

Transformation of institutions and civil society in Serbia and Montenegro

The workshop forms part of a project by the IFSH which was conceived for the long run and is aimed at the establishment of an academic network in Southeast Europe. The project is being funded by the DAAD sponsorship scheme within the framework of the stability and growth pact for Southeast Europe. Apart from the obligatory participation for DAAD funded Masters students and voluntary participation of the remaining students, other students and academics with an interest in the project from various German universities take part in the project. The majority of participants are originally from Southeast Europe and some of them are working for the initiative “Students Building Bridges/Studenten bauen Brücken”.

The aim is to transfer knowledge on the current security and political situation of the country, historiography and public discourse on the conflict, as well as an understanding of minority issues. In addition, the critical analysis of post-war societies within the regional context and also in regard to reconciliation shall be promoted. Openness, tolerance and understanding shall be encouraged. Personal initiative in network co-operation shall contribute to conflict resolution within the region.

Activities in Belgrade included briefings of selected ministries, speeches by experts from international institutions as well as employees of research institutes and the University of Belgrade, Department of Political Science. In addition, opportunities to develop contacts for further co-operation were available. Another part of the workshop took place at the University of Novi Sad, in co-operation with the departments of German and Philosophy. We discussed minority issues with representatives of various NGOs and presented our own research results.

Day one, Thursday, 25/11/2004		
Address: University BK, Palmira Tojatija 3-5, Belgrade		
Time	Topic	Speakers
7.00-13.00	Arrival, followed by lunch	-
14.00-15.00	University BK: Welcome/ Introduction of the postgraduate Studies/ Meeting students	Director of the University Prof. D. Miletic
15.15-16.00	Security, Terrorism and Globalization issues	
15.15-16.00	Reform process in politics of Serbia and Montenegro	Ms. Gordana Comic, Chairwomen of the Committee for Foreign Affairs
16.15-17.30	The Coordination Center for Kosovo and Metohia of the Republic of Serbia: Briefing	General Krstic
17.45- 18.45	Reforms in education concerning multiethnic aspects	Ms. Marjana Semic, Ministry of Education
From 19.00	Dinner in a traditional restaurant	-

Day two, Friday, 26/11/2004,		
Address: G17 INSTITUTE, Knez Mihailova 10, 11000 Belgrade		
Time	Topic	Speakers
10.15-11.15	Welcome at Defence and Security Studies Centre at the G17 Institute/Introduction	Srdjan Gligorijević, Head of Research, www.g17institute.com
11.15-11.30	Break	-
11.30-12.30	Transformation of institutions and civil society in Serbia and Montenegro	Dr. Slobodan G. Markovich
13.00-14.00	Lunch break	-
14.00-15.00	EU funded reforms in the Justice and Home Affairs sectors in Serbia	Dr. Bernard O'Sullivan, European Agency for Reconstruction www.ear.eu.int
15.15-15.30	Break	
15.30 – 16.30	The work of the OSCE Mission to Serbia and Montenegro: projects and prospects	Dr. Vladimir Bilandzic OSCE Mission to Serbia and Montenegro
16.30 – 17.30	Civic Initiatives (Citizens' Association for Democracy and Civic Education): Presentation and projects	Miljenko Dereta, Executive Direktor, www.gradjanske.org
17.30-17.45	Break	
17.45 – 19.00	German bilateral relations with Serbia and Montenegro	Martin Graf, German Embassy
from 19.00	Dinner	

Day three, Saturday, 27/11/2004		
Address: Filozofski Fakultet, Stevana Musica 24, 21 000 Novi Sad		
Time	Topic	Speakers
9.00-11.00	Arrival Belgrade-Novı Sad (Bus), check in at the Hotel	-
11.00-11.15	Welcome	Prof. Dr. Radmila Marinkovic-Neducin, Rektor at the University of Novi Sad
11.15-12.00	Welcome/ Academic reflections on religious education as a school subject in multiethnic and multiconfessional Vojvodina	Prof. Julijana Belı-Göncz, Germanistik/Univ. Novi Sad
12.00-12.10	Break	-
12.10-13.00	Social processes of transformation: The breakup of Yugoslavia to this day (the situation in Montenegro in particular) and the influence of international organizations (with translation from Montenegrinian)	Prof. Milenko A. Perović, Head of Dep. of Philosophy/Univ. Novi Sad
13.00-14.00	Lunch break	-
14.00-15.00	The Historical Inheritance and the Politics of Silence Section of Philosophie, Novi Sad (Center for Multiculturality- NGO)	Dragan Prole, editor of the journal for nationale Minorities in Vojvodina www.cmk.org.yu/
15.00 – 15.15	Break	-
15.15-15.45	Transformation of the media in Serbia	Jelena Trivunic, Student from Novi Sad
15.45-16.15	Theater and Tolerance	Damir Patarcic
16.15-16.30	Break	-
16.30-17.30	Schoolbook reform in history books: Status and influence as a mirror of the society and his transformation process	Studentsgrupe from Hamburg
17.30-18.00	Break	-
18.00-19.00	Understanding War Trauma and the Role of War Veterans for the Transformation of the Society: Project and Prospects	Vladan Beara, Association for Mental Health Protection of War Vet. and Victims of Wars 1991-1999
Ab 19.00 Uhr	Dinner	

Day four, Sunday, 28/11/2004		
Time	Topic	Speakers
10.30-12.00	Guided tour in the history of Novi Sad: History understandig – multicultural Heritage of Novi Sad (on foot)	Dragan Prole
12.00-13.30	Lunchbreak/Luggage	-
from 13.30	Return journey: Departure from Belgrad at 5 p.m., Arrival in Hamburg at 9 p.m.	-

List of Participants

1. Dr. Patricia Schneider, German

Tel. 040/866077-20

MPS-Students 2004/05 incl. DAAD-Stipendiaten:

- | | |
|---------------------------|-----------------|
| 2. Angeleska, Meri | Macedonian |
| 3. Bandov, Goran | Croatian |
| 4. Belshaku, Selma | Albanian |
| 5. Bittasi, Elena | Italian |
| 6. Buzogány, Csongor Aron | Rumanian |
| 7. Gratz, Dennis | Bosn.-Herzegow. |
| 8. Niggebrügge, Julia | American |
| 9. Parrott, Nicholas | British |
| 10. Rother, Tanja | German |
| 11. Sachs, Hans | German |

Outhers Participants from Germany:

- | | |
|----------------------------|--------------------|
| 12. Bojana Pajic-Rickerts | Bosn.-Herzegow. |
| 13. Coli, Arben | Kosovian/Albanian. |
| 14. Hadžić, Ermin | Bosn.-Herzegow. |
| 15. Kemper, Yvonne | German/American |
| 16. Klever, Phillip | Dutch |
| 17. Mehmedbegovic, Naida | Bosn.-Herzegow |
| 18. Pervan, Gordana | Croatian |
| 19. Hinz, Anne | German |
| 20. Zdravkovic, Aleksandra | Serbian |

Outhers Participants from the region :

- | | |
|---------------------------|-----------------|
| 21. Badeva, Rajna | Macedonian |
| 22. Bajramovic, Zlatan | Bosn.-herzegow. |
| 23. Dudaš, Boris | Croatian |
| 24. Ivković, Marko | Serbian-Mont. |
| 25. Misslewitz, Margarete | German |
| 26. Oklevski, Slobodan | Macedonian |
| 27. Paunović, Dragan | Serbian-Mont. |
| 28. Popović, Djordje | Serbian-Mont. |

Prof. Dr. Julijana Beli-Göncz (Serbia and Montenegro)

Prof. Dr. Milenko A. Perović (Serbia and Montenegro)

Mag. Dragan Prole (Serbia and Montenegro)

Jelena Trivunić (Serbia and Montenegro)

Damir Patarčić (Serbia and Montenegro)

Kosanović, Marko (Serbia and Montenegro)

Dr. Janja Bec-Neumann

Claudia Lichnofsky (Germany)

Participants from AvH-DAAD Alumni Club in Novi Sad (via Prof. Dr. Miloš Tešić):

Stanulovic, Ada, Dipl. Oecc.

Milotinovic, Milos , Philologist, Rector at the University:

Maksimovic, Jelena, Chemist, Company Jugoinspekt,

Rudovic, Dragoslav, Student of Mechanical Engineering, Faculty of technical science

Jovic, Slavko, Student of Mechanical Engineering., Faculty of technical science

Tesic, Marko, Solicitor, Parliament of the self-governed Province Vojvodina



Day One in Belgrade, Thursday 25th of November 2004

Subject: Welcome and Introduction; Security, Terrorism and Globalization issues

Speaker: Mr. Prof. Daniel Miletic - Director from BK-University

Mr. Miletic welcomed us and invited us to see for ourselves how much Belgrade and Serbia have progressed in the field of civil society. Truth is always on two sides, he wished our quest for truth always to be objective.

After the warm welcome Mr. Miletic showed us a presentation on the Peter Karic Institute for Advanced European Studies, the first privately owned higher education institution in South East Europe, named after the first principal of the first school for teachers in Serbia Peter Karic ((1838 – 1871). The rather flowery presentation, which is the one new students see upon arrival, welcomed everyone in a suggestive voice: “Dear children, we hope you learn to respect one another”. The university was founded in 1994, is international in character (under- and postgraduate studies are taught in English) and creativity and freedom in thought is encouraged. Practical training forms an important part of the tuition, all over the world large companies like Coca Cola, Xerox participate. International cooperation on the whole is important with European institutions, and partnerships with other universities (e.g. Michigan State). Role models are Western universities in the USA and Japan. There are 5 faculties, for management, for trade and banking, for management in sports, for Advanced European Studies and in Novi Sad is the faculty for entrepreneurial management.

The Peter Karic Institute for Advanced European Studies has nine centres, amongst which the Centre for Globalization Studies, for Crisis Situation, for Conflict Research and some regional centres, like for the USA and Canada. Mr. Miletic is the director of the Centre for Terrorism Research, which was established in 1997 and which also looks at problems of regional terrorism. As an example he claimed that a report by Canadian KFOR troops in 1992 mentioned the presence of mercenaries from muslim countries, members of the Al Qaida network, who were active in Bosnia. He claims the report to be the first one of terrorism in Serbia. We asked ourselves since when KFOR troops exist...1992?

The vision of the university is: studying, creating and implementing. The mission is to spread the spirit of knowledge, peace and tolerance in order to help the Serbian society to find optimal ways of crossing the transition period and after that to help the integration into the EU and into the global community. Another major aim is to build a new elite for Serbia and in such way influence the society as Serbia at the time being doesn't have an elite since they all went to jail, as Mr. Miletic explained.

In the following Q&A session Mr. Miletic stressed the importance of regional cooperation for European integration but spoke of institutional obstacles in achieving it. It is a difficult way ahead and what Serbia most needs is not help, but support. Sanctions are of no use, direct investment is needed, as is cooperation, development of relations to put away hatred and find tolerance. Also the building of civil society and of the economy are important in his view for the European integration

of his country. The Copenhagen criteria for access to the EU are demanding but not impossible, other South East European countries have succeeded. Mr Miletic described the actual situation as one of building a new future.

In another answer he explained that he didn't want to form part of the Djindjic government albeit asked, because of the overlapping of that administration with organized crime. If Europe succeeds to unify it will be a model for the world, Mr. Miletic is convinced.

To the question of the university's elite concept, since it is a university for rich people only, Mr. Miletic replied that it is these wealthy people who are somehow close to changing the country. Also in his opinion elite doesn't only mean the financial and cultural elite, one needs wise persons to build an elite, Serbia doesn't have the structures to build an elite upon.

As for everything else, Mr. Miletic tries to be a scientist, not a politician and he asked us to mark his words that the world is changing.

Subject: Reform process in politics of Serbia and Montenegro

Speaker: Ms. Gordana Comic - Member of democratic party of Serbia (DOS)



In a very lively and positive atmosphere we heard Mrs. Frau Gordana Comic drawing us in a very clear way a picture of her – the democratic party of Serbia (DOS) – perspective on “Reforming Serbia 2000-2004 – strategies, efforts, obstacles, results”.

First, she stated that DOS was meant to end dictatorship, to establish a system where politicians can do what they are meant to be for: to serve the citizens will. The serbian way of change Mrs. Comic described as a peaceful end, no revolution, but also not an evolution. DOS by then aimed to make this process of democratization irreversible by using the social energy. After the “lost” ten years of Milosevic's rule it was time for the introduction of modern principles in all fields of society.

That this process wasn't easy to fulfil Mrs. Comic shows with mentioning the splitting of DOS in 2001 when DSS left the coalition. But in the same year, crucial laws were adopted. The main lines of strategy for DOS are: stability, security, everyday results and patience. Concerning the main efforts of her party as the leading party till 2004, Gordana Comic explains the following: dealing with the heavy inheritance of hate, corruption, post-war-society, ruined economy, destroyed infrastructure after NATO bombing. To meet the great expectations of the people was the main challenge in these first years after the end of the dictatorship, she says optimistically, whereas now people don't have them anymore.

In regard to the obstacles Mrs. Comic confesses that being in charge does not mean to be in power. As other obstacles of the work of her party, she mentions the lack of debate in society on war crimes, reconciliation, self-understanding and the lack of focusing on the future. This could be due to the high social needs of the Serbian population. In the economical sector there is a large grey zone in many fields. There is also the Kosovo problem and an unresolved problem with organized crime. In addition, the status of the army and the secret service is not ready conceptualized.

For the current political developments in Serbia and the ruling minority government, she informs and criticises that there is a lack of a vision, strategies and ideas, also a lack of strong leadership and

a strong opposition. In respect to economy, Serbia in its fourth year of transition can present positive results.

As conditions that one should deal with Mrs. Comic mentions the cooperation with the tribunal as indispensable; the political and social consensus on European integration, constitutional changes, State Union functioning and implementing standards and Resolution 1244 on Kosovo and Metohija as necessary. For Kosovo she adds that political attitudes range from “yes”, through “yes, but later” to “yes, but we will do it our way”.

Priorities in the coming years must be modernization, meaning, for example, being pro-active in resolving Kosovo and Metohija issues, orientating towards European integration, working on reconciliation, gaining credibility, building social values and surviving the difference between justice and the rule of law.

The discussion was hardly to stop as Mrs. Comic had raised a lot of interesting questions and demonstrated a very open attitude. One of the topics discussed was the reconciliation matter: The Truth Commission established as an agreement with Kostunica did not fulfill its task. Godana Comic states here that reconciliation work will now be done by NGOs. Another theme was the sense of (in-) justice that lays in Serbian people these days. Here, she says that a lot of people have a very black and white picture of Serbia and she sees her task in putting a bit color in this picture. There were also questions raised on Kosovo, the relations to Macedonia and the refugee problem.

**Subject: The Coordination Center for Kosovo and Metohija of the Republic of Serbia:
Briefing**

Speaker: Mr. General Krstic

In his talk, General Krstic presented the work of the Coordinating Committee of Governments of the FRY and Republic of Serbia for the municipalities Bujanovac, Medvedja and Presevo in South Serbia, where serious clashes occurred between Yugoslav forces and Albanian insurgents in the years following the Kosovo crisis. Eventually, with the help of external forces, a cease-fire was brokered and General Krstic engineered the return of Yugoslav forces into the newly established Ground Security Zone. In his presentation, General Krstic then focused on the period since June 10, 1999, when the Military Technical Agreement was signed. In this period, he said, more than a thousand attacks and provocations were committed by Albanian guerilla forces in the Ground Safety Zone. In this period, the total sum of committed attacks in the Ground Safety Zone was higher than 1000. General Krstic gave a summary of the steps the military took in solving the crisis. The joint task force was formed out of units of the Yugoslav army and the police force of the Republic of Serbia, under the unified command of the Yugoslav Army Chief of Staff. The main tasks of the military in the region are to secure the border with the Republic of Macedonia and the administrative border with Kosovo and Metohija and to protect the territory and citizens from attacks by Albanian insurgents from Kosovo. The Yugoslav task force entered between March 14-25, 2001 the greater part of the Ground Safety Zone, occupied all of the strategically important objects and began carrying out its assignments. The deployment of the Yugoslav task force represents a restoration of the sovereignty of FRY over this territory. These operations were public, monitored by NATO and KFOR representatives, members of the European Union Monitoring Mission and. General Krstic then came to speak about the aims for solving the crisis in Presevo, Bujanovac and Medvedja municipalities. These include the full normalization of the work of state institutions and local authorities in the area. Adding to this, one of the most important issues to be tackled is the demilitarization of the region and the possibility of return for all of those who have fled their homes, as well as the development of a multi-ethnic and multi-confessional society based on democratic principles and minority rights. This can be achieved with financial help from the international community. The main principles in solving the crisis in Presevo, Bujanovac and Medvedja municipalities are both political and diplomatic. A multilevel dialogue should include representatives of the Republic of Serbia and the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, representatives of the Albanian national community and should be supported by the international community. He underlined, that any acceptable solution has to happen within the framework of the current constitutional system of the Republic of Serbia and the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, i.e. any solution implying autonomy, change of borders

or special status is unacceptable. He said that an amnesty regulation for Albanian paramilitaries is already showing success as leaders of the Liberation Army of Presevo, Medvedja and Bujanovac, UCPMB, seem to be taking advantage of the amnesty as support for their cause both inside and outside Kosovo has waned to almost zero. In answering questions, General Krstic highlighted that the conflict has shown that it can easily overpass borders in an extremely vulnerable area and might affect several states of the region including Serbia, Montenegro, Macedonia, Albania as well as the UN-administered territory of Kosovo. He also said that in the long-term the conflict can be solved through enhancing economic development. On this issue, the Government of Serbia is working closely together with international donor organisations, including Germany's GTZ and the USAID.



Subject: Ministry of Education; Reforms in education concerning multiethnic aspects
Speaker: Ms. Marjana Semic

Ms. Marjana Semic from the Ministry of education entitled her presentation "The started and stopped reforms process" with reforms starting in January 2001 and ending in January 2004. During these three years, the first and second democratic government of Serbia had to deal with the severe national, psychological, and social debts the educational system inherited. The system consists of 200 primary and secondary schools.

The development of the educational policy in Serbia during this time can be divided into three stages according to Ms. Semic, i.e. the setting of general guidelines for changes, a strategy based on the objective of reaching quality education for all, and then a detailed development of a strategy with projects. One of the main changes in 2003 was the introduction of a new law on the educational system along with new institutions and centres.

A crucial objective of the educational reform policy was to make it as transparent and open as possible. This openness involved (1) participants, (2) experts, (3) the general public, (4) other sectors, and (5) the world.

- (1) Openness to participants: through conversations and discussions on reform in 85 different locations in November 2001, mostly involving students, trainers, principles, trade unions, school boards, universities, dealing with democratization of education, education of trainers, the curriculum. On this basis, the educational strategy was formulated. During May, June, and September 2002, a discussion called "us and reform" on the current implementation of reforms in the educational system. In October 2002, some members of the committee for the educational reforms visited all regular school boards to talk with teachers about the proposed solutions.
- (2) Openness to expert public: The Ministry of Education and Sports established several specialized committees of experts on democratization of education, professionalization of teachers, decentralization, etc.
- (3) Openness to general public: Information to general public through media, regular press conferences (TV, radio, internet).

- (4) Openness to other sectors: undertaking of joint ventures with ministries like Employment Ministry, Statistics Bureau, economic sector, NGOs, and Ministries of Interior.
- (5) Openness to the world: international reviews by UNICEF, UNDP, and the World Bank; involvement in Bologna and Dakar Processes. Serbia also participated in several international tests on the state of the educational system. The participation of Serbia in an essay test showed, for example, that children in Serbia are functionally illiterate. Serbia also closely cooperated on the development of its educational system with the GTZ, the Swiss Agency for Development, CIDA, EBRD, and the European Foundation for Education.

Ms. Semic pointed out that the Ministry would envision its new role as primarily administrative than consultative. It would thus act in a more decentralized manner, using expert councils but also attributing a higher role to parents and student-led organizations. The 9-member school board now consist of 3 parents, 3 teachers, and 3 persons from the local community.

As part of the old reform process from 2001 to 2004, the structure and organization of schools should have been 9 years in three cycles with a final exam at the end, which would be prepared at national level. Secondary education would equally finish with a test. For secondary schools to be more relevant to the local labour market, 26 pilot projects were started, and partnerships with social partners (trade unions, businesses, etc.) , industry, professional associations, and NGOs started. In May 2004, a new law passed for educational sector.

With a new government and new educational minister in 2004, all reforms processes were re-examined or stopped. The new ministry abolished all reforms. Accordingly, the English language was not to be a compulsory language in first grade anymore; the, 26 pilots projects to make education more relevant for the labour market were stopped; compulsory education was reduced from 9 to 8 years again; the Darwinian theory was excluded from the curriculum. All of these policies caused great dissatisfaction in the public, especially among parents. The minister was unbearable for the government and had to leave office. In general, Ms. Semic contended, the constant changing of governments and policies is causing great frustration among those involved in the educational sector but it is the children who suffer under the reforms. The new minister has now invited all people involved in the reform process from 2001 to 2004 to give their opinions on what direction the reform process should take. In the end, Ms. Semic pointed to several outstanding issues in the educational sector like the lack of teachers in foreign languages and the neglect of distant and remote areas with only 3-5 students in elementary schools.

Day Two in Belgrade, Friday 26th of November 2004

**Subject: Welcome/Introduction at Defence and Security Studies;
Centre at the G17 Institute**
Speaker: Mr. Srdjan Gligorievic, director

The G17 Institute was founded after the economic and political changes that took place in Serbia and Montenegro in September 2000, following the victory of the opposition candidate in the presidential elections.

The Institute grew out of the original Group 17 (G17), which gathered economists and experts in other social sciences and promoted the idea of a modern market economy, an open and democratic society and the rule of law. Group 17 transformed itself into a research institution (G17 Institute) in 2001.

The issue analysed during our visit was the establishment of a lasting peace in the Balkan region. First of all, it has been underlined that such a process is viewed as very difficult, since there is no sound tradition of cooperation in the area.

Nowadays, national interests are determining the security, political and economic choices in the Former Republic of Yugoslavia and stereotypes and prejudices are still dominant in the political relations.



Nevertheless, the region is profoundly changing: the need to turn away from the past and to find a Balkan identity, through the historical and cultural bounds, is regarded as fundamental. Therefore, a crucial pre-condition for the regional cooperation and self-sustained stability is enhancing the spirit of tolerance.

Besides, a partnership with NATO and the EU is envisaged as necessary, in order to promote stability and progress. The European Union is considered the only structure which could be able to bring stability in the region, especially following the weak interest of the USA after 9/11.

The membership in the Euro-Atlantic strategic partnership would imply a Balkan responsibility and would also require a democratic reform for an efficient functioning of all institutions.

Subject: Transformation of institutions and civil society in Serbia and Montenegro

Speaker: Mr. Slobodan Markovic



Slobodan Markovic began his lecture with an outline of the history of Serbia and Yugoslavia, in which he described the different systems of government of the last two hundred years, the economic and social developments and the respective ethnical composition in the different periods.

Then, he talked about the causes of the deficit in the civil society. He pointed out the effect of "real existing socialism", nationalism and the "ethnification" of politics, mass poverty and its destroying effects on certain components of the civil society such as culture and education. He also mentioned the economic and cultural isolation of the international community, the *brain drain* in the 1990s and the wars.

Markovic stressed that in Serbia and Montenegro the NGOs, which developed mainly at the end of the 90's, have a very negative reputation among the population. They were regarded by the Traditionalists as Nestsoiler and considered by others as defrauders of western funds.

Furthermore, the speaker underlined that even the independence of the media was not sufficiently ensured as an important carrier of civil society. BK TV and TV Pink, which owned large market shares in the whole area of former Yugoslavia, are part of Milosevic's enterprises; therefore, objective reports about Serbia are impossible. The largest non-governmental media enterprise belongs to the brothers Karic and is an association of independent media. In the long run, the independent media council, an institution for the independent control of the media, has never become operational.

According to Markovic, for the stabilization and strengthening of civil society, a stronger role of the NGOs in Serbia and Montenegro would be necessary to ensure the development in the fields of human rights, democratization, education and environment.

Subject: European Agency of Reconstruction

Speaker: Mr. Bernard O'Sullivan

The EAR is essentially the 'executive wing' of the EU in Serbia. The presentation was split between a discussion of the EAR and their work in general and the particular challenges facing the judicial area.

In 2001, it was estimated that the EAR had spent 1 billion euros up to that point. An example of an ongoing big budget programme is the construction of a bridge in Novi Sad. Although the stated aim of the agency is to reconstruct, the aim for 2005 is to move on from reconstruction to reform and integration. The focus of the agency is aimed towards eventual EU membership and in this regard there is significant co-operation with the Commission. Tougher than building bridges is the institution and judicially binding system. EAR takes now a 'twin-track' approach towards tackling problems at both the level of state union and republic.

The reform of the judicial system and police are both essential for the EAR. This requires changes both in the Ministry of Justice and the Ministry of Interior. The problems Serbia faces are not unique and previously have faced both Western Europe and then Eastern Europe. Until there is proper reform any amount of money invested will not be successful.

Membership of the EU is not the answer in itself, fundamentally the challenge is in strategy at home and using the EU to enhance that. The EU is not the answer, but can be part of the answer. The Serbian economy is 25% agricultural, by 2015 this should be 5%, something which requires massive investment.

In speaking about the judicial area in particular the fundamental point to remember is that the rule of law is the first criteria Brussels is looking at. In that regard, there is a focus on court modernisation to speed up the process by investing money in a new computer system. Borders also need to be tightened as a great deal of money is being lost in taxes through smuggling. An integrated border management system is required including better and closer relations between the police and customs officers.

A key problem was identified as the actual construction of projects that can absorb the EU funds available. Now, only 200 million euros can be scarcely absorbed into projects and closer to accession that must be closer to 1 billion euros.

In conclusion, Mr O'Sullivan stated that Serbia can make very rapid progress and will be successful. It is a big country in an important geographical location and has a big population. It needs, however, balanced development throughout the country, and not all centred on Belgrade. Once the institutions are in place though, things can move very quickly.

**Subject: The work of the OSCE-Mission to Serbia and Montenegro:
Projects and prospects**

Speaker: Mr. Vladimir Bilandzic, OSCE-Mission in Serbia and Montenegro

In his talk, Dr. Bilandzic gave an overview of the whole Mission-work in Serbia and Montenegro. First he told about the relations of the former Fry to OSCE, at that time still CSCE, in the 70s, trying to make a connection with the present. Then, he told about the mission established in 2001, invited by Serbia and Montenegro to assist in building the democratic institutions and a democratic society. He mentioned the aims of the Mission: the assistance in building the democracy, democratic institutions in the country and the fields of the mission- work.

The field on which the mission has focused its activities are: law enforcement, democratisation, media, economics and environment, rule of law and human rights, police, parliament, community.

The mission has begun its work modestly, by occupying at first only 2 buildings, now its activities are spread, capacity has grown and the mission has 6 buildings. The mission is different from that in Kosovo.

In Podgorica a program is running for the building of a multiethnic police in South Serbia. Projects which include one or more programs in one field are the form of the assistance OSCE gives to the two countries with a big number of specialists and consultants.

There are several programmes running in Serbia and Montenegro some of which are mentioned as concrete examples from Mr. Bilandzic.

- Projects for municipalities, ministries and parliament
- Running projects for training judges and prosecutors specially for cases of the court for war crimes; Training courses for lawyers
- Programme of prison reform for adoption to EU standarts.
- Programmes of state security reform
- Police education and development programme
- Anti-trafficking programme
- Special programme for witness protection in the the fight against organised crime
- Programmes in the community level for the equal gender oportunities, national minorities
- Programmes on the environmental and economic issues
- Media development project
- Programmes in the regional level for refugees, prevention of human-trafficking providing assistance for the victims etc.

Asked about the cooperation with the government, he mentioned the very good relations with former prime minister Djindjic, and put the accent to the efficent cooperation with NGOs.

He also said that OSCE is monitoring the only process of prosecuting the war-crimes in Serbia and that the serbian people do agree with the prosecution of the war criminals in their country.

The problem of refugees is not completely solved, problems are to be found with the property, houses and their reintegration in the place they once lived.

The prospects are:

A higher level and speed of the democratic development. The better is the level of democratic development, less need of OSCE.

The cooperation between three states of the former Yugoslavia, Croatia, Bosnia and Herzegovina and Serbia on the refugees issues developing strategies. Each mission of the country is working with the country where they operate.

Subject: Civic Initiatives (Citizens Association for Democracy and Civic Education)
Speaker: Mr. Mijenko Drenka, director

Civic Initiatives is an NGO situated in Belgrade and was formed in 1996 as a democratic opposition to the then ruling authoritarian government. It was also part of the anti-war movement in Serbia.

Mr. Drenka described the members of his organization as mundialists, as not “Pro-Serbs”. He pointed out that the role of an NGO in Serbia is to promote change by supporting a change in the value system towards a general acceptance of equality and equal rights for minorities.

For a start, the current director of Civic Initiatives referred to the problem of how the NGO-scene in Serbia is influencing institution-building. In this regard, Drenka described the Tito era as a period where there was only a kind of simulated institutions. There was no institutionalized freedoms but those were coming out of Yugoslavia’s special role as a mediator between East and West. Yugoslavia was also among the first Easteuropean countries starting transitional processes.

Milosevic then paved this way of transition with victims in Bosnia, Croatia, Kosovo. This was connected to a destruction of all participatory institutions for civil society. Elections were not free but followed an “automatic voting machine”.

The upcoming of Serbian non-governmental organizations opposing this situation with an own value-system puts Mr. Drenka in the beginning of the 1990s, where all their activities stood under the repression of the ruling. The only contact he and his colleagues made with institutions in this time was with the police! Nevertheless they tried to sustain a social network to support democracy.

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As a cornerstone in this process of civil society emancipation in Serbia Mijenko Drenka mentions the 1996 elections where the opposition won in large parts of the country. These results were rejected by Milosevic who enforced a new round of elections which showed a loss for the opposition. This clearly demonstrates, so Drenka, that the oppositions sustain in public was still weak.

Directing his focus on the current situation of NGOs in Serbia-Montenegro Mr. Drenka tells that they are accepted now in the civil society. As a problem he sees the back and forward movement of NGO members: before 2000 many government servants went to NGOs, after 2000 a lot of them went back to the governing level forgetting about their NGO experience.

Speaking about the current tasks of Civic Initiatives Drenka describes the following:

- Drafting of laws
- Education in all levels (e.g. government, municipalities, youth)

In a very lively debate after Mr. Drenkas introductory words, the discussion goes about the power of NGOs in current Serbia and the problem of the multiplication of their ideas. Answering this question, Drenka draws first back to the past where the background of society was based on fear, where everything was decided and secured by the state. Therefore, he states, people have a “prisoners syndrome”: democracies are an unsecure thing, where everybody needs to decide on his/her own. To engage and decide for democracy isn’t easy for a lot of people as they had to lose this idea of security of them and their families. A lack of Serbian identity also contributed to many people’s turn to the nationalist movement, where a new identity and security seemed to be found.

For his work Mr. Drenka confesses this situation to be very complicated and tiresome but states optimistically that he believes in small steps. He sees the NGO-sector in Serbia and the whole region in a crisis.

Coming back to the roots of NGO activity in Serbia, Drenka says that they responded to social needs that came from the bottom and that they functioned in a difficult surrounding, especially in the context of repression, high inflation, the refugee crisis (refugees from Bosnia, Croatia), when the government turned its head away. Furthermore, NGO activities include common support of handicapped people and gender issues. The crisis of the NGOs right now is - following Mr. Drenka - due to the search of an own identity facing the pressure of the international NGO-scene. Content and form of the organizations need to be restructured and the problem of donor-drivenness has to be addressed. In this context the discussion goes toward the self-sustainability of the NGO-sector in

Serbia, where 95% of the funding comes from outside the country. Mr. Drenka explains this situation with the lack of will of the Serbian government to spend any money in this sector and with the poverty of the country (40% unemployment). Cutting down the funds would mean a dramatic reduction and shift to voluntary work. Already now, NGOs have to become company-like organizations, partnerships with business is not yet possible because it comes to peculiar issues. The three existing foundations in Serbia are made of dirty war money.

Subject: German Strategies and Activity in Serbia and Montenegro
Speaker: Mr. Martin Graf from the German Embassy in Belgrade



Martin Graf presented himself as the political officer at the German embassy in Belgrade, being the expert on domestic politics. In his presentation, he focused on the bilateral relations between Germany and Serbia and Montenegro (SaM). Germany, he stated, does not have a masterplan for SaM, but a comprehensive concept that is more or less identical with the EU's. Three aspects are at the core of the relations:

1. peace and stability
2. development
3. integration

Political cooperation between Germany and SaM provides support for the political and economical reform course. The EU stability pact, largely funded by Germany, is the most important pillar of the bilateral relations. The key element, Mr. Graf emphasized, for stability and security in the Balkan region is economic development, so the region can live up to its responsibilities.

Since the democratic change four years ago, the most urgent needs in Serbia and Montenegro are:

1. Humanitarian aid; restore full heating and water supply and the restoration of energy power installations. Germany revitalized thermo power stations and reinstalled water and sewage systems. The aid focus now shifted to long term economic development projects, some issues however are still virulent, above all the refugee issue, Mr. Graf explained. 490.000 refugees and internally displaced persons are today in SaM. Heating material and health care are of concern to the refugees – these needs are being taken care of by NGOs (some German like the GTZ) and the UNHCR.
2. Democracy building; the key priorities for Germany in the cooperation are projects to reform the legal and administrative sector, to reform the police, the armed forces and the media and to consolidate the democratic forces and the rule of law, especially in the field of human rights and minorities.
3. Economic cooperation; in three fields: 1. in the beginning, Germany only provided emergency support (humanitarian aid), later then reconstruction support through infrastructural measures like the construction and updating of water sewage and heating; 2. in the private sector, to foster small enterprises and financial management culture and 3. assistance for a functioning market economy – GTZ consultants assist in the creation of legislative models.

The estimate net aid from Germany for SaM since 2000 is roundabout 350 million Euros, EU funds contributed another 400 million Euros.

On the normal economic relations, Mr. Graf stressed two points: on the import/export relations he commented that Germany was the most important trading partner of Serbia and Montenegro (trade balance between the two countries: 1.2 billion Euros). During chancellor Schröder's visit to SaM last year the Economic Relations Council was founded with the objective of continuing dialogue between government and the private sector on both sides, e.g. in the areas of tourism and agriculture.

On direct investment Mr. Graf commented that it could be better. He referred to a study in which Germany is the most desired investor amongst most Serbs, a remarkable finding in the light of the fact that the US are the biggest investor as of now. The German private sector made first experiences in SaM private sector in 2001 and they have not always been very good experiences which had the German investors pull back. The German embassy hopes to improve direct investment from Germany.

On the cultural level there are many activities of Germans in Belgrade, the Goethe institute was established in the 1970s already. Hopefully, there will be even more and better exhibitions and concerts now. A good example is the funding of our excursion by the DAAD.

The EU perspective, meeting the three Copenhagen criteria (1993) for accession: political (needs: institutional stability, working democracy, rule of law, respect for minorities), economical (working market economy) and juridical (taking over the *acquis communautaire* step by step through legislative measures). SaM is only at the start: a feasibility study, the first step of all, had been stopped but now relaunched again. The difficulties lie in the country itself, nevertheless: the EU perspective is the most important catalyst for the whole region. All Western Balkan countries are welcome in the EU as was stated just last year. All countries must fulfill their responsibilities.

In the Q and A session afterwards, Mr. Graf replied to the question of the particular German interests as compared to the EU approach, that the EU policy is in fact formulated by the member states through the CFSP (GASP). All member states are represented in Belgrade, all report back to their capitals and then the CFSP is being formulated, which has to be synchronized. The European and the bilateral approach should be the same. There is however the feeling that Europe needs consolidation now, that the enlargement needs to be stopped for a while. That of course causes problems with the potential candidates as they lack perspectives. Serbia and Montenegro however still needs to change a lot.

On the question whether one should not mention the war in conversations with Serbs, Mr. Graf commented that the past is still very present, the aspirations of the Serb elite in the late 1980s has changed the country's perception throughout the regions of SaM. Many in Serbia and Montenegro think they have been victimized, that it has been a "conspiracy" from outside. Another part of society is ready to discuss the past, but that is not representative. Germans were not ready to look back in the 1950s either, Mr. Graf compared. This issue will not be solved in the next years.

As to whether people think of Germany as the "big disintegrator" of Yugoslavia, Mr. Graf elaborated that people either did not worry or did not dare to ask. In Slovenia, this question has been discussed with a clear tendency: Germany was not responsible. There will always be the one date that Germany recognized Slovenia and Croatia, but in the end all other member states recognized the two on their own yard as well. Mr. Graf described the reproach as somewhat "like a legend". Germany of course was alone and thus prominent, but it wasn't just this one decision that exploded the whole integration of Yugoslavia.

In the opinion of Mr. Graf, the state union between Serbia and Montenegro did not work. He could not give a forecast, but according to his assessment it does not work. Montenegro has its own minister for foreign affairs and ambassadors which shows according to his opinion that something is not working well. The EU will start negotiations with the state union, but as a two track approach, some things will remain excluded.

On the question of Kosovo, Mr. Graf could not give a clear statement on the Kosovo status. There will be a midterm review in 2005 of its status but the outcome is open, there will not be an advanced decision, it is up to the Albanians and Serbs which way to steer the ship. The Serbian government is not in favour of participation of Albanians in election, as they are afraid of a lack of representation of Serbs in Kosovo. By Security Council resolution is Kosovo still a part of Yugoslavia

(though it does not exist anymore). Like any other nation in the world Germany only has a “Verbindungsbüro” in Kosovo, not an embassy. The question that remains to be seen is what the Security Council will decide.



Day Three in Novi Sad, Saturday 27th of November 2004

Subject: Academic reflections on religious education as a school subject in multiethnic and multiconfessional Vojvodina

Speaker: Prof. Julijana Beli-Göncz, Germanistik/ Novi Sad University

After a few welcoming words, Prof. Beli-Göncz briefly outlined the development of religious education in Serbia.

Shortly after the Second World War, religious education in Serbia was stately organised as a facultative school subject. According to the ideology, during the period of communism in Serbia, religion was considered to be an “opium for masses” and in 1949/50, instead of religious, the Marxist education was introduced in the schools of this country.

After 1989, the Serbian-Orthodox Church, supported by the newly organised nationalistic political parties, became an important player of Serbian society again. Supporting the official country policy, Serbian Orthodox Church became an official religion and won the majority of the country for the war ideology and for the picture of Serbs as the victims of the global politics. Lots of people who were involved in Communistic Party became suddenly part of the church and started to believe in god and never started to question the state ideology of hatred. In this environment, in 2001, Serbian government implemented the religious education as a school subject. Just the religions that are stately recognized (such as Serbian-Orthodox, Catholic, Jewish, Islamic) got the possibility to be taught in schools, which led to disrespect of all not privileged religions. In Vojvodina with around 39 religious societies, this meant discrimination of the basic human right of expressing religious affiliation. At the same time, school children had the option to attend the classes of so called “civic education” instead of religious education once a week.

As the main problems of the process of implementing a new subject in the Serbian schools, Mrs. Beli-Göncz listed the lack of discussion in the society, strengthening of the ethnonationalism and disregarding the society values such as gender equality and tolerance. Until now, there are no curricula for this subject and there are no standards implemented to prove the teachers` knowledge on the topics of religion.

Subject: Social processes of transformation: The breakup of Yugoslavia to this day (the situation in Montenegro in particular) and the influence of international organizations

Speaker: Prof. Milenko A. Perovic - Head of the Faculty of Philosophy in Novi Sad



M. Perovic started by saying that he would not deliver a classical lecture but instead present some theses about the issue he chose.

At the moment, M. Perovic sees two historical processes at work that influence each other. The first process is the breakup of the socialist society and the dissolution of Yugoslavia into five different states: Slovenia, Croatia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Serbia and Montenegro and Macedonia. According to M. Perovic, the process of the dissolution of Yugoslavia is still not finished as there are strong political tendencies that Serbia and Montenegro are going to be separated and that Kosovo will be independent.

In all new states, the economy collapsed. The states are marked by the loss of the common market, the theft of the 'social capital' that was mainly transferred abroad without a chance that it would ever come back. The political sphere is characterized by a legitimization of backward elements: the extreme right, the ethno-nationalists and people promoting purely fascist ideas. The transformation of the society happened in a way that was very much in opposition to western ideas. Instead of a pluralist political society taking root, very old and backward political ideas remained strong. Many intellectuals support backward ideas and concepts (this is called the 'treason of the intellectuals'). The biggest part of the population lives at the poverty line. At the same time, there is a class of extremely rich people. The middle class nearly ceased to exist. The society is marked by a sort of moral nihilism, which resulted in the fact that the difference between good and evil got blurred.

The second historical process M. Perovic referred to is the process of war. What processes lead to this war? The main factors of cohesion that held Yugoslavia together for a long time ceased to exist. For decades, one of these main factors had been Tito. The second one was the one-party system. The third one was the complicated system of common decisions. After Tito's death and the breakup of socialism, all these factors of cohesion vanished. It was expected that new ones would form but this did not happen. The main political centers of power became the nationalist power. And nationalism cannot be a factor of cohesion according to M. Perovic. Croat and Serb nationalism led to a bloody war that was characterized by features of an ethnic war about territory. This war led to ethnic cleansing, war crimes and waves of refugees. In Serbia, the war had a continuation in Kosovo. A short time after the intervention of the NATO, the regime of Milosevic collapsed. According to M. Perovic, nationalism still remains very strong and continues to exist in an unchanged form in Serbia. At the moment, there is a fight between pro-western and nationalist forces - the outcome is still uncertain.

This fight has direct consequences for Montenegro. During the last years, the country was ruled by pro-western forces that pressed for a process of separation from Serbia. According to M. Perovic, independence would be a good solution both for Montenegro and Serbia as the Serbian nationalist

forces would be weakened. Montenegro would integrate easily into Europe. Serbia would get a chance to get its internal affairs into order.

After M. Perovic's presentation a lively discussion started. The audience asked for a clarification of the thesis according to which the independence of Montenegro would weaken Serbian nationalism. M. Perovic repeated his theories. The audience reacted mainly to the thesis that there is no Montenegrin nationalism. Asked what the Montenegrin forces did in Croatia (in Dubrovnic and its surroundings) in 1991, M. Perovic answered that in every nation there are 'brutes' that use wars to commit crimes. Finally, he apologized for the crimes his compatriots had committed in Croatia.

Subject: The Historical Inheritance and the Politics of Silence

Speaker: Mr. Dragan Prole

Dragan Prole, editor of the "Journal for National Minorities in the Vojvodina", gave a presentation on "The Historical Inheritance and the History of Silence." While the first part dealt with the issue on a theoretical level, the second part introduced participants to the practical work of the Center for National Minorities in Vojvodina.

In the first part, Mr. Prole spoke about societal reactions to dealing with the past that followed the objective of making one's own part in history appear less insignificant. The five reactions are (1) personalization (Putting the blame on a single person), (2) assuming the role of the victim ("we are the victims"), (3) existentialisation (contextualizing the events into nature and myths), (4) compensation (the other have *also* committed crimes) und (5) qualifying (subsuming events into world history).

In the second part, Mr. Prole pointed to the activities of the Center for National Minorities in contributing to Serbia's dealing with the past. At the moment, there are accordingly journals in many languages in Serbia available but only few deal with the reception of minorities or are written by minorities. In addition, the majority of Serbian media still depict minorities as latent enemies that could disturb or even threaten the majority.

The Center for Multiculturalism in Novi Sad thus works on two levels according to Mr. Prole. On one level, the Center deals directly with multiculturalism in Serbia, e.g. by publishing the magazine "habitus" and the book "Differences at Work", which describes the positive experiences in realizing minority rights on the local level. On a second level, the Center tries to have a direct impact on social relations between majorities and minorities. For this purpose, it has published among other things a dictionary on multiculturalism in nine languages for small children. In addition, a book about the multicultural inheritance of Novi Sad is to be published soon. Currently, Mr. Prole deplures, there are text books about wars in the world but hardly any literature on the history of one's own city where, in fact, multiculturalism affects people's lives most directly. Novi Sad is an excellent example for cities being a microcosm of both opportunities and problems of minorities living together.

Subject: The changing role of the media in Serbia

Speaker: Ms. Jelena Trivunic

The media as a reflection of societal change in Serbia. Turning point: 5 October 2000 (when Milosevic was removed from power). The speaker contrasted the periods before and after this date.

Before 5 October 2000: - no freedom of the media, little objectivity, regime monopoly on media, hardly any independent television production - phenomenon of "Turbo Folk" music, entertainment radio "Pink" (with significant name). Everything was 'painted in a rosy picture' in the media (despite the isolation of society, poverty, sanctions as reminders of the war, high inflation) In the period of the Balkan Wars, Turbo Folk was an expression of the macho and mafia culture in Belgrade. In this context, the speaker showed pictures to illustrate the difference between Turbo Folk singers and student protests. A particularly important time for the media during the Milosevic regime was 1999 - the bombing of Serbia. At this time, the media played a very important role and was heavily influenced by the government. Hate speeches against the NATO were omnipresent in news programmes, all day long one could hear patriotic songs broadcast to strengthen the nationalism of the population - media as an instrument of manipulation used by Milosevic. A matter of fact: Journal-

ists who reported objectively suffered risk of death or “disappearance” (e.g. Journalist Zlato Durovica from an opposition magazine was shot dead).

After the 5th of October 2000: - freedom of press, objectivity, media function in line with democratic principles, independent productions (c.10-15 TV stations), Talk-Shows (including political): earlier, that had been inconceivable (for example a documentary film on Srebrenica). Events from Milosevic’s trial in The Hague could be seen live on national television, through TV “B92”. There is also vox-pops giving views ‘from the street’ and viewers can often give their opinions live by telephone, text or by email. There are also programmes in the languages of national minorities.

In conclusion: nowadays, the European spirit rules with respect to the media in Serbia.

After the presentation, there was a short discussion.

Subject: Understanding War Trauma and the Role of War Veterans for the Transformation of the Society: Project and Prospects

Speaker: Mr. Vladan Beara



We were very happy to welcome Mr. Beara from the “Association for mental health protection of war veterans and victims from 1991-1999”. This association does therapeutical work with Serbian and Albanian veterans in Bulgaria (neutral country). They have counselling centres in Southern Serbia and in the Volvodina.

Mr. introduced his organisation, mentioning that he and his colleagues are often accused for working with war criminals. This is true, he said, starting his explanations by describing the political and social situation in Serbia today: The situation is determined by political instability, radical political forces are on the rise, the judicial system is weak, and there is an economic transition and no concept how to deal with the question of war crimes. 700.000 out of 8 million Serbs were mobilized during the war, 10.000 of them were in the paramilitary forces. 25-30% of them are traumatised, now. About one million family members are traumatised, too. War veterans today are a taboo topic in Serbia. As war officially only started in 1999, their social status is not regulated. Insofar, they receive no help by the new government. At the same time, society accuses them either for loosing or for going to war. As a result, they are marginalised and hard to integrate.

The situation of war criminals is described as the following: these men lost their trust in civil norms and values; they are isolated groups with low frustration tolerance which means they go for very quick and radical solutions to all problems on all levels, including domestic violence and drug abuse. Often, they are unable to hold a job, too.

Mr. Beara came to the conclusion that it is absolutely necessary to work with war veterans as this group is at high risk of reengaging in a violent context, so denying or ignoring them will make things worse. The problem will multiply in space and time, and affect next generations, too. Furthermore, veterans that resolved their trauma are double pluses for peace building work.

Mr. Beara listed the following goal for the association: they need to improve the coping mechanism of the veterans and they will go on with educational workshops supervised by experts. Finally, they will continue advocacy and lobbying e.g. contacting the media, publishing their results, and holding conferences.

Asked how the association find the veterans, Mr. Beara said most of them come for seeing a lawyer who then tells them about the psychological help offered.

Asked how the employees deal with veterans that admit their crimes, Mr. Beara confessed that it is very hard not to judge them but that there is no alternative to him either, as he is a psychologist and not a judge.

The association does only evaluation of self-help groups. They are supported by the “Auswärtiges Amt” and Switzerland. No help is supplied by Serbia.

A lady from the audience doubted that all traumatised people show improvement – as Mr. Beara claimed – after seeing only five 4-day-sessions of eight hours. As she herself states to be a psychologist of profession, she knows that there is no success to be expected after that short of a time.

Subject: Reform in the history and text books in Serbia and Montenegro

Speakers: Students from Hamburg MPS/IFSH

Last but not least - after an eventful day - the students from Hamburg gave a picture about the meaning of textbooks for a society as giving the next generation a certain image of national identity. Initially, Julia Niggebrügge and Tanja Rother contributed with an abstract approach to that theme. They examined inter alia the given impression of national identity in every textbook, how such an impression can be communicated, and how textbooks could be instrumentalized to give a certain statement. Further, they pointed out typical shortcomings and highlighted some improvement possibilities.

Subsequently, the other students gave an example of an instrumentalization or a certain tendency in textbooks of their home countries. Meri Angeleska talked about the history books reform in Macedonia after the separation from Yugoslavia and made the comparison with Serbia, after Philip Klever illustrated the different views of the two German states on some historical events in Germany like the construction of the Berlin Wall. Then, Nicholas Parrot noted the distinct perception of the British Empire as a contribution to the civilization at first and then as imperialism later on. Selma Beshaku stressed the instrumentalization of some historical facts in the albanian history by the communist regime. Goran Bandov mentioned the varied illustration of the neighbouring countries in the croatian respectively yugoslav textbooks in the last century. Finally, the construction of history was described by Elena Bittasi.

A short characterization of the textbook reform in Serbia and Montenegro and the inherent changes lead into the discussion.



