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CLIMATE

If there were an opinion poll these days measuring the support for Montenegrin accession to EU, the results would probably be the highest yet. While the asphalt of Podgorica boils at +45°C the 30-some degrees of the West European capitals sound more tempting than ever. Harmonisation with the European standards now would probably triple its beneficial effects, finally forcing the government to pronounce the state of emergency in the intolerable heat. Instead, the Government of Montenegro is eager to gainfully employ ever day on its road to EU, to be diligent and by all means attentive to its tourists and industrious in writing its European laws. The cabinet of PM **Šturanović** is up against all stereotypes about lazy Montenegrins, which is laudable, if they would only get down to breaking another, more dangerous habit – lack of implementation of those laws, and their blatant violation. For instance, those heading for the coast these days encounter various beaches where they are not allowed. They are either turned back by private security or they are asked 25 euros to taste the ambiance of the beach of Miločer, while the law clearly says that the access to all Montenegrin beaches is free. Which puts a big question mark on the entire tale of European integrations. How serious is a government which is unable to ensure observance of a few basic regulations? Or a parliament where the MPs agreed to break the Law on the prohibition of smoking, so that the Parliament restaurant is smoking like a chimney. If that were the greatest sin of the Montenegrin politicians, who are ready to fight over anything but their European perspective, they could even be forgiven. However, this is only one example in a million. The law on public broadcasting services cruelly minced by the parliament for more than a year is another. If they dislike it, they could at least change it. This way, it seems that the Montenegrin politicians are adopting their European laws to parade them in Brussels, while the Montenegrin political elite is unready to change old rules of the game. To exchange it for something called accountability. If they do, the climate too might change.

N.R.

ANNOUNCEMENT FROM THE MEETING OF THE FOREIGN AFFAIRS MINISTER MILAN ROĆEN WITH AMBASSADORS OF EU COUNTRIES

To Slovenian embassy for EU visas



From the meeting of minister Roćen with EU ambassadors

Good news for hot July: a joint application centre for issuing the visas of other interested EU member states will be opened in the fall at the Slovenian embassy!

Slovenian ambassador to Montenegro, **Jernej Videtič** made this announcement after the meeting of the ambassadors of EU countries in Montenegro with the Foreign Affairs Minister **Milan Roćen**.

Slovenia will enter the Schengen zone on the 1 January next year, which means that in the beginning it might not be possible to apply for this type of visa. However, Montenegrin citizens will not have to travel to Belgrade any more in order to get visas for the Central and East European EU members, as 14 out of 27 member states are not signatories of the Schengen Agreement. Such are, for instance, Estonia, Lithuania, Latvia, Czech Republic, Slovakia, Poland... For those, and the German Schengen visa, Montenegrin citizens must travel to Belgrade, as those countries either do not have embassies in Podgorica, or they do, as Germany, but still without consular competencies.

Full freedom of movement is guaranteed within the territory covered by the Schengen agreement, which was signed by the 13 "old" member states, as well as Norway and Iceland.

At the moment, the Slovenian ambassador also represents Portugal, the country which on the 1 July took over

the EU presidency. At the meeting, Roćen said that Montenegro will be working on swift and adequate fulfilment of all its commitments in the process of European integrations, quotes the ministry of Foreign Affairs. He noted that in the process of adopting the new constitution Montenegro will apply modern standards for a modern state, in cooperation with the Venetian commission and OSCE, and in accordance with the recommendations by the Council of Europe.

Roćen said that the MFA and other state bodies are eager to offer full support and assistance to the diplomatic corps in Montenegro. He also expressed his regrets and stated that he hopes for understanding for the "certain difficulties encountered by representatives of some states in their communication with the state administration, although those are exceptions".

More than a month ago, the European troika in Montenegro consisting of Videtič, German ambassador **Thomas Schmitt** and representative of the European Commission **Martin Harvey** protested against the request by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs to have all communication between foreign representatives and state officials channelled through this ministry. Videtič, Schmitt and Harvey said that it only makes their job more difficult and slows down exchange of information.

N.R.



photo: VIJESTI

by dr Judy Batt

After one year of independence, Montenegro has begun to prove that its citizens made the right decision. What tipped the balance in favour of independence was the voters' longing for a 'normal' life, where politics would no longer be dominated by the question of independence, but by practical issues of economic welfare and European integration. People had no illusions that independence would immediately lead to paradise, but at least it would clarify accountability and responsibility – politicians could no longer blame 'Belgrade' for all problems, but would have to start showing that they could deliver prosperity and a better future.

Following independence, the DPS–SDP coalition won an outright majority in the September parliamentary elections. Thus voters gave the new government a clear popular mandate and responsibility to deliver. Major achievements have been the conclusion of the SAA and joining PfP. The government has also benefited from the 'feel-good factor' created by a rapid increase in FDI inflows, booming stockmarket and property prices, and a couple of highly successful years in tourism. Precisely because popular expectations were not excessively high at the outset, there has not been a demoralising sense of disappointment, and confidence in the government has been sustained over the past year.

There have also been moments of disappointment, for example, the protracted process of forming the new government, in the wake of Milo Djukanovic's withdrawal from a front-line political role. The DPS's disarray showed the debilitating impact on party development of its dependence on a single dominant leader. When the government finally formed, it bore clear marks of continuing dependence on Đukanović behind the scenes. Many 'old faces'

A VIEW FROM EUROPE

Montenegro after one year – a balance sheet

returned to power. Thus was lost the opportunity to capitalise on the momentum created by independence referendum and launch a bold, distinctively new approach to politics that could capture the popular imagination and overcome the deep divisions exposed in the referendum.

The pattern of political life has reverted very much to 'business as usual'. This has been especially clear in drawing up the new Constitution. There has been a high degree of agreement between the parties on the substance of a democratic parliamentary system and the distribution of powers, but progress has been held up by deep divisions on symbolic issues, such as the name of the official language(s), the flag and anthem. It seems that the politicians would prefer to refer these issues back to the voters to decide in a referendum, rather than take the responsibility for reaching compromises in parliament. The two-thirds majority required for the parliamentary route is within reach, yet may not happen because of disagreement over whether to hold early elections or not. Voters might well ask why they need parliamentary deputies at all, if all difficult decisions are passed back to them anyway. A referendum on a contested constitution draft would reopen the old wounds of the independence campaign. The immaturity of Montenegro's democratic institutions would be fully exposed.

The opposition parties also could do better. They are not yet offering a clear and credible alternative to replace the current DPS–SDP governing coalition. Two of the three major opposition forces do not demarcate themselves clearly enough in programmatic terms from the DPS–SDP. They offer the same vague promises of social justice, economic prosperity, European integration etc, and rely too much on personalised attacks and allegations of corruption. The implication is that these parties do not have a different programme from the government but would simply be better at achieving it. Voters, however, are more likely to stick with 'the devil they know', and in the meanwhile, the government's long tenure means far too many people feel dependent on its survival as a result of well-established patron–client networks.

On the other hand, the third opposition force plays with demagogic Serbian

nationalism that continues to challenge the basic premise of Montenegrin statehood. This may be a clear alternative programme, but it is not one that will ever win majority support among Montenegrin citizens; yet it is likely to continue to win enough support to obstruct the formation of credible coalition that will challenge the existing government's hold on power.

There are two potential threats on the horizon. Firstly, will Montenegro 'kill the goose that lays the golden eggs'? Will the surge in tourism and inflows of FDI into property development threaten Montenegro's key assets – its glorious coastline and uniquely precious Lake Skadar – with uncontrolled, unsightly and environmentally destructive over-development? Will the revenues be used to build a firm basis for sustainable development, can wealth be spread to the poorer regions, will new jobs be created and the overstretched infrastructure renewed?

Secondly, will Montenegro's stability be threatened by the Kosovo status process? So far, Montenegro has done well in integrating its Albanian minority, but a recent CEDEM study suggests that this cannot be taken for granted, and shows that there is a considerable degree of mutual antipathy between Serbs and Albanians in Montenegro. So far, the government has steered skilfully to maintain good relations with Pristina while at the same time doing its best with Belgrade, which has not, until recently, made much effort in return. Responsible politicians must be ready to work together to maintain Montenegro's internal balance and good regional relations through a potentially difficult time to come.

Independence enhanced Montenegro's opportunities for faster EU integration. EU integration in turn offers the best framework for both bridging divisions in Montenegrin society and stabilising its regional neighbourhood. The EU's so-called 'enlargement fatigue' can now be dismissed, as the June European Council reached agreement on a 'reform treaty' that opens the way for further EU enlargement. Now it is up to Montenegro to seize the opportunity.

The author is a renowned expert for Western Balkans from the Paris based European Union Institute for Security Studies (EUISS)

PARLIAMENTARY CONTROL OF SECURITY FORCES – MONTENEGRIN PRACTICE AND EUROPEAN EXPERIENCE



by Vladan Žugić

Although the Security and Defence Committee in Parliament of Montenegro has only lived up a little last year, 10 years after it has been constituted, with several interviews with heads of police and secret police, there are still no adequate laws governing the control of security bodies.

Special laws for the control of security agencies would contribute to strengthen parliamentary control over the security structures, enhancing the role of the Security Committee.

In order to diminish possibilities for abuse of the defence and security structures in Montenegro, the experts claim that it would be necessary to introduce a mechanism controlling the budget of the Agency for National Security, Police and the defence structures, and to continue educating the members of the parliamentary Security and Defence Committee and MPs in general.

In the European Partnership for Montenegro from last year, the Council of EU urged the country to "strengthen the parliamentary control of security and intelligence structures", which at the time was almost entirely absent.

In the last three mandates of the Parliament, the meetings featuring the committee for the control of security agencies could have been counted on the fingers of one hand. The fact that

Key control of the police and secret agency budgets

in those eight years fairly retrograde laws were in force regarding the police and state security, as well as the old parliament Book of Regulations, can only slightly excuse the lack of activity among the members of those committees, especially in the light of the fact that two out of three of those committees consisted of the opposition MPs.

The last committee has, however, been very active, largely due to the efforts of the Geneva-based Centre for Democratic Control of Armed Forces (DCAF), implementing a training programme for the members of the Security and Defence Committee. DCAF also contracted the former high police official **Slaviša Šćekić** as a counsellor to educate the MPs in this, for them remarkably new area.

Parliamentary control of security and intelligence forces is a recent invention, even in the stable democracies. In the mid-70s of the last century a series of abuses was uncovered

perpetrated by the secret services, which led to the establishment of parliamentary control, first in the USA and then in Australia and Canada (1979 and 1984, respectively). Following the "newer" Anglo-Saxon world, the wave of reforms swept Great Britain in 1989, Denmark in 1988, Austria in 1991, Romania in 1993, Greece in 199, Italy in 1997, with enthusiastic support from the European Council and the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe.

An expert well acquainted with this matter, who preferred to remain anonymous said that in the interest of

According to experts, Montenegro should adopt a special law on the control of security services, because the Security and Defence Committee is currently working based on the Law on ANS, Police, and the Parliament Book of Regulations

HOW TO DEAL WITH JOURNALISTS

An eternal worry of all involved in the parliamentary control of security forces is how to prevent the information from their sessions from leaking into the public.

Secret police is also known to abuse its position to push certain information into the eye of the public, accuse the Committee members for the leakage and consequently restrict parliament's access to confidential information.

Some states have solved this problem by creating sub-committees within the committee itself in order to limit the number of people in possession of the information, as is the case in the USA.

However, our experts doubt that this is the right solution for Montenegro, whose committee anyhow consists of only 13 members.

"Montenegro is a tiny country where all structures are interlinked and we are talking about a small system, where selecting the data into sub-committees would only minimise the parliamentary control over these structures", says the source of *EIC Bulletin*.

strengthening the parliamentary control, Montenegro should adopt a special law on the control of security services, because the Security and Defence Committee is currently working based on the Law on ANS, Police, and the Parliament Book of Regulations.

He explained that most of EU countries already have such a law, or they substitute it with precisely regulated provisions in the Book of Regulations defining the competence of the parliamentary committee for security services.

On the other hand, the laws on ANS and the Police in Montenegro only provisionally, in a few paragraphs, define the duty of parliamentary control of these services, allowing for a broad interpretation and providing plenty of leeway for covering up possible abuses by these services.

The law on the control and monitoring of security structures, according to our source, is also important as a means of defining the duty of all citizens to respond to the calls by the Committee for interviews, while according to the current regulations only state officials are bound to do so.

He insists that the key to successful control of security structures is the mechanism for the control of the budget.

"Under regular circumstances, as in Montenegro now, we have the procedure of budget planning based



Dragan Kujović

Parliamentary control of security and intelligence forces is a recent invention, even in the stable democracies. In the mid-70s of the last century a series of abuses was uncovered perpetrated by the secret services, which led to the establishment of parliamentary control, first in the USA and then in Australia and Canada (1979 and 1984, respectively)

on expected technical costs, operative costs, investigations, etc. If a control finds that more money has been spent than planned, then we know that the taxpayers' money has been spent for non-registered purposes. If, on the other hand, we discover

unplanned activities which are undertaken by these services without exceeding the budget, it is even worse, for it signals the existence of the black funds", explains our expert.

Montenegrin parliamentary committee, he adds, can request a budgetary report from the ANS, but only under the provisions of the Law on ANS, which clearly indicates the need for a special law for the control of these structures.

Among other measures for the strengthening of parliamentary control over the security forces, our source indicates the need for educating the members of the Security Committee.

This Committee's members have visited Brussels early last year, as well as the Montenegrin Ministry of Defence, ANS, and they have scheduled a visit to the George Marshall Centre in Garmischpartenkirchen, with some indications of a study visit to DCAF in Geneva and an introduction to the work of the parliamentary committees of Switzerland and Britain.

President of the Security and Defence Committee **Dragan Kujović** thinks that the reasons for success and activity of this parliamentary body can be found in the fact that new laws have been adopted on the Police,

OUT OF OFFICE

Two months ago, Dragan Kujović announced that he will resign because of the inadequate working conditions of the Committee, but the Administrative committee did not yet discuss his resignation.

On this occasion too, he emphasised that the Committee has no working conditions, and that this is an imperative if there is to be any effective parliamentary control of the security and defence forces.

"This committee is not like others. It should have a special office where no cell phones would be allowed, an office adequately furnished for the preservation of protected data, session reports...This is only a fraction of all the necessary equipment to make this committee functional", Kujović said.



From meeting of the Security and Defence Committee of the Parliament of Montenegro

Agency for National Security, as well as the new Parliament Book of Regulations.

"This has certainly given the impetus for the work of the Committee. I would also dare say that the Parliament understood that con-

control of these agencies stands as a precondition to further democratisation of the Montenegrin society. We encountered surprisingly welcoming attitudes among the top officials of the Police, ANS, defence – I say surprisingly, for by the nature of their

trade these bodies tend to resist control", Kujović says.

He adds that one "should think" about adopting special laws for the control and surveillance of the police, ANS, military agencies, following the Czech experience, as that would be more suitable than adopting just one law for the control of "security forces" in general, as is the practice in some other EU countries.

According to him, these very laws should detail the provisions on the control of the budget, as one of the most important forms of monitoring of security and defence structures.

"When we adopt the laws on army and defence in the parliament, we can clearly introduce the provisions on the control of their finances. These two laws will also allow us to start defining a Book of Regulations specifically for the Security and Defence Committee, which we still do not have", Kujović said.

He acknowledges that in some EU countries the functioning of this committee is regulated by the general Book of Regulations, but he insists that it is better if the Committee has its own rulebook. He is convinced that the role of this parliamentary committee will be ever greater in the future.

EU EXPERIENCES

In some EU member states the mandates of the parliamentary committees dealing with security structures can be very limited. In the French legislative bodies there are no agencies dealing with those matters, regardless of the fact that Brussels keeps insisting on the strengthening of parliamentary control of these structures.

In the United Kingdom, nine committee members in both parliamentary houses are appointed by the prime minister in agreement with the opposition leader. These committees monitor the financing, management and operations of the MIP5, MI6, but not the military intelligence services. They are however not allowed to probe for legality of certain activities of security agencies, nor can they force anyone to testify.

On the other hand, the Panel for the parliamentary control of the German Bundestag has very broad competences. It initiates and debates legal propositions, follows activities and efficiency of all intelligence services, investigates complaints, has the right to summon for testimony, right to field visits, it approves budget proposals etc.

Nine members of the Polish committee are appointed by the Parliament, with the candidates having to undergo a preliminary security test. This parliamentary body monitors legality, operations, management and international cooperation of those agencies, it controls the draft budget for the agencies and its implementation, but it has no competencies for summoning the witnesses under a legal obligation.

Interestingly, in Norway the members of the parliamentary committee are not MPs but experts. They are appointed by the parliament, and have a very broad mandate, except for budgetary issues.

WHY IS THE GOVERNMENT OF MONTENEGRO HOSTILE TO THE SERBIAN PROPOSAL TO FORM A JOINT "WEST BALKAN GROUP"

Between Zagreb, Belgrade, and own interests

Deputy prime minister of Serbia, **Božidar Đelić**, put his Montenegrin colleagues into a very uncomfortable position with his proposal that Serbia and Montenegro should initiate formation of a "West Balkan Group", whose goal, according to Belgrade, would be to promote purely technical cooperation for the fast-track progress to European Union.

In Podgorica, however, the reactions have been restrained, pointing out that countries of the region could satisfy themselves with usual memoranda on cooperation, without further formalisation of their relations. What is behind this exchange?

Unofficial sources in the government of Montenegro suggest that Belgrade is trying to force itself ahead as the leader of the West Balkan region, which is unacceptable to Zagreb, being very much ahead from the rest.

Podgorica finds itself in the middle, and if they bow to Belgrade, than Montenegro could lose the benefits of the Croatian experience and assistance in rapprochement with EU. The biggest problem indeed is Đelić's suggestion that countries in the region could assume common negotiating positions with respect to Brussels in the areas of common interest. According to the insiders, this could easily aid the advocates of "bulk enlargements" to avoid individual accessions, regardless of merit, and postpone enlargement until all countries in the region prove ready. According to some Montenegrin officials, those are the main worries of Podgorica, and the reasons for its cautious handling of the Belgrade initiative.

The basis for Đelić's initiative is the so-called "Visegrad group", formed in 1991 by Czechoslovak Republic, Hungary and Poland, in order to foster their pace to EU membership through close cooperation and exchange of experiences.

Deputy prime ministers for European integrations **Gordana Đurović** and **Božidar Đelić** began on the 9 June consultations about this idea, which on the first glance offers a fortuitous labour division on the road to EU, which could also involve other countries from the region: Croatia, BH, Macedonia and Albania. The idea is to divide the complicated job of harmonising the national legislation with almost a 100 000 pages of EU regulations (acquis communautaire), by allocating some of the 35 chapters to each of the countries in the region. In that manner, Montenegro would, for instance, distribute all it did to harmonise its



Đurović and Đelić at the 9 July meeting

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legislation on intellectual property to Serbia and other countries in the region, and would in turn receive from them, for example, the chapter on environment...

The first task would be a joint translation of the acquis, by similar division of the text into different areas. In the case it works, it would save enormous costs to the potential candidate countries and substantially accelerate their road to EU.

The dilemma for now is whether Croatia will find this idea attractive, seen that it has a significant advantage at the moment over all other countries of their region. While Croatia is already negotiating its membership in the EU, Macedonia has a membership status, Albania has signed the Stabilisation and Association Agreement (SAA), Montenegro initialled the agreement and is waiting to sign it in October, and Serbia and Bosnia and Herzegovina still need to finalise their SAA negotiations, the first step toward the EU membership.

Serbia is planning to outline its idea of the "West Balkan Group" at the next meeting

in September, which is to be held in Montenegro. Deputy prime minister of Montenegro, Gordana Đurović, gave only a very terse comment:

"This is only an idea that is yet to be developed and defined. We have spoken about no "West Balkan Group", and Montenegro has agreed to nothing. Our attitude would be to make official through a memorandum on cooperation everything that we could do together, but at the same time every country has its own agreement with the EU and its own interests that cannot be compromised. We should study the experience of the Visegrad countries", Đurović said.

The head of the Serbian Office for European Integrations **Tanja Mišćević** claims that the cooperation is planned on a strictly technical level.

"Politics has nothing to do with it, this is really technical work which must be done by each of us, so why not do it together?", says Mišćević.

So far there were no reactions from Belgrade to the reluctance from Podgorica to enthusiastically embrace the "West Balkan Group", but the Montenegrin experts on European integrations were quick to reply:

"Montenegro is much better off progressing towards the EU on its own, as it will have less difficulties joining the EU individually than as a member of a larger package", said **Bojan Šarkić**, the former Montenegrin diplomat who until recently dealt with European integrations and is now the head of the consultancy and lobby group "Europa matters", based in Brussels.

N. RUDOVIĆ

AMBASSADOR SLAVICA MILAČIĆ, HEAD OF THE PERMANENT MISSION OF MONTENEGRO TO EUROPEAN UNION

Positive marks from Brussels

The positive image which Montenegro has acquired in Brussels after the renewal of its statehood is becoming ever stronger. All that we had to show so far in terms of the dynamic of our European road has received support and positive marks, says **Slavica Milačić**, ambassador in the Permanent Mission of Montenegro to European Union.

In an interview for *EIC Bulletin*, she said that Montenegro is generally seen as a young state with clear European aspirations and decisiveness to fulfil them.

"Montenegro is more and more frequently spoken about as a success story. Positive trends have been noted in macro-economic indicators and economic development, as well as in all other fields".

● **What are the greatest expectations of Montenegro, and what is seen as our greatest shortcoming?**

There are no recommendations from Brussels that would be specific only for Montenegro. As in the case of other countries, the emphasis is always on the importance of further progress, especially in those areas which are of key importance for the overall development and European integration. Those are, first of all, strengthening the rule of law, the creation of a credible, independent and functional institutional and legal system, capable of successfully combating corruption and organised crime.

In this light, the activities we undertook in the framework of the National Commission for monitoring of implementation of the Action plan for the Fight against Corruption and Organised Crime have been positively viewed. Generally, Montenegro is not on the EU's "political agenda".

● **What does that mean?**

This is good, for it confirms that there are no open political issues between Montenegro and the EU, and that we have entered a phase where the focus is on the crucial matters of economic and democratic development. On

this level, the most important thing for Brussels at the moment is the immediate adoption of the Constitution, with broad consensual support if possible, but in accordance with the European standards and practice.

● **How would you assess the future dynamics of Montenegrin accession to the EU?**

I have frequently emphasised that Montenegro indeed has all preconditions to join the company of the states that have efficiently completed their European road. The speed of our progress and the time span in which we should be able to complete the accession criteria will mostly depend on our decisiveness to fulfil all the so far accepted commitments and to clearly define our next steps. In that sense, the most important is the comprehensive National Programme for European Integration where we will lay out in detail our complete agenda, comprising of adoption and implementation of the Acquis, as well as of other commitments issuing from the European partnership and the political, economic, legal and institutional accession criteria. This document will also act as the mechanism of coordination of all reforms, as well as of monitoring and control of our progress. In this manner we demonstrate that our ambitious European aspiration are based on a clear understanding of all requirements of the complex integration process, and that we are firm in our intention to fulfil them through concrete and adequate measures. It is most important that since November last year we began adopting the action plans in the areas relevant for implementation of SAA, and that those are already coming into force. By this I mean primarily the formation of new coordination structures for the process of European integrations.

● **How would you assess the performance of the Montenegrin mission to EU thus far?**

Very successful. Since the very beginning, i.e. mid-November 2006, the



photo VIJESTI

Slavica Milačić

Mission is in operation, despite of the fact that its establishment required massive technical preparations, usual diplomatic procedures and an instant engagement in numerous important activities taking place on the ministerial level in Brussels. A lot of work was also required on some specific issues left over after the technical negotiations over the Stabilisation and Association Agreement with the European Commission, as well as on the process of negotiations of visa facilitation and readmission.

● **What are your great successes, and where have you been the least efficient?**

I would emphasise the activities we undertook around the SAA. After the negotiations with the European Commission have been essentially completed, the political phase followed, with the SAA being reviewed in the Council of EU by the representatives of the member states. Only when the entire package has been harmonised and adopted on this level, the agreement was initialled on the 15 March this year. Throughout this period, we were providing additional information, consultations and explanations, often within a very short time-span.

After the SAA was initialled, consultations followed on the technical aspects of the agreement in order to clarify all of

APPLICATION FOR MEMBERSHIP IN 2008 AMBITIONS, BUT REALISTIC PLAN

- **According to you, how realistic are the Government's suggestions that Montenegro could apply for the membership candidate status already in 2008?**

It is an ambitious, but realistic plan, and would represent another significant sign of our political resolve to accelerate our European road. All experience so far suggests that a proactive approach in all aspects is the winning card in the process of EU accession.

- **What is the procedure for acquiring a candidate country status?**

In short – after we submit the EU membership application, it is most important to have a decision adopted at the EU political level, unanimously, i.e. that the Council of EU after consultations with the EC and with agreement of the European Parliament grants the Commission a mandate for preparing an opinion on the country. Only afterwards comes the phase where the Commission prepares a questionnaire (consisting of thousands of questions) and forwards it to the applicant state. Upon having received and analysed detailed answers, it prepares an opinion. A positive opinion by the Commission in response to the application for EU membership (the so-called *avis*) is a *de facto* confirmation of the candidate status and it should lead to an official decision determining the date for the opening of negotiations for the accession to EU. In the meantime, it is necessary to have the Interim Agreement, as well as the Stabilisation and Association Agreement entirely implemented and ratified by the Montenegrin and all EU member states parliaments, as well as the European Parliament.

its segments, especially in the trade and customs chapters, as well as regarding the Interim Agreement, which included the formation of an Interim Committee and sub-committees. It was all necessary in order to have the Commission finalise its consultation period in the late June and submit its recommendations to the Council for the signature and conclusion of the SAA and IA.

With all this in mind, I believe it is not too much to say that we hardly had any shortcomings, at least not important ones. I would rather leave it to the observers to decide.

- **Have you received any confirmation that the SAA will be signed in October, or is there a possibility of a delay?**

We were informed that the Stabilisation and Association Agreement and Interim Agreement will be signed on the 15 October session of the Council of EU for General Affairs and International Relations in Luxembourg. This has been already scheduled by the provisional agenda of the next Portugal's EU presidency. We are currently in the phase of legal and linguistic revision of the SAA in the Council, which is already in its second month, and we expect it to be completed by the end of August. The

goal was to achieve the highest possible legal precision of the SAA in its translation to all 23 official EU languages, including the Montenegrin one. This is certainly one of the key tasks of the Mission now, at which we have so far been very successful. Of course, I must also mention the contribution of the great cooperation and synchronisation with the representatives of the process in Montenegro.

- **When will the Interim Agreement come into force?**

On the 1 January 2008, as has been agreed with the EC, and we are already planning the first meeting of the Interim Committee for the monitoring of the implementation of IA for the early January next year.

- **There have been some suggestions earlier that the agreement on the facilitation of the visa regime could come into force early next year. Has there been a definitive agreement on this?**

Since we launched the negotiations, our goal was to have the visa facilitation and readmission come into force next year, and all of our contacts so far have confirmed these projections.

I would also emphasise those agreements as one of the most successful and

effective achievements of great importance for the European integrations in Montenegro. The agreements have been initialled on the 11 April, preceded by two technical and three official rounds of negotiations here in Brussels, led by representatives of the ministries of internal and foreign affairs, with active participation of our Mission in the preparations and negotiations. Most importantly, we had an excellent close cooperation and team work. In this context, I would emphasise the role of the Mission in the opening of a Joint Application Centre, in order to help the citizens of Montenegro in taking a maximum advantage of the future visa facilitation regime.

Of great importance were also the first successful dialogue between Montenegro and the EU Troika, as well as the EU-West Balkans forum, as well as the recent signature of the agreement on the opening, privileges, and immunity of the European Commission Delegation in Podgorica.

- **What do you see as the priority of the Mission in the upcoming period, especially until the end of 2007?**

Simply put, those are all the activities concerning the SAA and the Interim Agreement. This does not only refer to the phase until they are signed, but also afterwards: the first meeting of the Interim Committee for the monitoring of implementation of the Interim Agreement. In this context, I would like to mention the Decision that the Council of EU should adopt in November, in order to ensure the participation of Montenegro in the Community programmes. The previous Framework Agreement on the Participation in Community Programmes, concluded with the former State Union has been inherited by Serbia, and the Protocol 8 of our SAA – General Principles for Participation of Montenegro in the Community Programmes – does not enter into the Interim Agreement. We are thus obliged to establish a new legal basis.

Naturally, among the priorities are also our activities related to the agreements on visa facilitation and readmission, as well as the opening of the Joint Application Centre in Podgorica.

N. RUDOVIĆ

March to the beach

by Brano Mandić

Out there in Miločer, the new owner against all laws asks you for 25 euros just to splash around a bit. The new owner is the famous "Aman Resort", much more famous than the local ministry of tourism. When they make a contract, I fear they launch a legal offensive – or at least it seems so, when they tell you at the entrance that the boss is having a bath, or, as to one university professor, that the resort is occupied by his excellence the president of DPS in person.

I was never at St. Stefan, but I can tell you all about it. A few foreigners are enough to hear me knit a tale of the visits of **Sofia Loren** and **Sylvester Stallone**. It is just that an average Montenegrin can never find the time to go and check out those postcard pearls of ours. Is it possible

I want no Wild Beauty over the Russian TV channels, I want to spend a day without paperwork, meaning that I am ready, as a proof of my goodwill, to even spill a few coins at the entrance. But to get the security asking me for 25 euros in my European Miločer is really not to my liking

that those few hundred thousands Montenegrins who feel like swimming this summer have no privileges whatsoever to enter their own beaches without a passport? To integrate with our own piece of the Adriatic, at least in this first year of independence, to say a long goodbye before we yield our coral bathtubs and medicinal



mud to the usual clientele of elite tourism.

And so there is nothing to say about it any more. The beaches, which an honest man could really do without are indeed a luxury, an incident, the holy land of the national tourism. But they are also a good piece of real estate, property of the nation, one sensitive minor that our Montenegro is and it really makes me very sensitive too to capitalists asking for my beach money. Gentlemen, the law says 50% of the beach is mine. I despise easy chairs and sunshades, I like to roll the honey melon and burst a melon from Štoj right there on the beach, and to look at our beautiful country. I want no Wild Beauty over the Russian TV channels, I want to spend a day without paperwork, meaning that I am ready, as a proof of my goodwill, to even spill a few coins at the entrance. But to get the security asking me for 25 euros in my European Miločer is really not to my liking.

I take my chances, and I complain to the minister of tourism, **Predrag Nenezić!** He is a handsome man, speaks languages, and answers journalists' questions via SMS. I like him so many percent as there are more tourists this year compared to the last. Which is to say, I am ready to grant dear Nenezić some 20% of

The tsunami of lawlessness has raised a wave too big, and threatening to sink the mountaintops and the power plant's chimneys

my emotional capacities if he only answers the question why cannot I bath? Me needs cooling too.

I turned on a Yoga tape yesterday, to watch the Great Guru urging the audience to relax and to think about their bodies. Imagine you are cold, imagine you are hot, and so forth...Listening to it at +40°C and without an adequate air conditioning system, in Podgorica, is no small feat. Imagine you are in the European Union. Imagine you are cold...

A white man does it more easily on the beach. It is also easier to reach the deputy minister than Nenezić himself and hear that all those invading the forbidden sand of the above mentioned beaches are petty provocateurs. The responsible ministry will also tell you: "Why did nobody protest when Budvanska Rivijera asked for an entrance fee?" It is just now when we get a famous investor that a local gang of Paštrovići from the municipality Sveti Stefan decides to frustrate his holy afternoons and bathing with the president of DPS. It is irresistibly reminiscent of the words of Ms. Rector, saying: if the students

never complained before against Professor **Lukić**, they have no right to raise the hell now. Translation: Bear quietly with the temper of Bob the Tiger at the faculty, for it is less then wise to measure oneself against a renown boxer, i.e. the rule of law against the interests of one Singaporean company in Miločer.

The masterful maneuver that makes the fact that the law has been broken earlier into an alibi for the future – is a license to continue with the entrenched practice. We were asked, then, to pay for swimming at Miločer also in the times of Budvanska Rivijera, so why should we now so slyly undermine the success of Nenezić?

The government takes care of the public interests, of the great profits of the future seasons. Aman Resorts is a giant in tourism, and it is all to be expected that there is no space for local-patriotic demagogy, do not tell me that you are so cheeky that you would actually take a dip at the fancy beaches while Podgorica asphalt boils at the 40th degree of the scale, and the police minister finds no reasons for the state of emergency.

Emergency you would also call the extent of anger among the employees of the seaside management office, for nobody cares about their contract. They are responsible for the belt of the coast next to the sea as far as the waves can reach. The tsunami of lawlessness has raised a wave too big, and threatening to sink the mountaintops and the power plant's chimneys...

This is why I have no more time to wait for European integrations. It is boring that Serbia and Montenegro and Croatia will now all together translate some document, and then study it with joined forces, and then wait a little until Kosovo too becomes of age and so the life goes, with out beaches gaping empty. Instead of gathering some twenty chosen ones, landing on Miločer and camping there for twenty days, and let's see who



dares to say a word! I am a great patriot, I voted for this country. I like to say: I was for the independence from the beginning. And before the beginning I had sympathies in that direction. Afterwards, I have studied the rulebook on the usage of beaches, signed by Nenezić himself. What is *acquis communautaire* to European integrations, that is the rulebook on the usage of beaches to me in July.

Then when the Rolling Stones took over the beach of Jaz, there was nothing amiss. Good security, serious management, the secret receipt for the functioning of a state, beach resort or a rock bend, regardless

And there is no accepting the European legislation until we start respecting the local one. It's like with foreign languages, let us learn our own grammar if we want to study other people's languages. We all saw Jagger and how he wasn't lazy to learn.

Then when the Rolling Stones took over the beach of Jaz, there was nothing amiss. Good security, serious management, the secret receipt for the functioning of a state, beach resort or a rock bend, regardless.

It is not hard to bath in sweat for the holy goal of watching your home-

land on the CNN video clips, without a chance to see those beauties for ourselves. Nothing is too difficult to withstand, as long as it is legislated and can be legally interpreted as anything else but fraud. Until then, all protestors will be foreign elements, anti-tourist kamikaze, sages from shallow waters who do not understand the deep benefits of investments and the number of submarine mines that the ship of state has swerved around in order to bring us this little money for Sveti Stefan. Honestly, I find DPS explanations involving higher goals to be of no interest. When they tell me I am unwanted at the entrance and I have no doubts about the quality of my deodorant nor about the parental upbringing, then my doubts turn to you, my creative fellows. I wonder where you are. To speak up at least on the margins, if not in the main stream media. To see a tongue lashing and that it isn't of the Rolling Stones nor of the catwalk leftists. Simply, we must fight for every grain of sand that belongs to us. Every European grain of sand. Stick your tongue out to the higher goals of our privatisation and foreign-political priorities and conquer the coast. All to Miločer! Blitzkrieg!

The author is a journalist of the daily newspaper "Vijesti"

DRAFT OF THE SPATIAL PLAN OF MONTENEGRO (UN)HARMONISED WITH THE EU GREEN BOOK AND DIRECTIVES IN THE AREA OF SPATIAL PLANNING



by Emil Kriještorac

That the Montenegrin public is after all turning to the "bread and butter" issues, and that it has, for a moment at least, overcome its obsession with political matters, was evident in the public debate concerning the Draft Spatial Plan of the Republic of Montenegro, which was terminated on the 28 June, and has completely overshadowed the debate on the Constitution. This strategic document is understood by many experts as the second constitution which is supposed to bring solution to many dilemmas concerning the future development of Montenegro and the life of its citizens, and to lay out the path for moving towards strategic planning and development of the country. Huge public interest therefore comes as a small surprise.

In several public debates in Montenegrin municipalities, activists of the NGO Exeditio inquired as to the extent to which the authors of the Draft Spatial Plan have consulted the EU Green Book during the creation of this strategic document, as well as other EU recommendations and directives in the realm of spatial planning, including the European perspective for sustainable development. What are those documents?

European perspective for sustainable development is a document which resulted from intensive debates on the spatial planning of the EU among the member states and the European

Economic requirements vs. sustainable development

Commission in order to establish a political framework for better cooperation among the Community sectoral policies and with significant spatial influence among the member states, their regions and cities. It all began with a meeting of the EU ministers for spatial planning on Corfu, during Belgian presidency when the initial options and frameworks for a common spatial development policy were set. In the following meeting in Leipzig the ministers adopted Basic Concepts of the Settlement Planning and Development, with the succeeding French, Spanish and Italian presidency overseeing the creation of all important scenarios and analyses of spatial development in EU. Importantly, the first official draft of the European perspective for sustainable development was adopted already in June 1997 in Northwick, by the then 15 EU member states. The document asserted their resolve to pursue European integra-

tions, preserve diversity and accomplish a regionally more balanced sustainable development in EU. This means, first of all, harmonisation of social and economic requirements of spatial development of a given region with its environmental and cultural characteristics, contributing to sustainable and balanced territorial development. Preserving regional diversity, the EU will thus gradually proceed from an economic and political union to an environmental and social community.

In the "European perspective for sustainable development", adopted in Northwick in June 1997, the then 15 EU member states asserted their resolve to pursue European integrations, preserve diversity and accomplish a regionally more balanced sustainable development in EU

EU'S SPATIAL PLAN IN THE MAKING

At a meeting in Potsdam, during the last German presidency, the Council of EU ministers responsible for spatial planning agreed that the conclusion of the political debate on the European Perspective for Sustainable Development represents an important step forward for European integrations.

With the adoption of this document, the member states and the European Commission struck an agreement on the common goals and concepts of the future development of EU territory.

"The goal of the spatial planning policies is to contribute to a balanced and sustainable development of the EU territory. According to the ministers, it is important to fulfil the following three goals equally in all EU regions:

- Economic and social cohesion;
- Preservation and management of natural resources and cultural heritage;
- Balanced competitiveness of the European territory.

"European Perspective for Sustainable Development is a suitable political framework for the spatial consequential sectoral policies of both the Community and the member states, as well as for the regional and local authorities whose goal is to attain a balanced, sustainable development of the European territory", read the conclusions of this meeting.



From a debate on spatial planning

According to the definition given by the United Nations Brundtland Report, sustainable development encompasses environmentally healthy economic development which preserves the current resources for future generations, as well as an imperative of balanced spatial development.

In 1994, EU ministers for spatial planning adopted three political guidelines for spatial development of the EU:

- Development of balanced, poly-centric urban systems and new relations between rural and urban environments;
- Equal access to infrastructure and knowledge;
- Sustainable development, rational management and protection of natural and cultural heritage.

We may thus conclude that the European Perspective for Sustainable Development contains the vision of a future EU territory. Its goals and guidelines provide decision-makers in the public and private sector with a general source of recommendations for concrete activities affecting the environment. Furthermore, it represents a positive signal for broad civic participation in political debates regarding EU-level decisions and their influence on cities and regions in the EU.

In the field of energy expenditure, based on the 2000 Lisbon Agenda, the EU issued a Green Book defining its priorities in this realm: "Towards a European Strategy for Energy Security". The reason for a series of activities undertaken by EU in energy matters lies in alarming predictions of EU energy security, envisaging that in line with the current trends by 2030 the EU will

Public debate has shown that most of the citizens understand the implausibility of sustainable development of both tourism and an ecological state on such a small territory, while the capacities of "dirty" industries are being not only maintained, but also expanded.

be importing 90% of its oil and 80% of gas. Consequently, at the 2 May 2005 ministerial meeting of the International Energy Agency (IEA), it was emphasised that "...energy efficiency is one of the key methods for resolving this problem", and the Green Book was dedicated to precisely this issue. "Initiative for energy efficiency is not only important for our own energy policy. It also represents an important contribution to diminishment of our energy dependency on third countries" – concludes the Green Book. This document was prepared by a high level group, consisting of member states representatives. They met in April 2005 and agreed that "...progress can only be achieved if the EU assumes a proactive approach, setting itself concrete goals". There is no doubt that it would be just as well if the strategic plans of Montenegro were made to correspond to these plans, and one of the places where such policies are defined is certainly the new Spatial Plan of Montenegro.

While defining this document, is it of great importance to harmonise it with the above mentioned, as well as other EU documents regarding spatial planning, perspectives for sustainable

development and European recommendations and conventions concerning cultural heritage, bearing in mind that European integrations are both the strategic interest and the final goal of the country.

In the EU, the related matters are dealt with by the Committee of Spatial Development, consisting of delegates from the member states who are members of their own governments responsible for spatial planning and development as well as the EU Commission acting as Secretariat.

In addition to the EU regulations, it is necessary to take into consideration numerous contributions of the civil sector and citizens themselves, as, to quote the head of the UNDP office for Montenegro, **Garret Tankosić Kelly**, the final version of the Spatial Plan must be a "reflection of the citizens' will". He also warned that "one should not hurry the adoption of the final version". In this he quoted the example of Ireland where the debate took one whole year and the final touches another one. The debate itself has shown that most of the citizens understand the implausibility of sustainable development of both tourism and an ecological state on such a small territory, while the capacities of "dirty" industries are being not only maintained, but also expanded. If we still decide on tourism as the strategic development path, the dilemma is between mass and elite tourism, and the two are not complementary. Similarly, a number of objections were aimed at the decision on whether or not we should build new energy resources and how to harmonise them with the vision of sustainable development and environmental protection. Those conflicts are recognised by the authors of the Spatial Plan, but they fail to offer a solution. The same has been noted by the foreign experts, and **Peter Nelson**, representative of the British consultancy and author of a strategic evaluation of the Plan's environmental impact has warned that the "whole document should be first filtered".

The author is participant of IV generation of the European Integrations School. He is a high official of the People's Party

THE EU IS PLANNING A MAJOR SHAKE-UP OF ITS PRODUCTION OF THE "DIVINE DRINK"

Hangover on wine

Right when the leading EU members thought they had a chance to take a breath after the struggle with the stubborn duo **Kaczynski**, convincing them for months to accept the compromises related to the future reorganisation of the Union, the EU is facing another challenge. At the first glance none so important, but profoundly sensitive, for its resolution might affect the livelihood of a few hundred thousand people. Additionally, its epilogue will show whether the EU has embarked on a reform of its controversial agricultural policy which allots substantial subsidies to European producers.

According to the EU Observer, the EU is planning major reforms in its troubled wine sector, in order to regain the customers and market shares lost in the race with the wines of the "new world". Some diplomats, however, predict a fierce battle between the European north and south producers over this controversial issue.

In early July, EU agriculture commissioner **Mariann Fischer Boel** presented a reform package outlining the bleak prospects for the wine sector unless "pro-

On current trends, excess wine production is expected to reach 15% of annual production by the end of this decade – something that would mean an enormous burden for EU coffers. The union already spends around half a billion euro a year just getting rid of surplus wine for which there is no market

found" changes are introduced swiftly.

"A number of alarm bells are ringing", Fischer Boel's document states. If the bloc's wine sector "is not thoroughly overhauled in the very near future there is a strong chance that the whole system will slip into a crisis from which it cannot recover," it continues.

Although it remains the world's number one producer, exporter and consumer of wine, the EU is seeing increasing com-

petition from "new world" wines from the US, Argentina, China, Australia, South Africa and Chile.

Wine consumption in Europe is falling steadily, while imports of wines are growing much faster than exports.

On current trends, excess wine production is expected to reach 15% of annual production by the end of this decade – something that would mean an enormous burden for EU coffers. The union already spends around half a billion euro a year just getting rid of surplus wine for which there is no market.

"We currently waste too much money...getting rid of surplus wine instead of improving our competitiveness and promoting our wines", Fischer Boel argues in her paper.

Under its reform package, the European Commission is set to push through an idea to shrink the bloc's wine industry by grubbing-up 200,000 hectares of vineyards. Each member state will have to take out of production at least 10% of its area under vines, while growers who wish to leave the sector will be offered a voluntary grubbing-up premium.

Originally, Brussels aimed at grubbing-up up to 400,000 hectares of vineyards, but the big wine-producing countries made it clear the idea would not fly. In addition, all aids linked to surpluses will be scrapped. These include the subsidies for distilling unsold wine into industrial alcohol, storage aids, aids for the use of musts and export refunds. The EU will also no longer buy up surplus wine.

"The decision to increase production will depend on the producers' ability to sell what they produce", the commission says.

At the same time, Brussels will lift current restrictions on planting rights from 2014 and allow competitive wine producers to expand their production.

Another key stone of commissioner's reform package is a ban on the use of sugar for enriching wine – something likely to divide the EU states into two camps. While southern producers, enjoying sunny weather for most of the year, back the idea, northern vine-dressers such as



Under its reform package, the European Commission is set to push through an idea to shrink the bloc's wine industry by grubbing-up 200 000 hectares of vineyards. Each member state will have to take out of production at least 10% of its area under vines, while growers who wish to leave the sector will be offered a voluntary grubbing-up premium

Luxembourg, Germany, Austria or Slovakia are against the ban.

The reform will be discussed by agriculture ministers in fall, with Brussels hoping for a political agreement by the end of 2007, so that the reform can enter into force in August next year. However, EU diplomats predict fierce battle as the reality of wine production in Europe varies greatly from one member state to another – mainly due to different climate conditions and production habits.

It is expected that the sector – employing almost two-and-a-half millions of people – will undergo a painful period, with some producers forced to close down.

Wine is one of the top sectors of the EU's agricultural production. France, Italy, Spain are the Europe's biggest wine producers, followed by Germany, Portugal, Hungary, Greece and Austria.

N.R.-V.Š.

OLIVER DULIĆ, PRESIDENT OF THE PARLIAMENT OF SERBIA AND THE OFFICIAL OF PRESIDENT TADIĆ'S DEMOCRATIC PARTY

Let us be partners, not competitors

It is impossible to be both a good European and a bad neighbour, says the President of the Parliament of Serbia and the official of President Tadić's Democratic Party, **Oliver Dulić**, who in July began his tour around the former SFRY countries. In an interview for *EIC Bulletin*, Dulić explained that in the past cooperation among the South East European countries' parliaments was far less intensive than it should have been.

"We are witnessing a new development where more and more people are realising the advantages of regional linkages, and we seem to have realised that it is impossible to be both a good European and a bad neighbour. My concrete message on this journey is to promote strengthening of the inter-parliamentary cooperation in the region, in order to quicken up the pace of European integrations in the South East Europe, mostly through exchange of experiences", Dulić said.

He explains that the parliaments of Serbia and Montenegro are encountering very similar problems and that effective overcoming all obstacles on the road to EU is not possible without an efficient parliament.

"A whole series of laws need to be adopted or harmonised with European laws. We all agree that for multiple reasons both of our parliaments have difficulties in adopting such laws. Mutual exchange of experience is therefore of unparalleled importance, especially if we involve the parliaments of those countries of the region who have progressed a step or few further from us on the path of European integrations", emphasised the president of the Serbian parliament.

He believes that Serbia and Montenegro are, unfortunately, failing to exploit all forms of cooperation available to them.

"I am convinced that the period of



We should not forget that we can travel faster to Brussels if we cooperate and develop in partnership, not in competition. In this sense, cooperation among all the parliaments in the region should start to play a more important role than so far

"lukewarm" relations is behind us and that a year after the divorce we have all the necessary preconditions to intensify neighbourly cooperation in all areas", Dulić said.

President of the Serbian parliament adds that the citizens of Serbia and Montenegro are simply bound to each other and that the people leading those two states must respect this bond and do whatever they can to "...provide them with a better life in which living on one or the other side of the border will be perfectly irrelevant".

"The relations between the citizens of our two countries are so close and specific that it is impossible to understand why should the relations between the states be any different",

Dulić explained.

Asked about his view on the European perspective of Serbia and Montenegro, and his evaluation of their relative starting position, he explained that he believes that at the moment Montenegro is somewhat better off, considering that Serbia still has to carry the unresolved burden of cooperation with ICTY.

"Besides, the very difficult question of the final status of Kosmet is an extra weight for the Serbian society. I am convinced that with the new government Serbia has received the necessary push to solve those problems which for years now have been swept under the carpet. We should not forget that we can travel faster to Brussels if we cooperate and develop in partnership, not in competition. In this sense, cooperation among all the parliaments in the region should start to play a more important role than so far", Dulić said.

He adds that he hoped to see the future relations between Serbia and Montenegro be based on concrete interests, primarily in the economic sphere.

"Most problems issue from the realm of politics", said Dulić, speaking about the relations between the two countries during the existence of the state union.

In his opinion, CEFTA agreement (as a regional economic initiative) should be given a parliamentary dimension in order to strengthen it.

"I believe that our MPs should meet more often to talk about the bread-and-butter issues. Nothing prevents the committees in Serbia and Montenegro from discussing such matters as education, health, economic relations and other topics of great importance for ordinary citizens", said Dulić.

N. RUDOVIĆ



by Miloš Konatar

I do not know what to say first when this one "why" has a million answers, and none the more precious than the previous. As simple as that, but on the other side stands a difficult question that I would rather reformulate into a "Why do we have to be citizens of Europe?". The easiest answer to this question would be: because we have a duty (to ourselves and to the future generations) to rise from the ashes and the darkness covering us for the last 17 years; because I want all citizens of Montenegro to live a life worthy of a human being, a life where human and minority rights will be respected, a life without religious, racial, gender or any other form of discrimination; because I want us to get a chance for a better life, better start, better future; because I want us to be a part of the civilised and more progressive world. Beyond all those reasons, I want myself and all the citizens of Montenegro to be a part of Europe, but most of all, I want Europe to be a part of us!

Without a fault of our own, my generation was handed down the difficult task of having to atone for the errors of our parents. We are not guilty of the wars that ravaged the

Why do I want to be a citizen of Europe?

former Yugoslavia, we were not the creators of the famous peacetime policy "war for peace", we were not among those who headed for the "conquer" of Dubrovnik, we were not the blind, obedient followers of **Slobodan Milošević** who led us into sanctions and isolation, we did not make Montenegro into a smugglers' and criminals' heaven, we were not the ones who deported the refugees from our country and sent them into death, we were not with those who turned out beautiful country into a poor, undemocratic state in the very hearth of Europe...We were not guilty of it, but we ended up being the ones who ought to suffer the consequences of the wrong decisions of the generations before. No one will be able to give us back those years, a childhood in isolation, in the dark...dark that is still above us! We were not guilty, but we still lived to see the masters of the darkness teach us "Europeanness", to see them turn to preach us the European values! Well, thank you, but no, thanks. Our values are different, and we have the duty to once and for all break with theirs, to introduce Montenegro to the real European values, civic values of living. This is also why we have a duty towards the future generations: that they should never lived through what we did. They ought to live in a free, democratic, prosperous, rich and beautiful Montenegro, to wake up every morning knowing that they are the citizens of Europe and of the modern world. We will not forget the mistakes, and remembering them will be our warning never to repeat them again!

The top authorities in Montenegro today keep on bragging about Europe, we are adopting European laws, European standards are already here, we are already citizens of Europe, and what is the truth? I have a feeling they are telling us: Dear citizens, you actually live well, the standards are high, you are of course still not noticing it but sooner or later you will realise that we were right! I do not know whether to laugh or to cry. Maybe they will even remind us that they brought us the Rolling Stones, for whose concert only the citizens of Montenegro could not afford a ticket. Well taken by one of the organisers who noted that the sales in Montenegro were low, but that he could not understand why was that so?! Anybody who knows the answer? Maybe an average citizen of Montenegro does not really care, maybe all that matters is that "they, our masters" had a good time and danced a bit...But let us understand that this is not how one goes to Europe, this is not how one brings Europe here, perhaps we know enough by now to tell them: Gentlemen, first a standard for The Stones, make us feel like citizens of Amsterdam, Rome, Barcelona, and only then let us all sing Satisfaction along with Jagger. Until then all you do is only a spectacle to impress the poor, but in which only you can take pleasure.

How about asking the opposite question from that in the title: Do I want to be a citizen of one tiny, undemocratic, poor country, geographically in Europe but in reality

far, far away from it? Is there anyone who still denies that human rights are being violated in Montenegro? We have countless examples of it. Anybody who still believes that there is no discrimination? If so, I believe they are a minority. Is it possible, in a European Montenegro, to murder journalists, policemen, political dissenters, and go unpunished? Yes, it is possible, because Montenegro today is neither European, nor free, nor democratic. Is it possible that Montenegro is today recognised as a haven for crime and corruption? It is, because we did not manage to make Europe a part of all of us, and until we do, we can hardly call ourselves its citizens.

Why do I want to be a citizen of Europe? Because I want a chance for myself and my people, I want no more and no less than is given to other citizens of Europe, other people gathered in the European family. I have no illusions that being a citizen of Europe will bring me instant economic prosperity, an easy life, a European standard and all that comes with it. But I still think that being a citizen of Europe means an opportunity for building a better tomorrow. We must be ready to seize this opportunity, but we will not share it with those who for the last 17 years only worked on holding it beyond our reach. Logically, too, because for them Montenegro in Europe and Europe in Montenegro only means the end! Because they learned to live and work in the darkness, in the mouse hole, safe and protected from all charges for smuggling, deportations and murder. Because they never learned to live in a state of powerful institutions, a state governed by the rule of law. Because once the deputy minister for European integrations, when asked to comment on the European Commission



Report denouncing corruption and organised crime as the major problems in Montenegro, responded that the Report is just a sloppily written and hastily piled up document! Then what are we talking about? What institutions? Should we forever sweep our dirty laundry under the carpet, or should we take them out and face them for once? I honestly believe that if Europe and European integrations do not force us to create healthy institutions and transform Montenegro into a state of law and order, we will never make it on our own. The "informal power centres" have become too strong for us to fight them alone. This is why I wish to bring Europe to Montenegro to make Montenegro a part of Europe! This is why I want to be a citizen of Europe. Just because being a citizen of Europe means being completely different from them and opposed to their value systems, because being a citizen of Europe means an opportunity to bring happiness and wellbeing to all citizens of Montenegro. Why do I want to be a citizen of Europe? Because I do not want to live in this Montenegro, this is not Montenegro that we fought for and that we still keep on fighting for with all our hearts. This is why we will continue

the fight, because the goal is great, important, historical. Because I want to, with all the citizens of Montenegro, breathe in lungs full of European air!

Some readers may find me too critical, unoptimistic and unwilling to notice the positive things, but my most sincere answer to that would be: People, let us not lie to each other for once, let us look at each other eye to eye and not run away from the truth! And let us all remember **Orwell's** Animal Farm, because there it is all said. Reading this piece, I believe everyone will be able to realise where we are now, what is Montenegro today, how far we are from Europe, and how long, difficult and serious is the road ahead. I truly believe that without a "European sun" we can never win against "Montenegrin darkness". I think that Montenegro has finally deserved the warmth of this sun and that the daybreak is at hand, that we can all make it even closer. Being a citizen of Europe sounds too good for us to wait any longer!

The author is the president of the Youth Network of the Movement for Changes. He attended V generation of the European Integrations School

BRUSSELS ANNOUNCES THE INITIATIVE FOR RATIONALIZATION OF THE TRANSLATIONS COSTS IN EU

511 million euros spent every year on translations

In a report on the translation costs of the EU institutions adopted by the European Parliament, MEP **Alexander Stubb** called for more awareness of the costs, questioning the need to have every document translated into languages such as Finnish, Swedish or Maltese in the EU institutions.

Some 26 million euros is wasted annually through booked but unused translation services in the EU institutions, according to European People's Party (Christian Democrats) and European Democrats.

The translation costs of the Parliament, the Commission and the Council amounted to 511 million euros in 2005. The report calls for more efficient means to evaluate productivity and costs, assess translation needs, manage translations, control their quality and increase inter-institutional co-operation.

"Finnish, Swedish or Maltese cannot be the only working languages of the institutions. However, everything does not need to be translated into all the official languages. For example, in the Committees of the Parliament, it is sufficient to have translations in languages used by the members of the Committee in question. Other translations can be provided if requested," quotes the European web portal Euractiv.

"Awareness of translation costs is our duty towards the taxpayers," said Stubb, who has also proposed replacing the translations of verbatim reports of Parliament's plenary ses-



Alexander Stubb

The interpretation service is dwarfed by the translation service, which employs 2,000 people who translate EU documents into every working language. This has to be done by law, although the full service has been suspended for the past two years because the EU has not been able to hire enough Maltese translators after the tiny Mediterranean island joined in 2004

sions by an internet service, from where it is already possible to follow recorded videos interpreted in all languages. "The use of the internet is a must in our times and it can help us make substantial economies," Stubb added.

However, he also underlined in his report that multilinguism is one of EU's main assets: "The EU's language services, including both trans-

lation and interpretation, amount to only less than one percent of the total costs of the EU. Not such a high price to pay for democracy and efficient co-operation," he declared.

London's Guardian also notes that millions pounds of taxpayers' money are being wasted every year on EU interpreters who turn up for meetings only to find they are not needed.

According to the Guardian, the worst are MEPs who demand an interpreter for a committee meeting which they then miss. A European Parliament interpreter costs 1,000 pounds a day.

Guardian also quotes the Finnish MEP and the author of the report, Alex Stubb, who claims: "A lot of money is wasted. My report should serve as a wake-up call for MEPs who just request an interpreter as a point of principle and then don't show up. They are a small minority, but the rest of us could be more careful.

"I have tried to raise awareness of the costs of interpreters. We think of them as people in boxes who simply utter what someone else says. But they cost 1,500 euros a day in the European parliament and 1,000 euros for the other EU institutions."

Stubb believes MEPs should take the lead in cutbacks because their monthly trek to Strasbourg inflates the cost of interpreters.

"The Strasbourg sessions mean there are the costs of travel, hotels and the daily allowance. But we MEPs could also improve our plan-

ning. Everyone wants to have meetings on Tuesdays and Wednesdays; a lot of MEPs could be more lenient in their requests for interpreters."

The vast interpretation machinery for the EU's main institutions – the Parliament, Commission, the Council, the Economic and Social Committee and the Committee of the Regions – swallows up 1% of the EU's budget. In 2003, the year for which the latest figures are available, the budget stood at 109 million pounds.

The costs have soared since the "big bang" enlargement of 2004, when the number of member states grew from 15 to 25 and the number of working languages almost doubled from 11 to 20. Interpretation for a full-day meeting in the Parliament, which cost 25,000 pounds before enlargement, now costs 59,000 pounds. Three interpreters are needed for each booth, which means the Parliament cannot function unless 60 interpreters are on duty every day.

The interpretation service is dwarfed by the translation service, which employs 2,000 people who



I have tried to raise awareness of the costs of interpreters. We think of them as people in boxes who simply utter what someone else says. But they cost 1,500 euros a day in the European parliament and 1,000 euros for the other EU institutions.", says the MEP Alexander Stubb

translate EU documents into every working language. This has to be done by law, although the full service has been suspended for the past two years because the EU has not

been able to hire enough Maltese translators after the tiny Mediterranean island joined in 2004.

The EU's translation and interpretation operation, which costs around ?450m a year, is the world's largest. It outstrips the UN, which has a mere six languages.

Mr Stubb was forced to water down an earlier version of the report which suggested some languages might not be used in some meetings if MEPs can speak more than one language. He now says MEPs should have the right to speak in their mother tongue at all times, but they should try to be more efficient.

A fluent English speaker, Stubb said: "Language is about communication, not identity. But for many MEPs it is a question of identity and culture. Therefore we have to be very sensitive."

Eurosceptics have seized on the report. **Jeffrey Titford**, of the UK Independence Party, said: "This report shows the EU Parliament and other institutions are likely to remain an expensive cacophony of tongues for the foreseeable future. The vast amount of money paid for interpretation is symbolic of how the whole European project ... is an impossible dream."

N.R.-V.Š.

A UNION WITH 23 OFFICIAL LANGUAGES

The European Union has 27 Member States and 23 official languages. Each Member State, when it joins the Union, stipulates which language or languages it wants to have declared official languages of the EU.

So the Union uses the languages chosen by its citizens' own national governments, not a single language or a few languages chosen by itself and which many people in the Union might not understand.

The policy of official multilingualism as a deliberate tool of government is unique in the world. The EU sees the use of its citizens' languages as one of the factors which make it more transparent, more legitimate and more efficient.

At the level of culture and of enhancing the quality of life, too, the EU works actively to promote the wider knowledge and use of all its official languages throughout the Union.

The EU website states that the European Union has recognised the importance of its special language policy by appointing a top official to champion the cause at the highest level. The portfolio of Leonard Orban includes responsibility for multilingualism in EU.

Balkan Investigative
Reporting Network

by Zdravko Ljubaš

LOCAL EXPERTS DOUBT THAT THE NEW OHR CAN
END THE LONG STAGNATION AND DEEP CRISIS IN
BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA

Lajčak: a promise of a new beginning?

As Germany's **Christian Schwarz-Schilling** ends his mission as the international community's High Representative and the EU's Special Representative to Bosnia and Herzegovina, the general feeling in the divided Balkan state is that he has not achieved much, and not much can be expected from his successor, **Miroslav Lajčak**, either.

Schwarz-Schilling is leaving after only one-and-a-half years, the shortest term of all the foreigners who have held this post.

He aimed to be the last international administrator in Bosnia but a lack of political progress in the country towards Euro-Atlantic integration dashed his hopes.

Most observers concede an international administrator will be needed to keep the country from falling apart for years to come. The question is whether the new man be able to go beyond that and help the country move forward with reforms, fulfilling the conditions for possible admission into the European Union and NATO.

Political analyst **Tanja Topić** from Banja Luka said she did not expect "anything spectacular" from the 43-year-old Slovak.

"I have a feeling the international community does not have much patience for Bosnia-Herzegovina anymore and is therefore sending a younger person to try to solve the problem," Topić said.

The international community, she said, took a contradictory line when came to Bosnia. They still thought the country still needed a "strong hand," represented by the

Office of the High Representative, OHR. At the same time, they said the existence of an international protectorate was slowing progress towards European integration.

Emir Habul of Sarajevo agreed. "With the current constellation of political relations there is no chance that Bosnia and Herzegovina can function without the High Representative," he stated.

The international administrator, he said, was "like a substitute for our slack central authorities".

"The work of the Council of Ministers and the Parliament... would be blocked without the international community's presence," Habul went on.

"I am not happy that the presence of the international community is necessary here, but it is because our political leaders seem to be competing against each other, which only leads to further destruction of Bosnia and Herzegovina," said **Zdravko Grebo**, Professor at the Law School at Sarajevo University.

It is absolutely clear, he said, that with such political elites Bosnia-Herzegovina still needs a high representative.

"We may not like them, but we need them," Grebo told Balkan Insight.

His colleague, Professor **Mirko Pejanović** also believes Bosnia and Herzegovina cannot yet function without the OHR. "The termination of the function of the High Representative... in the context of political discord among the parties forming the majority in the Parliamentary Assembly, would



Miroslav Lajčak

encourage those powers that are striving for the disintegration and ethnic division of Bosnia," Pejanović wrote recently.

Reform of the constitution and the police, both crucial to the future, "cannot be realized without the interference and influence of the international community through the institution of OHR," Pejanović went on.

Although Lajčak is expected to be more active than his predecessor, few believe he will make radical changes. "Everything depends on the international powers and which tasks they will set in front of him," Habul said.

Habul expects no radical turns but a renewed focus on key reforms already in motion.

After assuming the post in January 2006, Schwarz-Schilling said he wanted to see the country sign a Stabilization and Association Agreement, SAA, with the EU and join NATO's Partnership for Peace Program, PFP.

At the same time, he tried to

throw more responsibility onto local politicians by abandoning the use of the so-called Bonn Powers, which empower the OHR to impose decisions and laws and remove politicians acting against the 1995 Dayton Peace Agreement.

The first half of his mandate saw progress, as the country joined NATO's PfP Program, following a successful defence reform that merged the armed forces of the country's two entities. The great failure occurred over the constitutional reforms that were designed to streamline decision-making and reduce the competences of the entities. Schwarz-Schilling had described them as "the key milestone on the road to European integration", which would be accompanied by the signing of an SAA, as the first step towards EU membership.

That came unstuck last April when leaders of nine leading political parties failed to agree on the changes. The political focus then switched to the general elections, held last October, when the campaign was filled with bitter rhetoric, which continued after the vote, deepening the political crisis.



The result was that while Bosnia completed its SAA negotiations with the EU it never signed the document.

Lajčak, the sixth High Representative, served as Slovak ambassador to Serbia and Montenegro and later as OSCE representative to Belgrade. He was the EU envoy to Montenegro for the independence process last year.

In his first interview to Bosnian media, with the *Nezavisne Novine* of Banja Luka, Lajčak suggested he would broadly follow Schwarz-

Schilling's hands-off approach.

"Reforms cannot be implemented through repressive measures; that is not the way to get closer to the EU," Lajčak said, explaining that like Schwarz-Schilling, he would not use the Bonn Powers if he could help it.

"This is your country, your constitution – nothing can be imposed from the outside," he added. "I can hardly think of the success of a project that was pushed by the outside forces."

He went on: "The goal is to move this country in a good direction; to start again to deal with the issue of its future – European integration."

Speaking of current political tensions in Bosnia, he said part of the solution was the change the overall atmosphere.

"I believe I will manage to change the atmosphere here, so people look more into future," he said. Lajčak also promised he would reform the OHR in order to simplify its structure, cut staffing levels and increase efficiency.

The author is Sarajevo correspondent for the German news agency DPA

IMPOSSIBLE WITHOUT OHR

Such political situation did not fit into Schwarz-Schilling's vision of a Bosnia that "must be fully sovereign without an international administrator and with the strong local authorities able to run the state properly".

Warning the newly elected authorities in Bosnia to stop the retrograde rhetoric and focus on the reforms, the international community earlier this year decided to keep the OHR open with a new man on the top.

The outgoing High Representative himself now believes the international community had no option.

When the countries of the Peace Implementation Council decided to prolong the OHR mission in January, Schwarz-Schilling welcomed the decision.

"I have increasingly come to the conclusion that the situation in the region and in Bosnia-Herzegovina means the OHR should continue in some form," he said.

Besides the complex political situation in Bosnia itself, Schwarz-Schilling justified this change of heart by noting the imminent announcement Kosovo's final status. That might further influence ethnic divisions in Bosnia, deepening the political crisis, he claimed.

INTRODUCING INTERNATIONAL INSTITUTIONS

Organisation for Security and Cooperation in Europe



Organisation for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) was established in 1975, as a Conference for Security and Cooperation in Europe.

OSCE was formed in order to serve as a forum for political dialogue, and one of the most important goals was to ensure stability in the region founded upon democratic system of rule and democratic practice.

OSCE has 56 members, not only from Europe but also from North America and Central Asia, and currently embraces most of the north hemisphere. The period of its birth coincides with the Cold War crisis and the organisation itself was established as an initiative for a political forum between East and West.

Within OSCE, the most important decision-making bodies are the Summit and the Council of Ministers, as well as the permanent council of the organisation which meets regularly and acts as the most important body for negotiations and decision making.

The permanent council functions under the leadership of a President, elected from the representatives of the member states to a one-year term.

During 2007, president of the OSCE permanent council was the Spanish minister of foreign affairs, **Miguel Angel Moratinos**. Next year he will be succeeded by the president of Finland. Already there are some disputes between the USA and UK as well as the other OSCE members regarding the post of the president, which in 2009 should be taken over by Kazakhstan.

Next to the permanent council and the

Council of Ministers, other important decision-making elements of the OSCE are the Economic Council and the Forum for Security and Cooperation.

OSCE Secretariat is in Vienna, and the current Secretary General is **Marc Perrin de Brichambaut** from France.

OSCE Parliamentary Assembly issues declarations on various matters. The most controversial issue lately turned out to be a resolution on the right of the Columbia district to full representation in the American Congress.

The oldest OSCE institution is the Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights founded in 1990 with a seat in Warsaw. This institution is actively involved in monitoring the elections, promoting democratic development, human rights, and the rule of law in general.

In order to prevent electoral irregularities, OSCE has since 1995 participated in overseeing more than 150 electoral processes in various countries employing about 15 000 observers through its special wing ODIHR. It has also participated in controlling the electoral process in Afghanistan in 2004, providing technical assistance.

Among the older OSCE institutions are also the office for the freedom of the media, established in 1997 as a watchdog organisation monitoring the media and warning about the cases of violation of the freedom of speech in its member states.

OSCE mission to Montenegro exists since 2006. Until then, the OSCE was active in the country through a common mission to Serbia and Montenegro.

OSCE offers support to the government of Montenegro in implementing the reforms while maintaining a well developed web of relations with civil society organisations.

Reform processes involving OSCE in Montenegro are linked with the process of democratisation, legislative reform and institution-building, media reform, reform of the Police as well as reform projects in the area of environmental protection and economic development.

OSCE plays a significant role in the education reform, where it participates in the efforts to introduce civic education as subject into the formal educational system.

More information about OSCE can be found at: www.osce.org

Prepared by: **Petar ĐUKANOVIĆ**

NON – GOVERNMENTAL ORGANISATIONS IN EUROPEAN UNION



EUROPEAN NETWORK AGAINST RACISM

European Network against Racism (ENAR) functions as a group of non-governmental organisations within European Union whose mission is to fight all forms of racism. It originated in 1997, which the EU declared the year of fight against racism. In the period between March and September 1998, more than 600 non-governmental organisations took part in the round tables on both the national and the European level in order to evaluate the importance and sustainability of this project. At the founding conference of the European Network against Racism gathered 200 representatives of relevant organisations to create a joint action plan.

The network propagates an anti-racist platform, promoting equal treatment of all minorities and citizens of the countries which are not EU members. ENAR draws most of its financial support from the European Commission, and the network has a leading role in issuing warnings, objections, communiques and pointing at the problems and shortcomings in the existing legal regulations, all in order to eliminate all forms of short-term and long-term discrimination.

As one of its basic objectives, ENAR promotes recognition of its goals among the non-governmental organisations on the European level and connects NGOs working on the fight against racism in order to foster a forum for information exchange and campaigns for the adoption of adequate laws across the EU.

The vision of the Network is to oppose all forms of racism, xenophobia, anti-Semitism and Islamophobia, especially those directed against the citizens of third countries. ENAR's programme includes:

- activities against all forms of discrimination of people based on their race, ethnic or cultural background;
- elimination of all racist elements in the European migration policy and
- support for cultural, ethnic and racial diversity.

All information about this network can be found via e-mail: info@enar-eu.org, or by visiting their website www.enar-eu.org

Prepared by: **Selma RAĐO**

JOINT PROJECT BY PRO NEN AND CENTRE FOR
DEVELOPMENT OF NON-GOVERNMENTAL ORGANISATIONS

Citizens help journalists

PRO NEN, a non-governmental organisation for the development of electronic media and culture of communication, and Centre for Development of Non-Governmental Organisations (CDNGO) initiated a project "Citizens help journalists", based on the idea of common, more direct involvement of the citizens in the creation of editorial policies of the media, especially the public ones.

The goal of the project is to assist the fulfilment of the basic role of journalism in a democratic society – to offer citizens information based on which they can form their opinions and make best possible decisions for themselves and their community.

The main objective of this project is to prompt citizens to suggest their ideas to editors and journalists via online newspaper PCNEN (www.pcnen.com) for various forms of journalistic stories, directions for research into some current and publicly relevant topics and propose the questions to be asked of the public officials, whether they were directly elected by the citizens or indirectly appointed.

Where these suggestions happen to be directed at a concrete medium, they will be electronically forwarded to the addresses of



the responsible persons.

All reactions to received proposals and suggestions will be accepted and published on the www.pcnen.com, in the module "Citizens help journalists".

Citizens interested in participating in the project will go through a registration procedure, containing the following: for a visitor to be successfully registered and able to post his or her proposals, suggestions and comments, he or she must leave a valid e-mail address, which is not at a free of charge provider, e.g. hotmail or yahoo.

Citizens can give their full contact details or a just a nickname.

An administrator will be appointed to remove all proposals, suggestions, and comments which are contrary to the spirit of the project and are interpreted as abuse.

"Citizens help journalists" project is supported by the Foundation Open Society Institute – Representative Office in Montenegro.

PROFESSIONAL TRAINING FOR ROMA

Second Chance on the job market

The "Second Chance" programme, jointly implemented by the Foundation for Roma Scholarships and the Employment Bureau of the Government of Montenegro, Centre for Professional Education and German international organisation for adult education "DVV Internationa" is currently the key element of Roma inclusion into the Montenegrin society.

The project, financed by the European Union via European Agency for Reconstruction (EAR), organises an official programme of fostering functional literacy and professional education, as well as additional training (driving and computer literacy) for 75 Roma and Egyptians from Podgorica and Nikšić in order to increase their chances for long-term, quality employment in the labour market. At the moment, there is a concurs for the future participants in the programme aged between 13 and 15, who are illiterate or have less than three years of primary

schooling. According to **Vesna Rasulić Delić**, project assistant, there is substantial interest among the local Roma population. She explains that a ten-member team of Roma assistants is currently conducting field visits to the homes of the potential candidates. There is also a process of selecting the providers of those trainings who will conduct the programme of functional literacy, which was adopted several years ago by the Government of Montenegro and is being tested and implemented for the first time now. One of the participants in the programme is **Senad Beganaj** (1981), recently deported from Germany. "Second Chance" is for him an opportunity to learn the local language (he only speaks German) and to prepare him for profession that would enable him to earn a decent, dignified life, an opportunity to take care of himself and to live off his work, but also a chance to become and active citizen.

JEF EU visits its Montenegrin section

During their visit to the Western Balkans, representatives of JEF Europe visited the Montenegrin section of this pan-European organisation in Montenegro. Representatives of JEF Europe **Vassilis Stamoianis**, Secretary General and **Asa Gunven**, Vice-President, met with their Montenegrin colleagues and spoke about their earlier experiences and future plans. Visits to the Balkan JEF sections is envisioned as a form of exchange of ideas, opinions and experiences which should result in conclusions and proposals for the future development of the capacities of regional sections.

JEF Europe expressed their contentment with the activities and work of the Montenegrin sections, emphasising the fact that JEF Montenegro only recently came into existence and has already, alone or in cooperation with other NGOs, implemented a series of projects aimed at promotion of the European values and active involvement of the youth in the process of European integrations. President of JEF Montenegro, **Vučić Četković**, and Secretary General **Petar Đukanović** explained that the primary goal in the first year is to concentrate JEF's activities on the education of young people in Montenegro about European Union and the current process of European integrations, in close cooperation with related NGOs. Education is the basis for effective, active participation of the youth in the process of Montenegrin association with EU, emphasised the representatives of JEF Montenegro. At the same time, JEF Montenegro participated in all activities which could assist and support the efforts of JEF Europe. JEF Europe approved of the plans of its Montenegrin partners and reiterated its full support for their realisation.

The next meeting of the representatives of two sections is scheduled for late August in Brussels where representatives of JEF Montenegro will attend in a five-day training on capacity-building, thus implementing the agreement on cooperation and assistance in the development of capacities of the Montenegrin section.



MA PROGRAM IN INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS AND EUROPEAN STUDIES

Koszeg, Hungary

This M.A. program is especially designed for those students interested in critical social theory as well as in social, political and institutional innovation. Emphasis is placed on praxis as well as theory. This program provides excellent training for students interested in pursuing careers in such fields as:

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This M.A. program is unique because it is innovative both in terms of both content and methodology as the areas of focus show:

– **Globalization.** Developments within the EU and especially in new and hopeful member states cannot be understood without exploring the interconnections between globalization and the European construction. Integration and dis-integration can both be observed in the European context. In order to better understand our rapidly changing world, development studies,

FOR THIS ISSUE WE RECOMMEND:

world economics and international institutions need to be analyzed.

– **European Neighborhoods.** Europe is not equivalent to the European Union. With the emerging challenges of new borderlands and crossborder cooperation, new policies need to evolve along with new institutions and networks in the spheres of culture, civil society, politics and education. Obstacles as well as potentials need to be understood if we are to realize further enlargements. The program offers courses on several historic regions such as the Western Balkans, Turkey and the Baltic States.

– **Central Europe.** The small states of East and Central Europe need to discover and strengthen ways to increase their political, social and economic cohesion in the face of EU competition and global markets. This historically and culturally rich region could offer a great many ideas and innovations to the EU in terms of productive and well-functioning Euro-regions. Regional development in this unique context is studied with academics as well as practitioners.

– **Civil Society.** There is a lot of talk today about the special role for civil society locally, nationally, transnationally and globally, especially when discussions arise about the democratic deficit and crises of democracy at all of these governmental levels. Where can the potential of the Citizen be empowered and realized? How can we approach not only balanced development, but also ensure human security in an increasingly complex world? Representatives of states, markets and civil society need to construct new and dynamic strategic partnerships to confront the multiple challenges. The Citizen and the institutions of civil society are studied to provide the necessary context to economic and political debates.

Semester – Fall 2007

September 24–December 16, 2007

Application Deadline: August 15, 2007

Semester – Spring 2008

February 11–May 16, 2008

Application Deadline: December 15, 2007

Semester – Fall 2008

September 22–December 19, 2008

Application Deadline: April 15, 2008

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Sofia, Bulgaria

Admission to the American University in Bulgaria (AUBG) is based upon a student's academic qualifications. Unlike most state universities that are fully funded by government support, AUBG must rely on tuition, fees, gifts, and grants to provide the high quality faculty, library and technology resources, and modern residence halls. As a private university, AUBG is a more costly alternative to state universities. No one, however, should be discouraged from applying because of price.

The University provides financial aid based on both the academic merit and the financial need of the student. Financial need is determined through an analysis of the Financial Assistance Form and supporting documents submitted as part of the application packet.

University financial aid is available only to students from the in-region countries*. Out-of-region students who need financial assistance in order to attend AUBG should investigate bank loans.

For more information please contact:

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* 'In-region' countries include: Albania, Armenia, Azerbaijan, Belarus, Bosnia & Herzegovina, Bulgaria, Croatia, Georgia, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, FYROM (Macedonia), Moldova, Mongolia, Romania, Russia, Serbia & Montenegro, and the region of Kosovo, Turkmenistan, Tajikistan, Ukraine, Uzbekistan.

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