevod engleskog originala

Tvrđjava “Mamula” – Nacionalno blago Crne Gore i svetska kulturna bastina

Otvoreno pismo Predsedniku Skupstine Crne Gore, Ranku Krivokapicu

1. Mi, dole potpisani, upucujemo ovo otvoreno pismo Predsedniku Skupstine Crne Gore, Ranku Krivokapicu, u vezi *Ugovora o Dugorocnom Zakupu Ostrva Lastavica sa Tvrđjavom “Mamula” Herceg Novi* u Boko Kotorskom Zalivu, zaključenom između Vlade Crne Gore i Kompanije Orascom Development Holding AG 23. februara 2015. god., koji je usao u proceduru za odobravanje od strane Skupstine. Ugovor predviđa da se ostrvo i tvrđjava izdaju u zakup privatnom investitoru na period of 49 godina, s ciljem da se pretvore u ekskluzivno, luksuzno odmaraliste na crnogorskoj obali.
2. Mi smatramo da je tvrđjava Mamula istorijski spomenik, trajno svedocanstvo burne prošlosti ratova i sukoba na ovim prostorima. Ova tvrđjava je jedinstven objekat na svetu, narodno, kulturno, arhitektonsko i prirodno bogatstvo Crne Gore, i deo zajednicke kulturne bastine covečantsva.
3. S obzirom na to, mi izrazavamo cudjenje da jedino resenje za ocuvanje i koriscenje tvrđjave Mamula koje je razmotreno i predloženo je obican poslovni aranzman i ugovor o privatizaciji i pretvaranju tvrđjave u trzisno dobro, odnosno u “odmaraliste sa 5 zvezdica” - bez ikakvog osvrtu na detalje koriscenja tvrđjave i ostrva - u odmaraliste koje ce neminovno biti namenjeno iskljucivo za visoko plateznu klijentelu i njene prohteve. **Mi smo zabrinuti sto nije doslo do siroke nacionalne i medjunarodne javne debate i razmene misljenja o razvoju, svrsi i visestrukom potencijalu za rehabilitaciju ove jedinstvene tvrđjave.**
4. Imajuci u vidu istorijski i simbolican znacaj tvrđjave Mamula, njene zadivljujuce karakteristike i prirodni polozej, a iznad svega njenu relevantnost i vrednost njenog potencijalnog koriscenja za Crnu Goru kao i za siru

medjunarodu zajednicu - ne ulazeci u finansijske i druge detalje Ugovora o Dugorocnom Zakupu i njegove konkretne i neopipljive implikacije za Crnu Goru i njen narod - mi zelimo da predlozimo da, pre nego sto Skupstina uzme u razmatranje i donese odluku o Ugovoru, ovaj predmet i alternativne mogucnosti za adaptaciju i koriscenje tvrdjave Mamula, ukljucujuci predloge zainteresovanih strana, budu dodatno razmotrene i prodiskutovane u Skupstini, kao i sire u javnim forumima.

5. Tvrdjava Mamula je pogodna za koriscenje tokom citave godine kao javna institucija ili fondacija posvecena ciljevima mira, razvoja i medjunarodne saradnje. Kao visenamenska ustanova, adaptirana tvrdjava bi mogla da se koristi na vise nacina, ukljucujuci:

Kao jedna izuzetno dostupna, ali u isto vreme skrovita, intimna i bezbedna lokacija i sirom sveta poznato mesto i steciste, na neutralnom terenu, koje bi se koristilo za medjunarodne sastanke i pregovore, ukljucujuci i susrete svetskih lidera na najvisem nivou;

Kao institucija za seminare, radne sastanke i manje konferencije na kojima bi se sastajali akteri raznih profila koji su zainteresovani za i bave se globalnim problemima koji se ticu covecanstva, problemima kojima bi tvrdjava Mamula bila posvecena;

Kao usamljeno mesto za akademsko razmisljanje, studije i razmenu misljenja ogranicenog broja svetski poznatih gostujucih naucnih radnika, mislioca i licnosti iz javnog zivota, koji bi boravili izvesno vreme u tvrdjavi, vecinom van sezone i u periodu nepogodnih vremenskih prilika, izolovani od spoljnog sveta, radeci na svojim projektima, druzeci se i opsteci medju sobom;

Kao lokacija za javne nacionalne i medjunardone kulturne dogadjaje koji bi bili otvoreni za javnost tokom sezone, ukljucujuci umetnicku galeriju i mali muzej posvecen istoriji tvrdjave, Boko Kotorskog Zaliva i Crne Gore uopste.

6. Kao jedna multifunkcionalna institucija, uz dogadjaje i aktivnosti koje bi se tu organizovale tokom citave godine i kojima bi bila domacin, ishodima, inicijativama i dogovorima koje bi omogucila, tvrdjava Mamula bi izrasla u jedinstveno i nadaleko poznato mesto u globalnoj mrezi lokacija za sastanke, za koje vlada veliki interes i potraznja s obzirom na sve tesnju i mnogostranu medjunarodnu saradnju i potrebu za direktnom interakcijom. Obrisi tvrdjave uslikani u njen logo bi, bez sumnje, postali dobro poznati sirom sveta.

7. Mi, kao licnosti koje su posvetile svoju profesionalnu karijeru medjunarodnoj saradnji u okviru Ujedinjenih Nacija, osecamo se pozvanim da predlozimo da se tvrdjava Mamula, koja je bila sagrađena za ratne ciljeve i svrhe i koja je uglavnom bila koriscena kao zatvor za internaciju, mucenje i pogubljenja tokom dva svetska rata, pretvori u objekat i instituciju koja bi bils u sluzbi mira i medjunarodne saradnje. Tvrdjava Mamula treba da postane simbol zajednickih ciljeva i stremljenja covecanstva, i da se razvije u izvoriste i rasadnik misli,

inicijativa, resenja i akcija koje su od opsteg javnog interesa i u interesu globalnog javnog dobra. Treba da postane medjunarodno obelezje s kojim ce se Crna Gora i njen narod ponositi i koje ce biti dosledan spomenik njihovoj znamenitoj istoriji i nacionalnim stremljenjima, a i biti u skladu s proglašenim ciljem Crne Gore da postane “ekoloska drzava” .

8. U cilju toga, mi zelimo da predlozimo Vama i Skupstini da razmotrite da se odluka o *Ugovoru o Dugoročnom Zakupu Ostrva Lastavica sa Tvrdjavom “Mamula”* odlozi *sine die*, dok se ne obavi detaljna studija, kao i razmatranje i razmena misljenja o mogucim alternativnim resenjima, ukljucujuci prikupljanje sredstava i uopste finansiranje odgovarajuće rehabilitacije tvrdjave Mamula i ostrva Lastavica, i njihove adaptacije za dogovorene svrhe. Krajnji cilj treba da bude da predloženo resenje ima viziju, uziva siroku podrsku javnosti i bude na bazi konsensusa.

Potpisali:

Boutros Boutros-Ghali (Egipat), Generalni Sekretar Ujedinjenih Nacija, 1992-1996

Federico Mayor (Spanija), Generalni Direktor UNESCO-a, 1987-1999

Ashok Khosla (Indija), Predsednik Saveta Medjunarodne Unije za Zastitu Prirode (IUCN), 2008-2012

Roberto Savio (Argentina), Predsednik Emeritus, Inter Press Service

Maurice F. Strong (Canada), Generalni Sekretar, UN Konferencija o Covjekovoj Okolini, 1972

Fortress “Mamula” – Montenegro’s national treasure and world cultural heritage site

An open letter to the President of the Parliament of Montenegro, Ranko Krivokapic

1. We the undersigned address this letter to the President of the Parliament of Montenegro concerning the “Long-Term Lease Agreement Relating to Lastavica Island with Fortress ‘Mamula’ Herceg Novi”, in the Bay of Kotor, between the Government of Montenegro and Orascom Development Holding AG, signed on 23 February 2015, which has come before the Parliament for approval. The Agreement provides that the Island and Fortress “Mamula” (from now on referred to as Fort Mamula) be leased, for a period of 49 years, to a private investor to transform it into an exclusive, luxury tourist resort on the Montenegrin Coast.

2. We consider Fort Mamula to be a historical monument, a lasting testimony of the turbulent past of conflicts and wars in this region. It is “one and only” in the world, a national, cultural, architectural and natural treasure of Montenegro and part of the common cultural heritage of humankind.

3. Therefore, we voice our surprise that the only option presented and considered for the preservation and use of Fort Mamula has been a mere business proposition and contract, the Fort’s privatization, commodification and turning into a “5 star hotel resort” – with no mention, whatsoever, of its specific uses – a resort bound to be limited and catering to a high-rolling clientele. **We express our concern that no broader national and international public debate and exchange of views on the development, purpose and rehabilitation potentials of this unique Fort have taken place.**

4. Given the historical and symbolic importance of Fort Mamula, its spectacular features and natural setting, and, most of all, the relevance and value of its potential uses to Montenegro and the international community at large – while not engaging in a review of financial and other provisions of the long-term lease Agreement and its tangible and intangible implications for Montenegro and its people – we would like to propose that, before the Parliament considers and acts on the Agreement, additional thought be given to this matter and alternative possibilities for the use and adaptation of Fort Mamula be explored and debated by the Parliament, as well as openly in public fora and with inputs from interested parties.

5. Fort Mamula lends itself to several important all year round uses and functions as a public institution or foundation devoted to the global objectives of peace, development and international cooperation. As a multipurpose facility, it could accommodate a number of roles, including:

An easily accessible, yet secluded, intimate, safe location and internationally renowned gathering place and abode, on neutral ground, to serve for international meetings and negotiations, including encounters of world leaders;

A facility for seminars, workshops, small conferences of different stakeholders concerned and dealing with global issues of interest to humankind to which Fort Mamula would be dedicated;

A solitary place for academic reflection, study and interaction of a limited number of distinguished, world renowned guest scholars, scientists, thinkers and public figures, who would spend limited periods of time on the site, mostly in the off season period of the year and often in inclement weather conditions, in physical isolation from the outside world, working on their projects and ideas and interacting with each other;

A place for national and international cultural events open to the public during specified, favourable periods of the year, including an art gallery and a small museum of the history of the Fort, the Bay of Kotor and Montenegro.

6. As a multipurpose facility, with the events and activities that it would host and

facilitate throughout the year, outcomes, initiatives and agreements that it would help spawn, Fort Mamula would evolve into a rather special and widely known venue in the network of global meeting places, which are in great demand, given the intensifying and multifaceted multilateral cooperation and need for direct interaction. Its contours embedded in a logo would unmistakably become recognizable worldwide.

7. We, as individuals who have devoted our careers to international cooperation in the framework of the United Nations, feel called upon to propose that Fort Mamula, originally built for war purposes and mostly used as a prison for internment, torture and executions during the two World Wars, be transformed into a facility and institution of peace and international cooperation. Fort Mamula should come to symbolize the common goals and strivings of humankind, and should be a nursery and source of ideas, initiatives, solutions and actions of global public interest and for global public good. It should become an international landmark that Montenegro and its people would be proud of, one that would be an appropriate monument to their illustrious history and national aspirations and would also be in line with Montenegro's proclaimed objective of becoming an "ecological state".

8. To that end, we would like to propose for your consideration and the consideration of the Parliament of Montenegro that a decision on the Long-Term Lease Agreement be postponed *sine die*, pending an in depth overview, discussion and study of other possible solutions, including fund-raising approaches for a proper rehabilitation of Fort Mamula and Lastavica Island and their corresponding adaptation for the functions decided upon. The ultimate aim should be to agree to a solution with a vision that would enjoy wide-ranging public support and consensus.

Signed:

Boutros Boutros-Ghali (Egypt), UN Secretary General, 1992-1996

Federico Mayor (Spain), UNESCO Director General, 1987-1999

Ashok Khosla (India), President IUCN Council, 2008-2012

Roberto Savio (Argentina), President Emeritus, Inter Press Service

Maurice F. Strong (Canada), Secretary General, 1972 UN Conference on the Human Environment