



THE INSTRUCTIONS FOR THE EUROPEAN UNION ALOUD!

'Serbia will not abandon its own people on Kosovo and Metohija. Serbia will not give up the European Integrations,' stated Serbian President Boris Tadic giving his answer to the terms for the sequence of European integrations presented by German Chancellor Angela Merkel at her visit to Belgrade. Clearer and sharper than all other previous interlocutors from the European Union, the German Chancellor publicly announced terms for the sequence of European integrations – continuing of the reforms, fulfilling the criteria from Copenhagen as well as development in mutual relations between Belgrade and Pristina. The fulfilling of three more terms is expected from Serbian Government concerning the question of Kosovo, said Merkel.' The following steps should be the results of Belgrade- Pristina dialogue , the work of EULEX and the abolishing of the parallel structures on the north of Kosovo.'

The terms that the Chancellor Merkel presented to the Serbian president Boris Tadic Belgrade was mostly familiar with. The only surprice was the last term in the Chancellor Merkel's message – a demand for the abolishment of parallel institutions on the north of Kosovo. This term shocked the government as well as the public in this country because it was clear that it is going to become the new point of conflict. The reason is simple. ' The parallel institutions' whose abolishing is requested by the German Chancellor are not perceived in the same way in Belgrade and in Berlin.

For Belgrade these institutions are the only legal institutions on Kosovo because according to the Constitution of Republic of Serbia Kosovo is ' the unseparable' part of this country. According to this, Serbia provides elections on the whole of its territory including Kosovo. The elections organized by Serbia are attended only by Kosovo's Serbs voting for the local authorities, the deligates for the National Assembly Of Republic of Serbia and the president of the Republic of Serbia. At the same time, on Kosovo, Kosovo's government organizes the elections for the local authorities as well as for the Kosovo Assembly according to the Kosovo Constitution.

At the elections for the Kosovo Assembly the minor number of Serbs take place, but at the Kosovo Assembly there is a respectable number of Serbian deligates. As to say, Kosovo Constitution determines that in the highest institution of Kosovo stand at least 10 deligates out of 120 .

Thanks to that fact, the only Serbian party that takes place at the Kosovo elections , despite the poor support among Serbian citizens , already in its second mandate will be in a position to ' decide' who will be governing Kosovo.



As for the local elections provided by the Kosovo authorities, Serbs from the north of Kosovo (four municipalities leaned on Serbia, and in which live between 80 and 100 thousand Serbs)do not let their organization, while Serbs from other parts of Kosovo take place in the local Kosovo elections in a greater number in order to elect ' their own municipality authorities. ' On Kosovo, thus, there are several authorities. In four municipalities at the north of Kosovo that are inhabited by Kosovo's Serbs there are only local authorities elected according to the Serbian laws. In municipalities at the other parts of Kosovo inhabited by Serbs there are two municipal authorities – one elected according to the Serbian law and the other elected according to the Kosovo's law (it is interesting that the members of both of the authorities are mostly Serbs). While in some parts of Kosovo, inhabited mostly by the Kosovo's Albanians there are only local self-governments elected according to the Kosovo's law. It is specially interesting the situation in municipalities that have 'Serbian ' and ' Kosovo's ' self-governments because both governments invest in the local environment.

Serbia invests in Kosovo around 500 thousand euros every year and it includes financing of educational and health care system as well as paying the social insurance and other costs. The financing of the Serbian or ' parallel ' institutions beside that, has also got as well social character for the Serbs on Kosovo.

Serbia gives 250 million euros annually for its officials, as well as its teachers, professors, doctors, judges and others who are paid from the Serbian budget. Besides, a lot of Serbs who worked in former Serbian public and social companies receive a minimal wage. With the help of Serbian budget money live 40 thousand families not including pensioners and social help beneficiaries. If Serbia would stop financing Serbs, they would be left without any payments. The Government of Kosovo was not willing to provide that in public companies, which founder is Kosovo, a certain number of Serbs find a job which is guaranteed by Kosovo's Constitution and laws. The question is whether the government could do that at all because Kosovo has got the highest unemployment rate in Europe which is close to 50 per cent and every third citizen lives in poverty and every tenth citizen lives in extreme poverty. A special budget for the development of local self-governments, especially those inhabited with Serbs, has got Kosovo Government as well, and Kosovo's Minister for local self-government is a Serb. A citizen of Kosovo, thus, can choose the municipal government both according to Serbian or Kosovo laws, can have its delegates in Serbian and in Kosovo Assembly, can choose the President of Serbia.

Berlin refers to Serbian institutions on Kosovo as ' parallel and illegal. ' The way they see it, Kosovo is independent state, and it is not imaginable that other state organizes elections or that its institutions act on the territory of Kosovo.



This leads us to the problem which is impossible to solve at first sight. The German Chancellor is with her demand for 'the abolishing of Serbian institutions on Kosovo' set forth the unacceptable term. Serbian president Boris Tadic, even if he wanted, would not be able to fulfill last term of German Chancellor because then he would broke the Serbian Constitution. The abolition of Serbian institutions of local government on Kosovo by Serbia would mean that this country should give up the part of its territory. That right, according to the Serbian Constitution, do not have neither the President of the republic nor the Serbian Government.

It is clear that this situation will influence the political scene of Kosovo and Serbia, the situation in the region as well as the process of broadening of the European Union to the Western Balkans.

Let us begin from the Serbia. The country is preparing for the elections which will have to be held by the May 2012. The governing coalition led by the Democratic Party (DS) of the President Boris Tadic, underlines the membership in the European Union as one of its main goals.

It was expected that the Democratic Party would have announced the elections immediately after Serbia received status of a country candidate for the European Union membership and when the precise date of the beginning of the negotiations about the membership between Serbia and the European Union was determined.

That sequence of events would be a 'wind in the sails' to the governing coalition which could ask from Serbian voters a new mandate at the elections, the mandate 'which would led us successfully to the to the finishing of the process of Serbia's membership in the European Union.' The success in the process of the integrations would be one of the strongest aruments of the leading coalition in the next elections specially when we take into consideration very difficult economic situation in Serbia. Besides the fact that the economic crisis has been most responsible for the increase of the unemployment rate, the decrease of citizens' standard, the decrease of the economic production and the lack of investments, the ordinary person blames for the situation the ones on the governing places. Facing that kind of situation, the leading coalition desperately needs a success in the process of the integrations in Europe. That is why now, when it is almost certain that the candidate status of the European Union membership comes to question, the most important electoral trump is out of the governing coalition's hands. For the elections, the Democratic Party will have to look for other themes such as the struggle against corruption and the organized criminal, the efficiency in leading the state, competence...However, the problem is that you can not obtrude some themes to the public and expect that the citizens would then vote for you. The European integrations have been for the decades connected to the Democratic Party which means that the failure in this area can not be redeemed with the change of the theme.



The European Union has taken care by now to help the pro-European forces at the elections in Serbia. That is how Brussels just before the elections in May 2008 solved the problem with the Netherlands (the state which conditioned the process of European integrations of Serbia with the cooperation with the Hague Tribunal) and enabled the signing the Stabilisation and Accessment Agreement between Serbia and the European Union with Serbia on April 29, 2008. The signing of that agreement gave the important contribution to the triumphal winning of the pro-European forces at the elections held two weeks later. Today , the European Union behaves on different way. The reason for that lies in political changes that have happened in the previous four years in Serbia. Meaning, before the elections in 2008. Serbian political scene was sharply divided into the pro-European and anti-European forces. The winning of anti-European forces in 2008. would not only mean the abandoning the European integrations but the more severe policy to Kosovo, which self-proclaimed the independence a few months earlier. In the meantime, in Serbia happened the tectonic political changes , mostly according to the Serbian president Tadic itself. The Socialist Party of Serbia (SPS) , the former party of Slobodan Milosevic, has become the party of modern left wing that accepted the European integrations as its goal. The strongest oppositional ultranationalistic party , the Serbian Radical Party (SRS) , has fallen apart , and out of it has been created new party, the Serbian Progressive Party (SNS) , which is positioned as the party of moderate right wing. This party took over more than two thirds of voters as well as the greatest part of the infrastructure of Serbian Radical

Party. Serbian Radical Party survived but today it lives at the edge of census while Serbian Progressive Party is currently the most popular party in the country. Thus Serbia is facing the situation that the greatest part of parliament's parties which together cover 80 per cent of electorate support the European integrations of Serbia. By enabling that political process, the President Tadic did the historical thing for Serbia but it caused problems to his party. The party simply shared the monopoly it had concerning the European integrations with all the others. European union indifference about who is going to create the government at the following elections is based on the belief that whoever does that – it will not bring any dramatical political changes in Serbia.

There is one more reason why the European union took sharper attitude concerning Kosovo. It appeared, mostly in the case of the cooperation with the Hague, that pressure on Serbia gives results. Everyone in the Union understand that the permanent solution of Kosovo problem is not possible without the cooperation of Serbia.

In plane words, German acknowledgement of Kosovo does not mean anything without the Serbian acknowledgement. This is exactly why the supporters of this course towards Serbia, estimated that it is necessary to make a pressure on Serbia in order to move forward from a lying spot the solution of the Kosovo problem. They could not find better moment for that kind of pressure. The governing coalition would , according to the public survey, need the success in the process of the European integrations in order to win the following elections.



It should not be neglected the fact that the difficult economic situation in Serbia is additionally deteriorated by the ban on the import of goods from Serbia which provides Kosovo's police from June as a sign of protest because Serbia does not acknowledge customs stamps of Kosovo. Serbian economy due to this ban loses 359 million dollars annually. At the time of the economic crises, when the elections are coming, the loss of the Kosovo's market is a difficult coup for the Serbian economy and automatically for the governing coalition that puts an effort to improve the economic situation in the country. It sounds rough but the calculation of the creator of such a policy of the European Union towards Serbia is simple – the governing coalition less than a year before the elections, can not let itself stop the process of the European integrations or worsen the economic situation and for these reasons Serbia will be cooperative under pressure.

This calculation is not quite wrong. It is realistic to expect Serbia to be more cooperative on the next September negotiations about the custom stamps of Kosovo. Simply, Serbian government has to settle the problem of the export to Kosovo and if there would be an agreement concerning the custom stamps it would be a demonstration to Europe that it is ready for the agreements.

It sounds like paradox, but with the demand for the abolishing of Serbian institutions on Kosovo and with Boris Tadic's refusal of the same demand, Merkel even helped him to be less strict on some other fields, because no one can accuse him of not taking care about the interests of Serbs on Kosovo when he was ready to refuse the

German Chancellor. Thus it should be expected the answer about the stamps and the abolishing of embargo on the import of Serbian goods on Kosovo in September.

Let us return now to the Germany and its sudden arrangement on the Western Balkans. Germany is the leading country of the European Union which takes the heaviest burden of monetary problems of the Union. As this being the case, Germany has the responsibility for the stability of the Union and also Europe as well. It is obvious that the process of European Union broadening at the Western Balkans stopped because of the whole sequence of problems such as the status of Kosovo, the complete paralysis of Bosnia and Herzegovina, the acknowledgement of the name of Macedonia...At the beginning of nineties in the last century, Germany strongly stepped again on the political scene of Europe when it first acknowledged the independence of Slovenia and Croatia and thus brought Europe to fait. Today, German General commands the international military forces on Kosovo. By being engaged at the Western Balkans, Germany recognized the opportunity to become the leading state in Europe not only in economic but in political sense. Also, it should be taken into account that between Germany and the USA there are tensions concerning the whole range of foreign affair questions. For example, the American president Barak Obama has not still visited Berlin even though he has been on several European tours. The USA still remembers German obstruction of the Georgia and Ukraine admission in NATO and it can not also forget the special relations German has got with the Russian Federation.



Germany supports Kosovo independence but it is quite critical to Kosovo's leaders, to their war past, connections with the organized criminal, Kosovo's society, intolerance to the national minorities.

The German press writes most transparently about all the problems Kosovo's society is facing, about intolerance to national minorities, criminal, drug and people trafficking as well as the corruption...Germany demonstrated its influence on Serbia when the Foreign Minister Guido Westerwelle on August 26, 2010 visited Belgrade and gave message that referred to the future of Serbian European integrations if the state would not withdraw the resolution in United Nations General Assembly. After that happened the agreement of Serbia with the European Union about common resolution which enabled strong progress of Serbia in the process of European integrations. One of the consequences of this decision was the common decision of Belgrade and Brussels to start technical negotiations with Pristina about the solutions of concrete problems. Germany left to Brussels diplomacy the leading of the negotiation process and did not take part in it as long as it progressed successfully. When the process was interrupted, meaning when Pristina tried to take over the border crossings by unilateral police action and caused the instability on Kosovo and brought the region to the edge of conflict. The key role in settling down the situation had the German general, the KFOR commander, Erhard Biler. Germany was not satisfied with the fact that Kosovo's Prime Minister, Hashim Tachi started such an unilateral action that could cause war without informing the European Union but with

tacit approval of the USA. That was the drop that cup overflows. Europe does not need another conflict at the heart of the continent and it is obvious that the German Chancellor decided to continue where the general Biler stopped. There is no doubt that Germany will make a great pressure on Kosovo in the same way as Hashim Tachi was forced to accept the agreement General Biler had made with Serbs concerning border crossings even though he refused to do so at first. Withal, German Foreign Minister Westerwelle had visited Pristina less than two weeks before Chancellor Merkel visited Belgrade. Well informed sources state that conversation with the Prime Minister Tachi was not pleasant at all despite smiles at the press conference.

By coming to Belgrade Chancellor Merkel showed how much Germany appreciates the role of Belgrade at Western Balkans. Besides, it went unnoticed in Serbian public that the Chancellor clearly underlined that 'Serbia has its place in the European Union', that 'Germany will not demand of Serbia to acknowledge the independence of Kosovo' as well as that 'Germany will be against unilateral actions on Kosovo'. These should be good news for Serbia.

Concerning Kosovo, after the unilateral and violent action of Kosovo's Prime Minister Hashim Tachi it will be under greater pressure of Europe at first place, to show cooperation in solving the problems with Serbia.

Kosovo authorities by now relied on the USA more than on the European Union.

The policy of the USA is such that it is full of prejudices concerning Kosovo and Serbia, in other



words American administration does not want to make any kind of pressure on the Kosovo authorities to show any kind of cooperation.

For the USA this matter is simple because Kosovo is not important theme for them, and the state is miles away. Because of that, the USA administration does not feel a need to study Kosovo problem in details. The USA acknowledged Kosovo, it should make pressure on Serbia to do the same, Kosovo should provide the Ahtisaari's plan – this is the USA policy towards Kosovo.

The USA can afford itself such a luxury because Kosovo is quite far away – in Europe. The European Union can not afford itself such an unilateral view on things. Kosovo's Prime Minister Tachi cleverly² used this position of America. Now it will not be possible any more. He will have to be responsible to Brussels or to Berlin. The functioning of this best described Koha Ditore writing about the following negotiations about customs stamps in Brussels : 'the representatives of Western countries agreed not to wait too long and to, in case of inflexibility , two sides will have to face the consequences'. The embargo on import of Serbian goods which issues Kosovo's government brings a lot of damage to Serbia but to Kosovo as well. According to the writing of media in Pristina, Serbian goods can be found in stores but more expensive because they now come over Montenegro and Macedonia. So it means that already poor citizens of Kosovo pay the price of embargo. The decision of Germany to solve the problem of Kosovo will change the relations and on the Kosovo itself.

Kosovo's authorities will no longer have the protection of the international community as they have had by now. They will be expected to behave in a responsible way as every other government in Europe, to maintain the rule of law, to struggle the criminal and corruption, to gain trust of Serbian community by strict implementation of Ahtisaari's plan ,(The plan of Marty Ahtisaari, former President of Finland and European Union mediator for Kosovo, on which is based the Kosovo's Constitution.) , as well as to make additional benefits and to be more cooperative in negotiations with Serbia.

For Serbia it is very important to understand the processes that are happening around Europe concerning Kosovo. If it does not understand what is happening – it will miss another opportunity in its history. Serbs as people tend to fall easily in euphoria or in dissatisfaction. They are no much different from other people in the south of Europe. After the visit of German Chancellor to Belgrade euro -enthusiasm is replaced with euro-scepticism. Just like it was not right to fetishize the European Union which was the case and every move of the state and every need for a change was explained as a need for the demands of the European Union to be fulfilled, now there is no need to go to extremes and widespread a belief that Serbia will never become a member of the European Union. The European Union is the most important partner of Serbia, whether it is a member or not. Serbia should continue the process of reforms by fulfilling the criteria from Copenhagen and solving problem by problem in relations with Kosovo, of course taking care of its national interest.



The fact that now Serbia does not agree with the European Union or Germany in some questions does not mean that it will not change in a few months or years. It is necessary to look for the solutions persistently and patiently. The strongest argument of Serbia is that without it—there is no permanent solution of Kosovo problem. So, if the states that acknowledged the independence of Kosovo want it to become permanently consistent community, it will have to come to some fair agreement that both sides will be satisfied and dissatisfied with. It seems that at this moment everything that happens most rationally accepted President of Serbia Boris Tadic who emphasized in his interview to the Politika that 'Serbia should never give up its European Union membership.' We are European country, European culture, European people, even before we have become the European Union member. Process of standard change in Serbia should be compliant with the European Union standards, because it is of much importance to us, it happens in countries which are not members of the European Union such as Switzerland and Norway', said Boris Tadic.

Whether Serbia will become the European Union member depends on the decisions of the European Union Member States. That is why Serbia should reform itself and change its society, adjust itself to the European Union standards because these are the best standards in the country's arrangement. Serbia that is economically strong, that is state of law, that struggles against criminal and corruption, that respects the freedom of media, people and national minority's rights, will be the desirable partner of the European Union.

No one needs Serbia which is not that kind of state—even not her own citizens.

Serbia has got respectful majority of parties that want it to be integrated in Europe. Speaking the truth, German Chancellor with her precise and clear attitude did a great favour to Serbia. It is now understandable to everyone what the European Union expects and due to that the important decisions can be made. Simply, Angela Merkel prevented the demagogy that are Serbian political parties familiar with, meaning hiding the truth from the voters. Everything is transparent now. The most important is the fact that concerning the European integrations almost identical attitude share the Democratic Party and the Serbian Progressive Party, the leading oppositional party. It is a good moment that politicians, at least those leading ones, make an arrangement about Serbian goals, reforms that should be done, as well as other strategic questions. Then the future of Serbia will not depend on elections to elections, and to Europe we will also present Serbia as stable country with determined goals and as reliable and predictable partner.
