

# Letters from Serbia - the 4<sup>th</sup>

by László Végel

February 2010

Opposition parties in Serbia are becoming more vocal in demanding early elections. While Tomislav Nikolić's Progressive Party has collected 900.000 signatures in order to push for early elections, the parties which make up the government have, citing parliamentary rules, repeated well known arguments that there can be no early elections as long as the government has majority support in parliament. Statistically speaking the government does indeed have majority in parliament, even though it is a slight one: it often happens that common interests are reached only after lengthy negotiations and bartering.

For example, the new Law on Media was voted in even though the Democratic Party's coalition partner, the Socialist Party, decided to vote against it – the opposition Liberal Democratic Party luckily stepped in and thanks to them the new Law passed. Then there was the instance when the budget was being voted on and four members of the Hungarian minority party, Coalition of Vojvodina's Hungarians, gave their votes against the budget proposal – again the government managed to convince two independent representatives from the opposition to cast their votes in favor of the proposal. Great effort was invested to secure the 127 votes necessary for the budget to be approved. There is also a lot of strife over the Srebrenica resolution which has been going on for months. President Boris Tadić initiated in parliament (in February) a resolution condemning the Srebrenica genocide. However, it is precisely because the term 'genocide' is used that the parliamentary debate over it has been postponed several times.

President Tadić's initial plan was to have one parliamentary resolution which would, in accordance with the International Tribunal's verdict, condemn the Srebrenica genocide – for which Serbia is not directly responsib-

# Pisma iz Srbije, 4.

od Lasla Vegela

Februar 2010.

Opozicione stranke u Srbiji sve glasnije zahtevaju raspisivanje vanrednih izbora. Dok je Srpska napredna stranka Tomislava Nikolića prikupila 900.000 potpisa građana u cilju iznude vanrednih izbora, dotle stranke koje čine aktuelnu vlast, pozivajući se na pravila parlamentarizma, ponavljaju poznati argument po kojem ne može biti prevremenih izbora sve dok vlada ima iza sebe parlamentarnu većinu. Statistički gledano, vlast zaista raspolaže većinom u parlamentu, međutim, u odrazu brojeva, reč je graničnom slučaju. Dešava se da se zajednički interesi pronalaze tek nakon dugotrajnih usaglašavanja i nagodbi.

U slučaju novog zakona o medijima, na primer, koalicioni partner Demokratske stranke, Socijalistička partija Srbije, odbila je da glasa za predloženi tekst zakona, srećom, opoziciona Liberalno-demokratska partija je pritekla u pomoć i, zahvaljujući njima, zakon o medijima je izglasan u parlamentu. Ili, na primer, prilikom izglasavanja budžeta, četvorica poslanika stranke mađarske manjine, Saveza vojvođanskih Mađara, glasala su protiv predloženog budžeta, ali vladi je pošlo za rukom da ubedi dvojicu nezavisnih poslanika, inače iz opozicionog bloka, da daju svoje glasove za budžet. Na taj način, istina, s teškom mukom, prikupljeno je 127 glsova, neophodnih za prolazak budžeta. Ili: već mesecima traje natezanje oko donošenja rezolucije o Srebrenici. Na inicijativu predsednika Republike, Borisa Tadića, u parlamentu je trebalo još početkom februara doneti dokument kojim se osuđuje genocid u Srebrenici, ali upravo zbog termina genocid parlamentarna rasprava se neprestano odlaže.

Prema prvobitnom planu predsednika Tadića, trebalo je doneti jednu rezoluciju u kojoj bi, tragom presude Međunarodnog suda pravde u Hagu, parlament Srbije osudio genocid počinjen u Srebrenici, za koji Srbija ne-



HEINRICH BÖLL STIFTUNG  
JUGOISTOČNA EVROPA

Dobračina 43, 11000 Beograd — T: +381 (0)11 3033833 — F: +381 (011) 2180049 — E: info@hbs.rs — W: www.hbs.rs

PISMA IZ SRBIJE 4 | 02 | 2010

LETTERS from SERBIA 4 | 02 | 2010

le but indirectly is, since it did not stop the bloodshed. Within the ruling coalition the Socialist Party stated that if there already has to be such a resolution there also has to be a separate resolution condemning all the crimes committed against Serbs. The opposition replied to this saying that there is no need for two distinct resolutions but that only one is needed – which would condemn all crimes whether they were perpetrated by Serbs or against them. Matters become more complicated considering that the Socialists have a problem with the term 'genocide' since according to them it would be enough to say these were war crimes or, maybe, aggravated war crimes.

The continuing strife over this parliamentary declaration has led to several misunderstandings. First of all, Radovan Karadžić's trial has begun in The Hague – he is indicted for war crimes, including the Srebrenica genocide. In his defense speech Karadžić called the Srebrenica genocide a 'myth' and stressed that there were 'only' several thousand people executed there – all of them armed men. His defense focused on the claim that he was

posredno nije odgovorna, ali posredno jeste, s obzirom na to da nije sprečila krvoproliće. Unutar koalicije na vlasti socijalisti su izneli svoj stav po kojem, ako već mora da se donese takva rezolucija, bilo bi neophodno da parlament u posebnom dokumentu osudi i zločine počinjene nad Srbima. Na to je opozicija rekla da dve rezolucije uopšte nisu potrebne, dovoljna je i jedna, u kojoj bi se osudili svi zločini, bilo da su ih počinili Srbi, bilo da su počinjeni nad Srbima. Stvar se još dodatno komplikuje i time što socijalisti imaju primedbe i na upotrebu termina genocid, jer – prema njihovom mišljenju – dovoljno je govoriti o ratnom zločinu, ili, eventualno, o teškom ratnom zločinu.

Natezanje oko ove parlamentarne deklaracije dovodi do niza nesporazuma. Naime, u Hagu je počelo suđenje Radovanu Karadžiću, koga optužnica tereti za ratne zločine, pored ostalih, i za genocid počinjen u Srebrenici. U svojoj odbranbenoj besedi Karadžić je srebrenički genocid nazvao mitom, i posebno je istakao, da je tamo pogubljen „svega“ nekoliko hiljada ljudi, i da su pogubljeni samo muškarci uhvaćeni pod oružjem. Njegova od-



at the forefront of the Serb national interests and Serbs as a people. Arguing for his innocence he said that there were crimes on both sides, but that this is something that happens in war anyway. The Serbian press has been covering Karadžić's defense in great detail

brana bila je usredsređena na tvrdnju da je on stajao na braniku bosanskih Srba, odnosno srpskih nacionalnih interesa. Dokazujući svoju nedužnost, Karadžić je dopustio da je zločina bilo na obe strane, ali da se to u ratovima dešava. Srpska štampa opširno izveštava o

and in the light of this fact it is most obvious why a parliamentary resolution on Srebrenica is so necessary – a resolution which would clearly state that Serbia refuses to let anyone justify their own crimes by saying they were committed in the name of Serbs.

All this arguing, all this indecisiveness, all this nitpicking, says more about how little unity there is in the ruling coalition and that this coalition is provisional. This fact comes to light when we consider that when the Coalition of Vojvodina's Hungarians denied support for the budget the Democratic Party broke off their coalition with this minority party on the local level. Because of this in Subotica, a town with a slight Hungarian majority, the Hungarian parties have been pushed into the opposition, while in Senta, which also has a Hungarian majority, the Democratic Party has broken their coalition with the Coalition of Vojvodina's Hungarians and has made a coalition with the smaller Hungarian Citizens Coalition. Then things became really funny: in the meantime the minister of internal affairs Ivica Dačić said that he will look into the possibility of banning the minority party Movement for Hungarian Hope because it is cooperating with a civil sector organization from neighboring Hungary, known as Youth Movement of 64 Counties – this organization has certain irredentist goals. The said party had denied the minister's claims, followed by a statement made by the party president to the daily *Politika* where he explained that members of the Movement of 64 Counties were on a different party's list – the Citizen's Coalition of Hungarians – or the party that made a coalition with the Democratic Party. This is where the confusion turns into farce: either the statements made by vice-president of government and minister of internal affairs are not true or the Democratic Party is prepared to make partners out of anyone, even extremists, in order to punish the Coalition of Vojvodina's Hungarians. Either one or the other is possible.

The inconsistencies multiply when you consider that the Democratic Party has punished only the Coalition of Vojvodina's Hungarians for insubordination, even though they support the government in parliament but are not a part of the ruling coalition. On the other hand, the Democratic Party is very agreeable with the Socialists and did not even consider

Karadžićevoj odbrani, i u tom svetlu se najbolje i vidi, koliko nedostaje parlamentarna rezolucija u kojoj bi jasno stajalo da Srbija odbija da bilo ko u ime srpskog naroda pravda svoje zločine.

Sva ova rasprava, sva ova neodlučnost, sve ovo teranje maka na konac, naposljetku govori o tome da unutar vladine koalicije nema saglasnosti, tačnije rečeno, da je koalicija veoma provizorna. To dokazuje i okolnost da je Demokratska stranka, zbog uskraćivanja podrške Saveza vojvođanskih Mađara vladinom predlogu zakona o budžetu, raskinula koaliciju s tom manjinskom strankom na lokalnom nivou, usled čega su u Subotici, u gradu s relativno većinskim mađarskim življem, mađarske stranke potisnute u opoziciju, a u jednom drugom gradiću, u Senti, sa većinskim mađarskim stanovništvom, Demokratska stranka je raskinula koalicioni sporazum sa Savezom vojvođanskih Mađara, i umesto nje odnedavno vrši vlast zajedno s jednom znatno manjom mađarskom manjinskom strankom, s Građanskim savezom Mađara. Stvar je ovde, međutim, poprimila komičan zaokret. Naime, u međuvremenu je Ivica Dačić, ministar za unutrašnje poslove, najavio da će se ispitati mogućnost zabrane manjinske stranke Pokreta mađarske nade, jer saraduje sa civilnom organizacijom iz susedne Mađarske, pozante pod nazivom Omladinski pokret 64 županije, a koja u programu ima i određene iredentističke ciljeve. Pomenuta stranka je demantovala trdnje ministra za unutrašnje poslove, a potom je i direktor stranke za beogradski dnevni list *Politika* objasnio da su na listi jedne druge stranke, Građanskog saveza Mađara, bili predstavnici pomenute civilne organizacije - sasvim precizno, na listi one stranke koja je stupila u koaliciju sa Demokratskom strankom. Time se opšta zbrka pretvorila u farsu, jer: ili su neosnovane optužbe koje je izneo potpredsednik vlade i ministar za unutrašnje poslove, ili se pak ispostavlja da je Demokratska stranka, sve u cilju kažnjavanja Saveza vojvođanskih Mađara, spremna da se uortači bilo sa kim - pa i sa ekstremistima. Moguća je ili jedna, ili druga opcija.

Protivrečenosti se izoštravaju i na taj način što Demokratska stranka zbog „neposlušnosti“ kažnjava samo Savez vojvođanskih Mađara (koji inače u parlemantu podržava vladu, ali nije zastupljen i u samoj vladi), dok je ton njenog dijaloga sa socijalistima iznenađujuće pomirljiv, nije se ni pomišljalo na to da se zbog „nediscipline“ socijalista bilo gde na lo-

breaking the coalition on any local level due to their 'lack of discipline' – meaning that they have two sets of rules. In effect, they behave one way toward a minority party and another towards Milošević's Socialists.

When demanding early elections the opposition has precisely these fault lines in sight and rightfully concludes that the ruling coalition is very provisional, since it is not only the Socialists who are blocking the Democratic Party from keeping the campaign promises, but also smaller coalition parties – as is for example Dragan Marković Palma's United Serbia Party, which was founded by Željko Raznjatović Arkan, commander of paramilitary formations active in Croatian and Bosnian war zones.

Truth be told, these parties have changed somewhat in the meantime, mostly regarding the issue of EU accession, but this is not enough. Especially not considering that opposition parties have also changed positions. According to public opinion polls next elections will have two favorites: the Democratic Party and the Progressive Party (Progressives came out of the Serbian Radical Party); these two are also currently leading shoulder to shoulder in popularity. It should be mentioned that both parties are for Serbia's accession to the EU, and analysts believe that the difference between them (regarding degree of voter support) is decreasing. Other smaller parties have also gone through these transformations and have condensed their essential messages to two points. It is well known that one of them is EU accession, while the other is keeping the state's territorial integrity intact, meaning keeping Kosovo. The media have a similar stance. There has not been greater national consensus in Serbia in the past twenty years!

The only surprise is that despite this far reaching consensus the opposition is demanding early elections.

Voters are in a dilemma as well since major discrepancies which orient their choice making have disappeared. Two years ago many of them voted for the Democratic Party and the parties that made a coalition with it in order to prevent a victory of Šešelj's Radicals. In the meantime this party has been pushed down to the margins of political existence (it usually loses in early local elections) so citizens have no one to vote against any more. On its own this would pose no big problem.

kalu otkáže koalicioni sporazum, što znači da u sprovođenju koalicijske discipline primenjuje dva aršina međusobno suprotnih predznaka. Drugačije se ponaša, dakle, prema jednoj manjinskoj stranci, i opet drugačije prema Miloševićevim socijalistima.

Zahtevajući vanredne izbore, opozicija ima u vidu upravo ove linije prelamanja, a prema tome ispravno zaključuje da je vladajuća koalicija veoma provizorna, jer ne sprečavaju samo socijalisti Demokratsku stranku da dosledno održi svoja izborna obećanja, već i druge, manje koalicione stranke. Kao što je na primer stranka Jedinštena Srbija Dragana Markovića – Palme, koju je svojevremeno osnovao Željko Ražnjatović Arkan, komandant onih paravojnih formacija koje su delovale na ratištima u Hrvatskoj i u Bosni.

Istini za volju, treba reći i to da su se te partije u proteklom razdoblju donekle promenile, ponajviše po pitanju pridruživanja Evropskoj uniji, ali kao što se zna, to nije dovoljno; utoliko pre što su se u međuvremenu i opozicione stranke drugačije pozicionirale. Prema nalazima agencija za istraživanje javnog mnjenja, na narednim izborima favoriti će biti Demokratska stranka i Srpska napredna stranka (ona koja se izdvojila iz Srpske radikalne stranke), i da te dve stranke već sada vode, rame uz rame, na listama popularnosti. Obe stranke su, pritom, pristalice priključenja Srbije Evropskoj uniji, a i prema mišljenju analitičara, razlika između njih – što se tiče stepena podrške birača - sve je manja. Kroz skoro iste ili slične procese preobražaja prošle su i ostale, manje partije, sve one zgušnjavaju srž svojih programa u dve tačke. Kao što je poznato, jedna je priključenje Evropskoj uniji, a druga je očuvanje teritorijalnog integriteta države, odnosno Kosova. Slično razmišljaju i mediji. Poslednjih dvadeset godina u Srbiji nije bilo šireg nacionalnog konsenzusa nego sad!

Iznenadjenje je samo to što opozicija, uprkos ovolike sloge, zahteva vanredne izbore.

I birači su u nedoumici, pošto su nestale krupne protivrečnosti koje orijentišu njihovu volju. Pre dve godine mnogi su glasali za Demokratsku stranku i za stranke koje su sa njom ušle u predizbornu koaliciju, da bi sprečili pobedu Šešeljevih radikala. Ova stranka je, u međuvremenu, sasvim potisnuta na margine političke scene, na vanrednim lokalnim izborima redovno gubi, tako da građani više i nemaju protiv koga da glasaju. Samo po sebi, to i ne bi bila nikakva nevol-

The problem now is that differences between parties have lessened and now the voters are not sure anymore who they should vote for. People seem to be turning increasingly more to the Serbian Progressive Party since (at least not formally) it hasn't taken part in government, or any corruption scandals. The psychological effect of this resonates most

ja – problem je u tome da birači, usled zamagljivanja razlika među strankama, nisu sigurni ni u to, za koga bi trebalo da glasaju. Građani se sve više priklanjaju Srpskoj naprednoj stranci, jer ona - bar neformalno - do sad nije učestvovala u vlasti, nisu povezani ni sa kakvom korupcionaškom aferom. Ovaj psihološki efekat ostvaruje najveći uticaj na



with the voters, considering that basically all major parties in Serbia are rightist and very nationalistic – so they all offer pretty much the same remedies for this difficult economic crisis.

Despite the 900 000 signatures the Democratic Party has remained steadfast that elections will take place only when government loses majority in parliament. Numerous political analysts have pointed out that this attitude is wrong and that Democrats should call for elections right now because they have made great strides towards the EU, meaning that they have (partly) kept their election promises and, we must admit, that in the current situation this is no small feat.

President Boris Tadić gave an interview to the weekly Vreme and in it he made a more detailed observation on the economic situation in the country. From this interview we can deduce why his party is insisting that parliamentary elections be held in 2010 as scheduled. Tadić obviously believes that Serbia will come out of this crisis by 2010, meaning that by 2012 we could count on improved living

biranje, s obzirom na to da su u Srbiji zapravo sve veće stranke desničarske i izrazito nacionalne - tako da i za boljke koje se javljaju usred teške ekonomske krize, sve one nude slične lekove.

Demokratska stranka, međutim, sve do sada, uprkos onih 900 000 potpisa, ostaje pri stavu da će do izbora doći tek kad vlada izgubi većinu u parlamentu. Brojni politički analitičari dokazuju da je do pogrešan stav, jer bi demokrate morale baš sad da izađu na izbore, kad su učinile značajne korake prema Evropskoj uniji, što znači da su svoja izborna obećanja, bar delimično ispunile, a to – treba priznati – u sadašnjim uslovima, nije mala stvar.

Predsednik Republike, Boris Tadić, u intervjuu za politički nedeljnik Vreme detaljnije se osvrnuo i na ekonomske prilike u zemlji. Iz tog intervjuja se može iščitati, zbog čega njegova stranka insistira na redovnim parlamentarnim izborima koji su na redu 1012. godine. Tadić očekuje, naime, da će se Srbija 2010. godine izvući iz krize, nakon čega bi 2011. bilo moguće računati s porastom životnog stan-

standards for citizens. Hence, the Democratic Party could take a landslide victory by 2012.

Now would not be a good time to test their strength since there is a high degree of economic uncertainty and the number of dissatisfied voters is growing. In accordance with the International Monetary Fund salaries and pensions have been frozen until the end of the year but prices have started to climb. Gas, fuel and electric energy costs are up, and this in turn caused other articles and services to become more expensive. However, in comparison to life in the nineties everyday life is much more bearable, standards are higher and citizens' expectations are higher as well.

Strengthening of national unity is in an upswing as well and the gap between rich and poor is widening. The ugly truth about privatization is coming out into the light – many new owners of now privatized companies are not paying the mandatory pension and health benefits, and in some places paychecks are late for half a year or more. There is obviously a certain stratum of society that has nothing more to lose and these people will not have any qualms over staging extreme protests. At one such protest desperate workers laid down on railway tracks in protest. The scope and scale and reasons for demonstrations are multiplying.

The state is, metaphorically, playing fireman – which cannot last very long since it is stressing the budget. At the end all that is left is the picture of a weakened, helpless state. In the past couple of years the press has written about various "mafias" – construction mafia, toll payment mafia, professors' mafia (selling of university diplomas), railway mafia and others. The police, prosecutors and courts have not been able to deal with organized crime effectively. It seems more and more obvious that the state is weak.

In order to balance out the situation Boris Tadić is over-emphasizing the successes of Serbian police against the drug mafia, exemplified in their uncovering of drug lord Darko Šarić's business. Politicians from the ruling coalition regularly stress how Serbia is the regional leader. On TV we could see regular coverage of how luxuriously drug lord Šarić lived. He had around ten villas across Serbia; in the northern province of Vojvodina he bought many fertile fields, so that he accumulated several thousand acres.

The logical question is what kinds of connections could Šarić have had with the Serbian

darda građana. Sledstveno tome, 2012. godine bi Demokratska stranka mogla ubedljivo da pobedi na izborima.

Sada bi, naime, bilo rizično ući u odmeravanje snaga, jer osim toga što raste broj nezadovoljnih glasača, u Srbiji vlada i visok stepen ekonomske neizvesnosti. Zarade i penzije su, po sporazumu sa Međunarodim monetarnim fondom, do kraje ove godine zamrznute, ali cene su krenule putem porasta. Poskupeo je gas, benzin i električna energija, što je izazvalo lančanu reakciju poskupljenja i ostalih artikala i usluga. Istina, u odnosu na devedesete godine, svakodnevni život je mnogo podnošljiviji, i standard je viši, međutim, i očekivanja građana su veća.

Jačanje nacionalnog jedinstva ide uzlaznom linijom, ali se nastavlja trend sve dramatičnijeg socijalnog raslojavanja. Na površinu su izbila naličja privatizacije, novi vlasnici brojnih firmi na uplaćuju radnicima obavezne doprinose penzionog i zdravstvenog osiguranja, a na mnogim mestima i po pola godine, pa i više, kasne isplate zarada. Postoji, dakle, jedan sloj, koji više nema šta da izgubi, i taj sloj ne preza ni od najgrubljih vidova iskazivanja revolta. Ne jednom se desilo da su radnici, sučeni s beznađem, legli na železničke šine, i tako protestovali. Sve su masovnije, i sve su žešće anarhične demonstracije.

Država, u prenesenom smislu reči, pokušava da što bolje odigra ulogu vatrogasca, što ne može, naravno, dugo da potraje, jer ugrožava budžet. A posle svega ostaje samo slika iznemogle, nemoćne države. Poslednjih godina štampa je izveštavala o raznim „mafijama“ – o građevinskoj, o putnoj, o profesorskoj (prodaja univerzitetskih diploma), železničkoj i drugim, ali policija, tužilaštva i sudovi nisu bili u stanju da se efikasno obračunaju s organizovanim kriminalom. Sve je očiglednije da je država slaba.

Da bi uspostavio kakvu-takvu ravnotežu, Boris Tadić prenaglašava uspehe srpske policije u borbi protiv narko-mafije, koje se očituju u razotkrivanju poslova narko-bosa Darka Šarića. Političari iz vladajuće koalicije revnosno ističu da Srbija ima lidersku ulogu u regionu. Na televiziji je do sitnih detalja prikazano u kakvom je luksuzu živeo narkobos Šarić. Imao je širom Srbije desetak vila, u severnoj pokrajini, u Vojvodini, na veliko je pazario plodne oranice, tako je nakupio više hiljada jutara.

Nameće se, međutim, pitanje, kakve je kontakte mogao da ima taj Šarić sa srpskom po-

police, with high ranking state functionaries? It is evident that he had to have had some connections. They all saw him accumulating all those riches. Čedomir Jovanović, president of the Liberal Democratic Party, is convinced that behind the dealings of this drug lord lays a very influential corruption network. Authorities of course deny these allegations, while the media is switching focus to Montenegro, saying that that's where Šarić's headquarters were and that he is currently under the protection of influential politicians in Montenegro.

This circumstance also points to another sore spot and that is regional cooperation. In the aforementioned interview Boris Tadić denied that Serbia's relations to regional countries (Bosnia, Croatia, Macedonia and Montenegro) have deteriorated. Tadić, however, does not deny that Kosovo is a very dangerous neuralgic spot. This point is reaffirmed by Bernard Kouchner's (French Minister of Foreign Affairs) visit to Belgrade. The European Union had (thus far) sent mixed messages and Kouchner continued this trend stressing that Serbia's integration in the EU is not conditioned on accepting Kosovo's independence. He did however swerve a little bit and invite representatives from Belgrade to negotiate with Kosovo's leaders. Later he traveled to Pristina, where he said that, at least as far as France is concerned, Kosovo's independence is undisputed. The press reported how Kouchner tried to soften Belgrade's stance. Serbian Minister of Foreign Affairs (in Budapest at the time) didn't mince words and directly said that Serbia cannot be softened and that it will discuss Kosovo only with the United Nations and EULEX and stressed that if Serbia were put in a position to choose between Kosovo and the EU it would always choose Kosovo. This macho statement was well received by Koštunica's Democratic Party of Serbia. They happily pointed out that Minister Jeremić had stolen Kostunica's policies. Šešelj's Radicals also gave their full support to Jeremić. For the time being at least opposition parties favor the Minister of Foreign Affairs over President Boris Tadić. But all plans of a common future are lost beyond this point.

Both Belgrade and Pristina are waiting for the ruling of the International Court of Justice in The Hague. This ruling will not be binding for anyone though and so the situation will remain unchanged but it will give an opportunity for both sides to may be reformulate what they have already stated. In any case, in Ser-

lijom, sa visokim državnim funkcionerima? Jer, neke veze je morao da ima. Pred njihovim očima je nagomilavao sve to basnoslovno bogatstvo. Čedomir Jovanović, predsednik Liberalno-demokratske partije, ubeđen je, na primer, da se iza poslova narko-bosa povlači vrlo uticajna korupciona mreža. Nadležni dakako demantuje ovakve vesti, a mediji usmeravaju pažnju na to da je Šarićevo sedište u Crnoj Gori, i da je pod zaštitom uticajnih crnogorskih političara.

A ta okolnost, opet, usmerava pažnju na još jednu bolnu tačku, a to je regionalna saradnja. Boris Tadić je u gore pomenutom intervjuu dematovao tvrdnje da su odnosi Srbije sa susednim zemljama (Bosna, Hrvatska, Makedonija, Crna Gora) pogoršani. Tadić, međutim, ne poriče da je Kosovo i te kako opasna neuralgična tačka. Tu spoznaju potvrđuje i poseta francuskog ministra za inostrane poslove Bernarda Kušnera Beogradu. Evropska unija je, naime sve do sada slala dvosmislene poruke Srbiji, i Kušner se kretao u tom krugu, naglašavajući da integracija Srbije u Evropsku uniju nije uslovljena priznanjem nezavisnosti Kosova, pa je potom nešto suzio taj krug, i pozvao Beograd da pregovara sa kosovskim liderima. Potom je otputovao u Prištinu, gde je izjavio da je, bar što se Francuske tiče, nezavisnost Kosova nesporna. Štampa je pisla o tome da je Kušner pokušao da omekša stavove Beograda. Srpski ministar za inostrane poslove nije se mnogo dvoumio, iz Budimpešte je poručio Kušneru da se Srbija razmekšavati ne može, i da je o Kosovu spremna da razgovara isključivo sa Ujedinjenim nacijama i sa EULEX-om, pa je podvukao da, ukoliko bi Srbija bila stavljena u položaj da bira između Kosova i Evropske unije, da će uvek izabrati Kosovo. Ovu mušku izjavu s radošću je primila Koštuničina Demokratska stranka Srbije. Sa zadovoljstvom je konstatovala da je ministar Jeremić ukrao Kuštuničin program. I Šešeljevi radikali su zdušno podržali ministra Jeremića. Trenutno bar, opozicione stranke više podržavaju ministra za inostrane poslove, nego predsednika Republike, Borisa Tadića. Na ovoj tački, međutim, zamiru sva planiranja budućnosti.

I Beograd, i Priština, čekaju presudu Međunarodnog suda pravde u Hagu. Ta presuda, doduše, nikog neće ni na šta da obavezuje, situacija će, dakle, da ostane nepromenjena, ali pružiće priliku suprotstavljenim stranama da, eventualno, preformulišu ono što su jednom već rekli. U svakom slučaju, u

bia people still believe that we can continue unhindered on our journey to the EU without having to resolve the Kosovo issue and that we can become a member of the EU without being in NATO. There is only one obstacle – arresting general Mladić. But, there is plenty of time for that.

*(Translated from Serbian  
Nina Đurđević-Filipović)*

Srbiji veruju da zemlja može da se nesmetano približava Evropskoj uniji i bez razrešavanja njenog odnosa sa Kosovom, i da, osim toga, može da postane i članica Evropske unije a da se prethodno ne učlani u NATO. Preostaje samo još jedna prepereka – hapšenje generala Mladića. Ali, za to ima vremena.

*(Preveo sa mađarskog  
Arpad Vicko)*

