

Letters from Serbia - the 3<sup>rd</sup>

## Thorny Road to the European Union

by László Végel

January 2010

It seems that the optimism that took hold of Serbia in December has calmed down some. The termination of the visa regime was seen as a victory, but a short-term one and it was mostly symbolically powerful since the elite (the top ten thousand citizens) already had ways and means to travel abroad while the rest (the poorer stratum of society) cannot afford that luxury even now. In the best case scenario, only the highly educated young people can have hopes of better chances of finding jobs abroad, which – again – is not the most happy of circumstances for Serbia.

Lowering of living standards is felt day in and day out and it affects citizens in a negative way. According to public opinion polls the Democratic Party is still the most popular – however, now it is popular in the northern province of Vojvodina. In the recently held local elections in the small town of Odzaci (in Vojvodina) the Democratic Party was victorious – and this is no small feat, considering that in the past twenty years Milošević's Socialist and Seselj's Radicals have continuously taken landslide victories. The coalition For European Odzaci had won 34.6 percent of the votes, followed by the Serbian Progressive Party (which took part in the elections on its own) with 22 percent, and Milošević's Socialist Party with 9.9 percent. However, if we keep in mind that in the recent early elections in the Vozdovac municipality of Belgrade the Serbian Progressive Party overtook the Democrats, we can immediately see how the reverse rule applies. The Democratic Party had lost in a place where it previously always won. Also, if we take into consideration that, according to the polls, the Serbian Progressives have overtaken the Democrats in Belgrade as well as in southern Serbia, then the Democrats seem to have justified reasons to worry – even more so considering that this distribution of popularity is not of a recent date:

Pisma iz Srbije, 3.

## Trnovit put ka Evropskoj uniji

od Lasla Vegela

Januar 2009.

Optimizam koji je u decembru zahvatio Srbiju, kao da je malo splasnuo. Ukidanje viza za zemlje Evropske unije, koje je doživljeno kao pobeda, delovala je kratkoročno i imala je pre svega simboličku snagu, jer je društveni krem, onih gornjih deset hiljada, i do sada nalazio načina da putuje po zapadnim zemljama, dok ostali, sve siromašniji slojevi stanovništva ne mogu ni sad da priušte sebi taj luksuz. U najboljem slučaju, tek visokoobrazovani mladi ljudi mogu da se nadaju većim šansama da se zaposle u stranim zemljama, što – opet – nije baš povoljna okolnost za Srbiju.

Pad životog standarda se oseća iz dana u dan, što vrlo negativno utiče na raspoloženje građana. Prema rezultatima istraživanja javnog mnjenja Demokratska stranka je i dalje najpopularnija – ali sad samo u severnoj pokrajini, u Vojvodini. Na nedavno održanim lokalnim izborima u jednoj vojvođanskoj varošici, u Odžacima, pobedila je Demokratska stranka - što nije mala stvar, ako se zna da su ovde poslednjih dvadeset godina neprekidno, i to ubedljivo, pobeđivali Šešeljevi radikali i Miloševićevi socijalisti. Koalicija Za evropske Odžake je osvojila 34,6 posto glasova, za njom slede Srpska napredna stranka – koja je na izbore izašla samostalno – sa 22 posto osvojenih glasova i Miloševićevi socijalisti sa 9,9 postotnim učinkom. Ali ako imamo u vidu i to, da je u jednoj beogradskoj opštini, na Voždovcu, takođe na vanrednim lokalnim izborima, Srpska napredna stranka pretekla demokrate, odmah se pokazuje naličje stvari. Demokratska stranka je izgubila tamo gde je uvek pobeđivala. Ako znamo i to da su u Beogradu i u Južnoj Srbiji, prema istraživanjima javnog mnjenja, srpski naprednjaci već pretekli demokrate – zabrinutost demokrata je posve opravdana. Utoliko pre, što ovaj odnos snaga nije novijeg datuma, on je uspostavljen već 2007. godine, na tadašnjim parlamentarnim i lokalnim izborima. Srpska



HEINRICH BÖLL STIFTUNG  
JUGOISTOČNA EVROPA

Dobračina 43, 11000 Beograd – T: +381 (0)11 3033833 – F: +381 (0)11 2180049 – E: info@hbs.rs – W: www.hbs.rs

PISMA iz SRBIJE 3 | 01 | 2010

LETTERS from SERBIA 3 | 01 | 2010

it was established in 2007 during local and parliamentary elections. On this occasion the Serbian Radical Party had won, across Serbia, 1 152 854 votes, while the Democrats took 919 821 votes. The Democrats formed the government anyway because of its greater coalition making capacities, and also because they were more powerful in Vojvodina which balanced the results from the rest of Serbia. Following the elections they made a coalition with Milosevic's Socialists and formed the government. On the other hand in Belgrade they barely managed to gather a majority – not even the Socialists' votes helped, so they had to make arrangements with the "opposition" Liberal-Democratic Party, which strongly supports the governments' pro-European agenda. Following this trail it is obvious that in Serbia Belgrade is the weakest link.

The Democratic Party's constituency in Vojvodina is in slight decline. One of the reasons for this is a decline among national minority voters – just these days there was a conflict between the Democratic Party and a party representing a national minority, the Alliance of Vojvodina Hungarians. Another reason is that the Democratic Party took part in curbing the powers given to Vojvodina by changing their official Statute (which was voted into power in Vojvodina's Parliament), and hence earned the disapproval of many local voters. Their mistake on this occasion was that they courted the centralists, who promptly refused, while the better part of their usual voters (who are supporters of greater autonomy) were left to reconsider who they give their vote to next time.

If we listen to the opinions of some political analysts we will hear that this new distribution of power on the political scene does not affect Serbia's intention of joining the EU - because Seselj's party has divided and its now independent wing which has greater support of the masses, also advocates joining the EU. This means that the powers advocating against the European Union have been marginalized. In spite of this, on Serbia's road to the European Union there are still many traps that will not be easy to avoid. Truth be told, party polarization in regards to Serbia joining the EU is less drastic than two years ago, but this has been achieved by a strong veering to the right by Djindjic's former party. It has also taken a greater role in rightist discourse as well. On the other hand, the Serbian right considers joining the EU to be connected to certain demands.

One of the previously mentioned traps is re-

radikalna stranka je tada, na nivou Srbije, osvojila 1.152.854 glasova, a Demokratska stranka 919.821. Ipak su demokrate formirale vladu, s jedne strane zbog toga što su raspolagale većim koalicionim kapacitetom, a s druge strane njihova nadmoć u Vojvodini delovala je kao korektiv na rezultate postignute na celoj teritoriji Srbije. Stupivši u savez sa Miloševićevim socijalistima demokrate su, dakle, formirale vladu, međutim, na nivou grada Beograda jedva im je pošlo za rukom da obezbede većinu, nisu pomogli ni glasovi socijalista, tako da je bila neophodno nagodba i sa „opozicionom“ Liberalno-demokratskom strankom koja snažno podržava vladu na njenom putu ka evropskim integracijama. Iz toga se vidi da je u Srbiji Beograd najslabija karika.

I biračko telo Demokratske stranke u Vojvodini pokazuje tendenciju blagog opadanja. S jedne strane, opada podrška pripadnika nacionalnih manjina – upravo je ovih dana došlo do konflikta između Demokratske stranke i jedne manjinske stranke, Saveza vojvođanskih Mađara – a s druge strane i zbog toga što je Demokratska stranka doprinela „podrezivanju“ vojvođanskog statuta koji je donet u pokrajinskom parlamentu, što je umnogome oneraspložilo vojvođanske građane. Stranka se ovoga puta udvarala centralistima, ali je od njih dobila korpu, dok je dobar deo svojih birača, pristalica vojvođanske autonomije, naterala da razmisli kome će sledeći put dati svoj glas.

Prema mišljenju dela političkih analitičara novi odnos snaga na stranačkoj sceni ne dovodi u pitanje srpske težnje ka Evropskoj uniji, s obzirom na to da se u međuvremenu Šešeljava stranka pocepala, a njeno osamostaljeno krilo koje ima veću podršku u masama, Srpska napredna stranka, takođe se zalaže za evropske integracije – što znači da su snage protivne Evropskoj uniji marginalizovane. Uprkos tome, na putu priključenja Srbije Evropskoj uniji vrebaju još mnoge zamke koje neće biti lako izbeći. Istina, strančka polarizacija po pitanju članstva u Evropskoj uniji je u Srbiji danas manje izražena nego pre dve godine, ali to je nekadašnja Đinđićeva stranka platila popriličnim skretanjem udesno, pa i time što je preuzela značajni deo desničarskog diskursa. A srpska desnica priključenje Evropskoj uniji vezuje za određene uslove.

Jedna od pomenutih zamki je regionalna

gional cooperation. Serbian politicians do not miss an opportunity to mention that Serbia is the leader in the Balkans. This on its own could be a cause of tension – we can only imagine what would happen if, for instance, leaders in France or Germany would keep repeating that their respective countries are the leaders in Europe. The conflict ridden re-

saradnja. Srpski političari ne propuštaju priliku da ponove da je Srbija lider Balkana. Već bi samo po sebi i to moglo da bude izvor napetosti, jer zamislimo samo kad bi nemački ili francuski političari svaki čas isticali da je njihova zemlja lider Evrope. Konfliktima opterećeni odnosi s Crnom Gorom donekle su relaksirani, ali napetosti još nisu nestale. Beogradska štampa – ne samo bulevarska! – i dalje piše o mafijaškim crnogorskim državicima, predsednik Tadić je podgoričkom listu Dan izrazio svoje negodovanje što se Srbi u Crnoj Gori tituliraju kao nacionalna manjina, a novi srpski patrijarh se u svom prvom javnom istupu požalio što Crnogorci ne žele priznati da sa Srbima tvore jednu te istu naciju. Predsednik Crne Gore Filip Vujanović odmah je protestovao, međutim, iz krugova srpske vlade nije bilo reakcije. Mogli bismo navesti i čitav niz drugih izvora napetosti. Hrvatska i Srbija se uzajamno tuže pred Međunarodnim sudom pravde u Hagu, odnose dve zemlje kontinuirano opterećuju manji ili veći incidenti, pre svega po pitanju priznavanja Kosova. To je i razlog što se na inauguraciji novog hrvatskog predsednika Ive Josipovića, budući da je na tu svečanost pozvan i predsednik Kosova, neće pojaviti Boris Tadić, predsednik Republike Srbije. Bosna je i dalje veoma osetljivo pitanje zbog statusa Republike Srpske. I konačno, najteže pitanje: priznanje nezavisnosti Kosova. Od 27 članica Evropske unije nezavisnost Kosova priznale su 22 zemlje, i veliko je pitanje, da li će ove zemlje, uprkos snažnoj podršci Španije, Grčke i Italije, kao i Karla Bilta, nepriznavnaje kosovske nezavisnosti okvalifikovati kao dobrosusedske odnose.



lations with Montenegro have been relaxed, but the tensions remain. The Belgrade press (and not only the tabloids) still write about Montenegrin mafia statesmen, president Tadic voiced his disapproval (in a statement to Podgorica's daily Dan) that Serbs in Montenegro are officially considered a minority, and the new Serbian Patriarch has in his first public announcement lamented over the fact that Montenegrins do not want to recognize that they and the Serbs are the same people. The president of Montenegro, Filip Vujanovic, protested at once to this statement, there was however no response from the Serbian government. We could list many other sources of tension. Serbia and Croatia are suing each other at International Court of Justice in The Hague; their relations are continuously being burdened by incidents large and small, mostly regarding the question of Kosovo's independence. This is also the reason why the president of Serbia, Boris Tadic, will not be attending Ivo Josipovic's inauguration as the new president of Croatia - considering that the president of Kosovo is also invited. Bosnia is still a very sensitive issue due to the status of Republika Srpska. And at the end the most difficult question: recognition of Kosovo's independence. Out of the 27 EU member states Kosovo's independence has been recognized by 22 countries, but it still remains an open question whether these countries, despite



strong support from Spain, Greece and Italy, and Carl Bildt, will continue to be considered good neighbors to Serbia.

On top of all this there is the question of NATO membership. Serbia's Defense Doctrine is to be found in its Constitution and because of this it cannot be a member of the NATO alliance. Considering that all countries that were previously in the Warsaw Pact were first inducted into NATO and then the European Union the question arises: is it possible that Serbia will be an exception in to this rule? Two hundred Serbian intellectuals signed a petition these days demanding that the government put the question of NATO alliance membership to a referendum. They are convinced that people would vote against it. The government rejected this proposal saying that the question of NATO membership is not on the horizon. The media, which has the most influence over public opinion, is thoroughly against NATO membership. The Russian ambassador in Belgrade stated that his country would no longer support Serbia if it decided to join NATO, because joining NATO would mean Serbia had betrayed itself. The Belgrade daily Politika, which is partially owned by the German WAZ Media Group, had conducted a poll which showed that the great majority of influential public figures have a negative stance on Serbia's NATO membership. Dusan Majhlovic, who used to be the Minister of Internal Affairs in Djindjic's government, made it clear that Serbia would have no benefits what so ever in joining NATO. In conclusion, it is no wonder that the masses have decided against NATO membership as well.

Ratko Mladic's arrest is still a mystery. During TV duels members of the Democratic Party often ask Progressive Party members whether, if they came to power, they would arrest Ratko Mladic. Tomislav Nikolic, leader of the Progressives, replied to this with a great dose of cynicism, asking them in return: if the Democrats have not been able to arrest him in the ten years they have been in power, and they have looked everywhere, why are they expecting salvation from him?

Kosovo, NATO, Ratko Mladic. All of these issues are casting a deep shadow over current optimism, and the citizens are more and more concerned by existential problems. This is why the national-rightist opposition is putting emphasis precisely on these problems. There are increasingly more protests and it is becoming evident that many employers (owners of now privatized previously state owned companies) are not paying the mandatory

Svemu tome treba dodati i pitanje članstva u NATO paktu. Odbrambena doktrina Srbije utemeljena je i u Ustavu zemlje i, prema tome, Srbija ne može da bude članica NATO alijanse. Imajući u vidu da su sve bivše zemlje socijalističkog lagersa najpre učlanjene u NATO, i tek potom u EU, s pravom se postavlja pitanje: da li je moguće da će u tom smislu Srbija biti izuzetak? Ovih dana je dvesta srpskih intelektualaca potpisalo peticiju s kojom s traži da vlada raspiše referendum o ulasku zemlje u NATO. Oni su ubeđeni da će narod glasati protiv. Vlada je odbacila tu peticiju s objašnjenjem da pitanje NATO-članstva nije na dnevnom redu, stoga i nema potrebe da se o tome glasa. Mediji koji imaju presudan uticaj na formiranje javnog mnjenja, listom su protiv članstva u NATO alijansi. Ambasador Rusije u Beogradu najavio je da njegova zemlja više neće podržavati Srbiju ako ona bude ušla u NATO, jer Rusi ne mogu da budu veći Srbi od Srba. Beogradski dnevni list Politika, koja je delom u vlasništvu nemačkog WAZ-a, sprovela je anketu koja je pokazala da značajni protagonisti javnog života u velikoj većini imaju negativan stav prema ulasku Srbije u NATO. Dušan Mihajlović, ministar za unutrašnje poslove u vladi Zorana Đinđića je bio sasvim jasan rekavši da Srbija neće imati nikakve koristi od članstva u NATO-u. Posle toga nije ni čudno da se i mase izjašnjavaju protiv ulaska u NATO.

Posebna je misterija hapšenje Ratka Mladića. Na televizijskim sučeljavanjima demokrate često postavljaju pitanje predstavnicima Srpske napredne stranke, da li će, u slučaju da se nađu na vlasti, uhapsiti Ratka Mladića. Na to je Tomislav Nikolić, lider naprednjaka s velikom dozom cinizma uzvratilo pitanjem: ako demokrate za deset godina nisu bile u stanju da uhapse haškog optuženika, a pri tom su prevrnule i nebo i zemlju, zašto od njega očekuju spasenje?

Kosovo, NATO, Ratko Mladić. Sve su to pitanja koja na trenutni optimizam bacaju debelu senku, dok građane sve više brinu egzistencijalni problemi. Stoga i nacionalno-desničarska opozicija naglasak stavlja baš na te probleme. Sve je više štrajkova, i polako se ispostavlja da dobar deo novih vlasnika ne uplaćuje ni obavezne socijalne doprinose za zaposlene. Strane investicije su takođe splasnule, ne samo zbog globalne krize, nego i zbog

health and pension insurance for their employees. Foreign investment has also decreased – not only because of the world economic crises, but also due to domestic corruption. Even though the government had announced that they will mercilessly confront corruption all attempts thus far have failed, proving that Serbian oligarchs are more powerful than political parties and the government. They are much more powerful than any of the opposition parties or the opposition as a whole. The Belgrade daily Blic published a report that the chief of cabinet of the Minister of Internal Affairs (Ivica Dacic) is related to one of the arrested members of the drug mafia. The state secretary in the Ministry of Justice has stated that any and all question will be investigated and that no one will evade justice, even if that means the government would fall. Whether this is just another empty promise or will it be followed through by concrete measures, remains to be seen.

The most important moment in Serbia during the previous month most certainly was the selection of the new Patriarch. Considering that the Church has much influence on state politics it is not irrelevant who will be at the head of the Serbian Orthodox Church. The press reported that all major political parties had their candidates for the position. The deceased Patriarch Pavle was considered a moderate. However, this assessment is open to debate due to the fact that he signed a petition proclaiming Radovan Karadzic's innocence. Therefore, if he was a moderate we can only speculate what the radicals are like. The Constitution of the Serbian Orthodox Church states that the Holy Ghost will pick a new Patriarch from the three bishops who had received the most votes from the Holy Assembly of Bishops. This basically means that the names of the three candidates are put into three separate envelopes and then through a lottery system, the so called "Apostolic Vote", one name is pulled out. Devine Providence had decreed that eighty year old Bishop Irinej (Gavrilovic) will be Patriarch. Pro-Europeans breathed a sigh of relief to this news because Irinej is considered to be a moderate as well; he is also a very pious man and open to dialogue. In his first public appearance as Patriarch he clearly stated his support for EU integration. It was however conditioned by a request that the European Union not infringe on Serbian national identity. He did not forget to mention how it was Serbia's job to fight for Kosovo, even if that fight demanded certain sacrifices. He did not specify what type

domaće korupcije. Mada je vlast svaki čas objavljivala početak nemilosrdnog obračuna s korpupcijom, svi dosadašnji pokušaji su krahirali, što pokazuje da su srpski oligarsi jači od stranaka i od vlade. Mnogo su jači, moćniji, od bilo koje opozicione stranke, ili od opozicije zajedno. Beogradski dnevni list Blic objavio je informaciju da je šef kabineta ministra za unutrašnje poslove Ivica Dačića u srodstvu sa jednim od uhapšenih članova narko-mafije. Državni sekretar u ministarstvu za pravdu je izjavio da će se sve sumnje ispitati, i da niko neće moći da izbegne odgovornost, pa čak ni po cenu pada ove vlade. Da li se opet radi samo o pukim obećanjima, ili će ona biti propraćena i delom, još se ne zna.

Najmarkantniji događaj u Srbiji proteklog meseca bio je svakako izbor novog srpskog patrijarha. A s obzirom na to da je uticaj crkve na politiku države i te kako znatan, nije bilo svejedno ko će se naći na čelu Srpske pravoslavne crkve. Štampa je pisala o tome da su sve veće stranke imale svog kandidata. Preminuli patrijarh Pavle slovio je kao pripadnik umerene struje. Ali to je posve relativno, uzmemo li u obzir samo činjenicu da je i patrijarh Pavle potpisao peticiju kojom se obznanjuje nevinost Radovana Karadžića. Ako je on, dakle, bio umeren, možemo samo da slutimo kakva je bila radikalna struja. Prema Ustavu Srpske pravoslavne crkve, od trojice vladika koji su dobili najviše glasova članova Svetog arhijerejskog Sabora, o tome kod će biti novi srpski patrijarh, odlučuje Sveti duh. Naime, imena trojice kandidata se stavljaju u tri zasebne koverta i tako se, praktično, žrebom – apostolskim žrebom – izvlači ime novog patrijarha. Božansko providenje se odlučilo za osamdesetogodišnjeg niškog vladiku Irineja (Gavrilovića). Proevropske snage su odahnule, jer se Irinej takođe ubraja u umerenu struju, čovek je vrlo skroman i sklon dijalogu. U svom prvom javnom istupu u ulozi patrijarha, jednoznačno se založio za evropske integracije. Doduše, samo pod jednim uslovom: da Evropska unija ne okrnji srpski nacionalni identitet. Nije zaboravio da kaže ni to da je zadatak Srbije da se bori za Kosovo, pa i po cenu određenih žrtava. Na kakve je moguće žrtve mislio, nije precizirao. Osvrnuo se uzgred i na islamsku versku zajednicu, rekavši da tamo gde su muslimani u manjini, može se

of sacrifice. In passing he also commented on the Muslim community, saying that where the Muslims are a minority peaceful coexistence is possible, but when they become a majority they become intolerant toward others. In light of the Srebrenica genocide that statement was scandalous. The Muslim community protested at once. A couple of days later the Patriarch saved his honor by apologizing and expressing regret that his words were misinterpreted.

The biggest surprise came when the Patriarch announced that it is possible that Pope Benedict XVI will visit Serbia in 2013 – during the 1700th anniversary of the Milan Edict by which Czar Constantine guaranteed religious freedoms in his empire. This has always been a sensitive issue for Serbia, especially since Pope Benedict XVI had stated his wish to visit Serbia several times. This visit had never come about because of the Serbian bishops' continuous disapproval and because the Serbian state cannot welcome the head of the Catholic Church without the approval of The Assembly of Bishops of The Serbian Orthodox Church. Right after this announcement religious socialists loyal to Milosevic, who even now accuse the Socialist party of taking a turn to the right, voiced their strong disapproval and reminded that not even Patriarch Pavle allowed the Pope's visit. Pavle's predecessor also declined to allow the Pope to visit, saying that the Roman Pope may come (to what was then Yugoslavia) only to Jasenovac, but no further. During the Second World War Croatian Ustasha's had killed a huge number of Serbs and Jews in the Jasenovac extermination camps. The weekly magazine Pecat, with great disapproval, reminds its readers that Pope John II supported the recognition of Croatia's and Slovenia's independence. Alarmed by what it sees as the pending apocalypse Pecat makes it known that the Pope's visit is an introduction to Ratko Mladic's arrest, abolishment of Republika Srpska and recognition of the Srebrenica genocide.

In a matter of days the issue of Srebrenica will have reached the Serbian Parliament. The Democratic Party intends to propose two declarations. One declaration would condemn the genocide in Srebrenica and distance us from this heinous crime, while the other would list and condemn all crimes committed against Serbs. The opposition does not consider it necessary to make a separate, Srebrenica related, declaration but thinks that it is enough to condemn all crimes in general: those committed by Serbs and those committed

mirno živeti sa njima, ali čim se nađu u većini, postaju netrpeljivi i netolerantni. U svetlu srebreničkog genocida to je zazvučalo vrlo skandalozno, muslimanska zajednica u Srbiji je odmah protestovala. Patrijarhu Irineju služi na čast, da je posle nekoliko dana ponudio svoje izvinjenje i izrazio svoje žaljenje što su njegove reči krivo protumačene.

Ali najveće iznenađenje izazvala je najava sprskog patrijarha da je 2013. godine posve moguća poseta pape Benedikta XVI. Srbiji, kada će u Nišu biti obeležena 1700. godišnjica Milanskog edikta kojim je car Konstantin Veliki zajamčio verske slobode u svom carstvu. Ovo pitanje je uvek bilo nadasve osetljivo u Srbiji, posebno zbog toga što je papa Benedikt XVI. više puta izrazio svoju želju da poseti Srbiju, ali do te posete nikad nije došlo, jer su se srpski episkopi tome dosledno protivili, a srpska država ne može da ugosti poglavara katoličke crkve bez saglasnosti episkopskog zbora Srpske pravoslavne crkve. Odmah posle ove najave Miloševiću odani pravoverni socijalisti, koji i sadašnju Socijalističku partiju optužuju za „desno skretanje“, markantno su izrazili svoje negodovanje, i podsetili da ni patrijarh Pavle nije bio saglasan s papinom posetom, isto kao ni njegov prethodnik, koji je rekao da rimski papa može da dođe u tadašnju Jugoslaviju samo do Jasenovca, ali ne i dalje od te tačke. Hrvatske ustaše su u jasenovačkom logoru istrebljenja za vreme Drugog svetskog rata pobili ogroman broj srpskih i jevrejskih građana. Nedeljnik Pečat sa velikom dozom zameranja podseća i na to da je papa Jovan Pavle II. svojevremeno podsticao priznanje nezavisnosti Hrvatske i Slovenije. Apokaliptičkim tonom obznanjuje da je poseta pape Benedikta XVI. Srbiji najava hapšenja generala Ratka Mladića, ukidanja Republike Srpske i priznavanja genocida u Srebrenici.

Pitanje je dana, naime, kad će i problem Srebrenice da se nađe u srpskom parlamentu. Demokratska stranka namerava da predloži dve deklaracije. Jedna bi osudila genocid u Srebrenici i ogradila se od tog stravičnog zločina, a druga bi navela i osudila sve zločine počinjene nad Srbima. Opozicija smatra da nema potrebe za zasebnom, srebreničkom deklaracijom, nego da je dovoljno osuditi sve zločine uopšte, i one koje su počinili Srbi, i one koji su počinjeni nad Srbima. Činjenica je da samo svaki peti građanim

against Serbs. It is a fact that only one out of five Serbs supports a separate declaration on Srebrenica, suggesting that Serbian society is still very much weighed down by stark contradictions and that, in regards to European integration, it is high time that open discussions be commenced not only on economic interests but also on the responsibilities and obligations we have to the European Union.

*(Translated from Serbian  
Nina Đurđević Filipović)*

Srbije podržava zasebnu srebreničku deklaraciju, što nagovaštava i to, da je srpsko društvo još i te kako opterećeno žestokim protivrečnostima, i da je krajnje vreme, da se povodom priključenja evropskim integracijama povedu otvorene rasprave ne samo o očekivanim ekonomskim interesima, nego i o odgovornostima i obavezama prema evropskoj zajednici.

*(Preveo sa mađarskog  
Arpad Vicko)*

