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## FIFTH TIME LUCKY

When in September 2006, after an impressive victory in the parliamentary elections Milo Đukanović announced his withdrawal from public office, he explained that his main motive was his desire to rest, to try out his luck in business and to unburden public institutions, allowing them to mature and take responsibilities for their decisions without hiding behind his name.

His allies claimed he had enough of everything, that he has no wish to suffer having to attend to every minute detail and that he wants to see the state functioning without him.

After a year and a half and after health problems forced Prime Minister Željko Šturanović to resign, it turned out the government cannot do without him. Some say that Đukanović's return to office, for the fifth time in the last 17 years, was the only way to avoid conflicts within Democratic Party of Socialists (DPS), as he is the only one who can command supreme authority among them.

However, the fact that the "boss" is back is less important than what he will do there, how he envisaged to strengthen the weak public institutions, accelerate EU accession process... For instance, it would be interesting to see whether he will finally put forth a real law on the prevention of the conflict of interests and submit it to the Parliament for urgent consideration. This could be one test of his readiness to serve the interests of his country, especially considering that he currently owns three companies and a fortune of some 10 million euros whose origin is at best murky.

Recent announcements from DPS indicate he will focus on strengthening the economy, new investments, development of the energy sector and the northern regions of Montenegro, construction of the highway...

Sounds great, especially when he promises that soon there will be no unemployment in Montenegro. If it happens, he will have a good reason to ask the citizens for another mandate to lead the Government in the 2009 parliamentary elections.

But, is he good enough is Montenegro is still a society of a handful of powermongers with paper-institutions that sway as Milo and Milos' friends say. Equal rules for all or "modern" feudalism?! Same dilemma for the fifth time.

N.R.

ON 21 FEBRUARY IN PODGORICA MONTENEGRO OPENED NEGOTIATIONS WITH EU ON LIBERALISATION OF THE VISA REGIME

## Montenegro looking forward to the white Schengen list



Citizens of Montenegro may be able to travel without visas to the 24 countries of the Schengen zone by the end of the year. This is the likely outcome of the negotiations between Montenegro and EU on visa free travel started on 21 February in Podgorica.

Vice president of the European Commission **Franco Frattini** who led the EC delegation announced that Brussels would evaluate every West Balkan country individually in the course of negotiations, adding that Podgorica has achieved "substantial progress" in the areas relevant for this process.

"We will evaluate every country individually, based on their merits. This is why I am here today. I believe that Montenegro achieved substantial progress and results, such as the adoption of the new Constitution, fight against organised crime...", Frattini said. He opened the first dialogue on liberalisation of the visa regime between Montenegro and EU together with the outgoing Prime Minister **Željko Šturanović**.

He added that Brussels' "roadmap" towards liberalization of the visa regime evaluates progress in four areas – ID security, fight against illegal immigration, public security and criteria regarding foreign policy.

"You have achieved significant results in these areas", Frattini said, reminding that Montenegro will begin issuing new biometric passports and ID cards by late April.

Slovenian minister of home affairs **Dragutin Mate** said that Montenegro "made much progress, steps towards reorganising its constitutional system and adopting EU standards".

Mate, who arrived to Podgorica as a representative of EU presidency suggested

that the dynamics pursued by the Montenegrin governments will "shorten the negotiations" and that "in due time we will find a solution leading to visa-free travel regime".

Šturanović said that Montenegrin institutions have been working on requirements for liberalising visa regime and creating conditions for visa-free travel between Montenegro and EU.

"The beginning of negotiations on visa-free travel between EU and Montenegro will bring new hope to our citizens who have lived for almost two decades, for well known reasons, in unnatural isolation from their natural environment – Europe", Šturanović said.

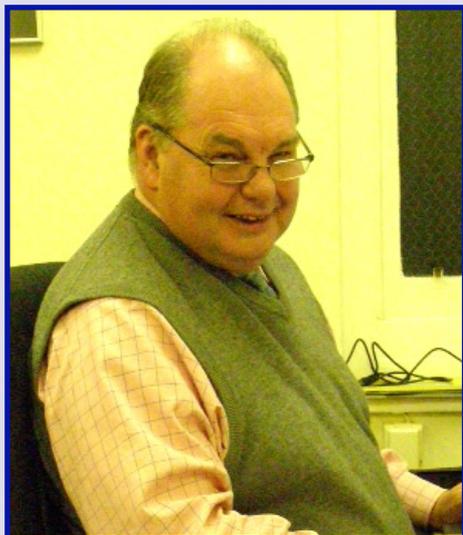
Minister of Foreign Affairs **Milan Roćen** said that the beginning of the dialogue sends an important, encouraging message to all pro-European structures in Montenegro, primarily to the citizens who stand to benefit from this arrangement.

Home Affairs Minister **Jusuf Kalamperović** said that "the relationship we have with the cabinets of Mate and Frattini will, without undue discounts, help us fulfil all the requirements and liberalise the visa regime by the end of the year".

He said that Frattini initiated the move towards visa-free travel for the countries of the Western Balkans and worked on it "with courage and dedication, and managed to mobilise support from all EU states".

Last October Montenegro and EU signed the agreement on visa facilitations, envisaging simplified visa procedures for certain categories of citizens – scientists, entrepreneurs, students, journalists, politicians...

N.R.



Roger Liddle

How is European social democracy doing? Not that brilliantly, especially by comparison with the recent past. By 2000, 11 out of 15 European member states had social democratic or centre-left prime ministers. Today, there are only four left, following Prodi's recent resignation in Italy, and it might even drop to three depending on the outcome of Spain's upcoming election – but about that I am more optimistic. But generally elections have not gone well for social democrats in recent times.

That is not to say that there are no social democrats in government. We are represented in the coalition governments of the Netherlands, Germany and Belgium. **Nicolas Sarkozy's** "government of all the talents" now includes ex-socialists. Among new member states there are also social democrats in power, including in Bulgaria, Hungary, and Lithuania too. However, among the new member states, only in Hungary has the left succeeded in getting re-elected, though the Czech Social Democrats only failed by a whisker.

Hopes of change have been dented further after three of European social democracy's most attractive leaders failed to make an impact: in Greece **George Papandreu**, in the Netherlands **Wouter Bos**, and in Denmark **Helle Thorning-Schmidt**. They were commonly acknowledged to be among our younger, charismatic and centre ground potential leaders. They put up a good show but did not succeed.

So is there a theory to explain these trends? It is certainly noticeable that in systems of proportional representation

## A VIEW FROM EUROPE

## The future of European social democracy?

traditional social democratic parties have found themselves squeezed from both the left and the right, while they have not succeeded in capturing the centre.

In Germany, the far left is also enjoying growing public popularity at the expense of the SPD. Recent polls have put the Left party at 13–14% against only 25% for the SPD. In the 2005 Bundestag elections, the SPD scored 34.2% as against 8.7% for the far left.

Social democrats also appear to have lost votes to the populist far right, in Italy, Austria, Greece and even in the recent Swedish general election. **Jean Marie Le Pen** may not have done so well in the latest French presidential elections, but some say that Sarkozy manages to be as good a populist on the stump as Le Pen could ever be, though he manages to stay on the right side of respectability!

The rise of the far right has been accompanied by rising anti-immigration feeling across Europe. While the UK has been somewhat insulated from the visible effects of this thanks to our electoral system, what we have seen here is growing absenteeism. Those disaffected voters, especially in the most deprived areas, who have turned towards the far right and the populist left in other coun-

longer defending them.

Then there problems of perceptions: rising anti-globalist sentiment, best demonstrated by the constitutional no vote in France and the Netherlands, and growing concerns about immigration which EU enlargement accentuates.

However, it is not all doom and gloom in terms of structural change. There are also positive trends that ought to strengthen the prospects for progressive politics. There has been a growth of overall educational levels and opportunities, for example, and great strides forward to gender equality.

These are big achievements, but tackling the general trend is more difficult. Why has Labour in the UK apparently succeeded where others are falling behind? It is not just that New Labour succeeded in removing fears of Labour that had held back the party's electoral potential since its foundation. Labour has also been able to deliver in the last 10 years notable public service improvements as a result of massive investment: that is real.

Also, the PSOE in Spain has enjoyed continued popularity under **Jose Luis Zapatero**. If one had to explain this in a single phrase, it is because he has positioned them as "the party of modernity".

*It is certainly noticeable that in systems of proportional representation traditional social democratic parties have found themselves squeezed from both the left and the right, while they have not succeeded in capturing the centre*

tries, are simply not interested in going to the polls any more.

What are the explanations? Some are structural; the decline of a traditional working class and of trade unionism (pretty universal across Europe except in the Nordic countries: in France for example only 3% of private sector employees now belong to trade unions). There are increasing insider/outsider divisions in the labour market. There are growing inequalities between generations, with younger working-class people no longer relating to a defensive "Labourism" that they perceive as no

So there are many lessons to draw from these successes. Social democrats will only succeed where they create a credible project for the future. We must think more profoundly about the strategies and policies to address the structural changes and challenges that now shape our politics.

*From the speech of Roger Liddle, vice president of the London-based NGO "Policy network" at the presentation to the joint Policy Network and Friedrich Ebert Stiftung conference on the Future of European Social Democracy, 7–8 February 2008, Arundel House, London*

## UPROAR OVER THE DRAFT LAW ON PROPERTY RIGHTS: MUST MONTENEGRO ALLOW UNBRIDLED SALE OF LAND TO FOREIGNERS?



Piše: Vladan Žugić

Should the citizens of European Union or all foreigners be allowed to purchase real estate in Montenegro? Did the government's negotiating team make a mistake when it agreed that once the Stabilisation and Association Agreement (SAA) comes into force EU citizens can purchase land under the same conditions that apply to the local population? Most of the new EU countries won a concession to put such regulations into force only five to seven years after accession for agricultural land and forests. Would complete liberalisation of the real-estate markets lead to an investment boom or would it only boost the already enormous foreign trade deficit? Can the state dictate to an individual to whom he or she can sell the land? Would liberalisation allow the tycoons to mince the enormous land of the companies they bought for peanuts and resell them as real estate for a fortune?

These are some of the dilemmas sparked by the Government's draft law on property rights envisaging that all foreign citizens can become proprietors of land in Montenegro under the same conditions as the local population.

# A road to chaos or an economic boom

The importance of the issue is best illustrated by the fact that 53% out of 900 million euros of direct foreign investments for 11 months of the last year went into acquisition of real estate. In the same period the outflow of capital amounted to 450 million, three thirds being invested in real estate. One could conclude from these figures that Montenegrins who sell their inheritance eagerly buy real estate somewhere else, probably in Belgrade or Novi Sad, and that most of the capital is spent in consumption, instead of new investments that could minimise foreign trade deficit and increase

employment.

The Government withdrew the proposal under the pressure from the Social-Democratic Party which opposes the equalisation of foreign private persons with the nationals with regard to real estate, primarily because of the increasing numbers of Russian buyers. The draft was supposed to be discussed in the Parliament at the spring session starting 1 March.

At the moment it seems that the Parliament is unwilling to adopt the Government's draft in its original format. According to the Constitution, for the laws concern-

## THE BEST SOLUTION: MALTA

All the new EU members tried to limit the sales of real estate to the foreigners in their negotiations with EC, whether the issue at question were the secondary residences or economically significant areas, and Malta had most success in it.

No person who did not live on this island for at least five years has the right to buy a secondary residence, and this also applies to Maltese citizens who live abroad. If the value of an apartment exceeds 70 000 euros (116.5 for houses), Malta has an obligation to allow EU citizens to buy them, unless the edifice in questions of historical significance. Restrictive legislation for acquisition of agricultural land and forests for a period of 7 to 12 years after acceding to EU was adopted by Poland, Slovakia, Czech Republic, Hungary, Bulgaria, Romania, Estonia, Lithuania and Latvia, while in the case of secondary residence Poland, Hungary, Czech Republic, Cyprus and Bulgaria were allowed to postpone liberalisation to five years. Slovenia won a protective clause shielding its land until 2011.

Some of the older EU members also have restrictive legislation in this respect, while Finland and Denmark have invested much effort in protecting Alan Islands.

In Denmark, foreigners cannot buy a house unless they have lived in this country for at least five years, and no foreigner can own land. This exception from the general EU regulations was granted to Denmark before its accession negotiations, during the ratification of the Maastricht treaty.



ing the property rights of foreigners the Parliament needs the approval of a two-thirds majority.

Movement for Changes has also opposed liberalisation of the real estate market. They believe that certain resources, like those in the coastal area, should not be sold but instead leased for a number of years.

According to the current legislation, real estate in Montenegro could be owned only by the foreign public persons, i.e. commercial entities. It is no secret, however, that with assistance or cooperation of Montenegrin citizens many foreigners abused this opportunity by

registering a business to buy the land, and liquidating it immediately afterwards. The administrative court issued a ruling on one such case stipulating that "based on the Law on property rights, a foreign private person not pursuing an economic activity in Montenegro cannot claim ownership over land", but there is no information on the implementation of this decision so far.

During the screening of Montenegrin legislation, EC will first evaluate the extent of harmonisation, and then discuss the issue of the property rights of EU citizens in the chapter on the Freedom of movement of goods and capital. The practice has shown this to be one of the more difficult chapters for the countries like Cyprus or Croatia that do not wish to relinquish the prerogative to manage their real estate, although all EU citizens ought to have equal rights under the European laws.

The Pulse learned from the European Commission that they will not tackle these issues at this stage of Montenegrin integrations. SSA stipulates that "Montenegro may grant all EU citizens a national treatment regarding acquisition of real estate on its territory". Deputy PM for European Integrations and the head of the negotiating team

Prof Dr **Gordana Đurović** withheld her opinion during the adoption of the Property law in the Government, for it "does not envisage the conditions of reciprocity with regard to the right of foreigners to acquire property rights on land in Montenegro".

She put forth a similar opinion during the adoption of the draft law on state property, arguing that the coastal areas and forests ought to remain property of the state.

"The law should instead stipulate certain special rights to utilisation of these public goods (concessions, leasing, rent and similar contractual arrangements", Đurović said.

Secretary General of the Association of Lawyers, **Branislav Radulović**, believes however that the insistence on reciprocity is not a "particularly strong argument".

"With 13.812 km<sup>2</sup> of territory, one would wonder whether reciprocity is sufficient to defend Montenegrin interests. With regard to Russia, for instance, this principle is perfectly senseless", Radulović explains.

He says that other states "had a much more sensitive approach in negotiating their SAAs", by creating



protective mechanisms, as in the case of Malta.

"Montenegro can promote concessions as a way of attracting foreign investments, like Bulgaria did. Bulgaria did not sell out its property – instead, it concluded agreements on concessions with the foreign investors allowing them to use and manage the property for 99 years. Thus it avoided losing its ownership over land, but also prevented manipulations of the purpose and fictitious agreements made in order to re-sell the land further", Radulović said.

Unlike him, **Predrag Stamatović**, councillor in the Ministry of Finance says that the state has no right to limit individuals' rights to private property, which includes, among other, transferring the rights to another individual. He asks "who has the right to prevent further development and inflow of foreign capital" reminding that only last year the tax on property transfer contributed 40 million euros to the budget.

Dr **Božo Mihailović**, professor



at the Faculty of Economics says there should be no difference in treatment between nationals and foreigners with regard to real estate, especially now that Montenegro is drawing closer to EU.

"The consequences of this law can only be positive: all borders are dissolving, and we must be a part of it. Any resistance could only have negative economic and social consequences", Mihailović said.

He stressed, however that some

key locations ought to be protected in the interest of the state.

"We must know our strategic interests...leave a golden share. Strategic locations, such as the coast or Žabljak should be leased for 99 years, but others could be sold", Mihailović said.

President of the Employers' Union, **Predrag Mitrović** warns that the state should be attentive to the comparative experiences of European countries and other states in the region.

"In practice, it happened that the countries with a so-called liberal legislation find themselves under the siege of "economic terrorism", by giving up their land for money coming from the gray and black economies abroad. Such liberal laws are particularly dangerous for small states like Montenegro and I believe the state should proceed more cautiously", Mitrović said.

Another employers' organisation, Montenegro Business Alliance (MBA), however, supports the solution allowing foreigners to buy land. They view the opinions of the opponents of full liberalisation as anachronistic, and their demands as drawing the country into backwardness and offering the citizens demagogic solutions.

## ZAGREB PROTECTS FIELDS AND FORESTS

Croatia never opened negotiations on the free movement of capital, as during the screening two years ago European Commission experts concluded that Croatian legislation is not in line with European standards.

In spite of EU warnings, the official Zagreb did not yet plunge into substantial changes in order to allow "EU citizens to enjoy the necessary rights that would enable them to acquire real estate in Croatia", as the EC put it.

According to SAA and other documents, Croatia would have to complete the liberalisation of the real estate markets by 2009.

Citizens of Germany, Belgium, Great Britain, France, Netherlands and Spain can acquire real estate in Croatia based on reciprocity.

However, it is estimated that because of the administrative red tape the procedure may take up to two years, leading foreign citizens to recourse to a more expensive but more effective route: establishing businesses in Croatia and then acquiring real estate without restrictions.

It is estimated that in the last five years foreigners were involved in up to 3 500 real estate transactions. Foreign citizens and businesses cannot acquire agricultural land and forests in Croatia.

PROF DR GORDANA ĐUROVIĆ, DEPUTY PRIME MINISTER FOR EUROPEAN INTEGRATIONS

# We know best when we are ready to enter the race for candidate status

It is the autonomous right of every state to decide, after having signed the SAA and successfully began implementing the Interim Agreement, when to submit Membership Application – in other words, when it is ready to enter the "race" for candidate status, says Prof Dr **Gordana Đurović**, Deputy Prime Minister for European Integrations in the Government of Montenegro.

In the interview for *European Pulse* she said that it is then the turn of EU institutions, European Commission first of all, to give a green light for this process, by preparing a draft Questionnaire and other related activities.

● **Which activities have you planned for 2008, and what is the main goal you wish to achieve this year?**

Speaking about European integration of Montenegro the plans are clear: adopting the National Programme for Integration of Montenegro into EU for the 2008–2012 period, full commitment to implementing the clauses of the Interim Agreement, negotiations on visa-free arrangements for our citizens to travel to the countries of the Schengen zone, submission of application for full membership in the EU and preparations of the Questionnaire which is the next step after the Council decides to begin the process of acquiring candidate country status.

There is also the need for intensive political dialogue with EU and the countries of stabilisation and association process. At the same time, implementing the IA and NPI will mean more daily work on



Gordana Đurović

preparing new regulations in our ministries and on strengthening the instruments for quality implementation of policies.

● **Have you already had contacts the government of Slovenia, which will be presiding over EU until June, and do you have any concrete proposals for closer cooperation and Slovenian support to Montenegro?**

Certainly, they know about our European agenda for this year. Cooperation was further strengthened through the twinning programme, which is successfully implemented for the last two years, and through cooperation of our administrations in strengthening our capacities for European integration process. As we expected, the Slovenian parliament has already ratified our agreement with EU.

● **You announced that the Government will submit the EU membership application in the first half of 2008. What are you trying to achieve with this move?**

Our parliament has adopted the

Resolution on the implementation of SAA commitments, and thereby urged the Government to submit the membership application in the first half of 2008. This motion empowers us to accompany our written, formal application for EU membership with signatures of the President of the Republic, President of the Parliament, and the Prime Minister, which adds weight to our application. The third document which is also ready is the Memorandum on the intentions of the Government in this area, i.e. another confirmation of our commitment to the integration process and to SAA, which includes fulfilling all short-term recommendations from the European Partnership for Montenegro from January 2007, defining and implementing the NPI, full implementation of the Interim Agreement and further legal harmonisation. We have announced this motion on the occasion of signing the SAA, and all members of the Government have been reiterating our intention in every official meeting on the highest level with representatives of EU member states and institutions. In a way, we are expected to take this step.

● **What is your opinion on the statement by the European Enlargement Commissioner Olli Rehn who commented on the announced membership application saying that Montenegro should first of all focus on fulfilling its SAA commitments?**

His most important messages are constructive, when he "admits" that Montenegro has "made substantial progress" in 2007: signed the SAA, adopted the constitution, initiated

## IT IS EASY TO TELL WHO WORKS THE HARDEST

● The amended law on salaries of public employees has come into force which enables you to reward the civil servants who prove to be most useful. What are the prospective salaries for the employees of your cabinet and the Secretariat for European Integrations who work hard and have the necessary knowledge?

The wages were slightly increased, which is good. We are now entering the second phase, with bonuses and rewards for those who contribute the most. We will see after the first experiences. In any case, given the amount of work to do, it is easy to tell by the results who did most and who contributed more than others.

Interim Agreement – and that he "understands that Montenegro's goal is to achieve candidate status", and that, moreover, Montenegro "plays a constructive role in the region" and "has the potential to continue on the currently successful path toward political stability and economic and social development". Concretely, and comprehensively, he emphasised the key segments of the overall policy to be improved and particularly important issues to be attended to by the youngest European state in the upcoming period. Those are general, but very important issues.

● You have commented earlier on the discontent of EC representatives over the fact that the Strategy for energy development was never sent to Brussels to revision before its official endorsement saying that there is no need to refer to SAA until it comes into force. There were, however, some dissenting opinions on the issue. What is the general attitude of Government towards the SAA – should Montenegro already follow its provisions or not?

I think that the EC response to the Montenegrin Strategy for Energy Development was best described by the Energy Commissioner on the occasion of minister Gvozdenović's visit to his directorate in late January. Commissioner Piebalds supported the document, emphasising the importance of its long-term framework, the focus on the stability of supply, incentives for investors, and, partly, its

contribution to the struggle against climate changes. He supported our Government's efforts to improve energy policy. In coordination with the EC Delegation to Montenegro we are now expecting formal evaluation of the Strategy and will proceed by working on the Action plan for implementation of the Strategy in the following months together with EC representatives. By adopting this strategy in such an important area, after so many years of internal dialogue on this document, Montenegro did not violate a single clause of the SAA. We have very good cooperation with the EC Delegation in Podgorica.

● How would you comment the claims by some Serbian politicians (Mr Svilanović) that Brussels will "insist" that Montenegro, Serbia and Albania apply for membership together, suggesting that there is some inclination not to treat these countries separately during the later stages of EU accession?

I do not know all the wishes and desires of different analysts of the region, but I know what we announced and that Brussels knows and understands our intentions. I agree that the region is a very important aspect of the overall integration process, but I believe that every country must be evaluated on its own efforts and merits in progressing towards EU.

● Within CDP you have formed the first database of the potential national experts who could assist the

government on its road to EU. How are you planning to employ the services of those who responded and how will you test their expertise?

With support of the Capacity Development Programme (CDP), the Government of Montenegro built a database of national experts in the country and abroad who are ready to help in the process of European integrations. The goal is to recognise, pool and coordinate all national administrative, political, expert and intellectual potentials, in order to involve all segments of the society in the process of reforming the state, legislation and economy. In the final count this should lead to Montenegrin membership in the EU. The database contains 104 experts: 40 graduates, 45 MAs and 19 PhDs.

Their expertise spans the following areas: 2 in architecture, 2 in security, 17 in environment, 29 in economics, 3 in the information society, 5 in human rights, 1 in media, 4 in international law and international relations, 1 in education, 12 in agriculture, 1 in minority rights, 1 in law, 3 in transport, 1 in social policy, 1 in standardisation, 1 in statistics and demographics, 2 in tourism and 6 in health. 83 live in Montenegro, 21 abroad.

● And how will you employ them?

The first national consultants were contacted by the ministry of tourism and environment and the ministry of justice. In the short term, many of them are engaged in preparing sub-chapters of the draft National Programme for Integration. Between October and December 2007 CDP and Parim project have contacted over 25 international experts to assist preparation of the NPI, who covered about 20 chapters of Acquis Communautaire or assisted ministries and various groups for European integrations.

N. RUDOVIĆ

## MONTENEGRO BETWEEN SERBIA, KOSOVO AND EUROPEAN POLITICS

# The bumpy road of interests

One of the hypotheses in the diplomatic circles in Montenegro was that the leader of the ruling Democratic Party of Socialists **Milo Đukanović** is returning to the office of Prime Minister, among other reasons, to ensure that there are no dramatic internal turbulences in Montenegro once this country recognises Kosovo's independence.

Allegedly, it would take someone with undisputed personal authority to announce to the world, to Kosovo and to "brotherly Serbia" that Podgorica will establish diplomatic links with Prishtina, without it leading to an internal crisis, burning tensions, uncontrolled protests...

The assumption is probably that in this manner the wrath of one portion of the Serbian national corps will be directed solely toward Đukanović, who is famous for his talent of escaping unscathed out of more difficult and uncertain situations. Besides, the West needs someone who will unequivocally maintain that "Montenegro respects reality", and who will be able to bear with the stern rebuke from Belgrade. The weight of the latest decision of the most powerful countries of the world will be, after all, somewhat blunted if the countries of the region withdrew their consent. That Đukanović already calculated all advantages and disadvantages for Montenegro from Kosovo's independence was already clear in January, when he categorically maintained that Podgorica intends to cooperate with Prishtina in every regard.

He then announced that "in the final count, Montenegro, like all other countries of the region, will recognise independent Kosovo".

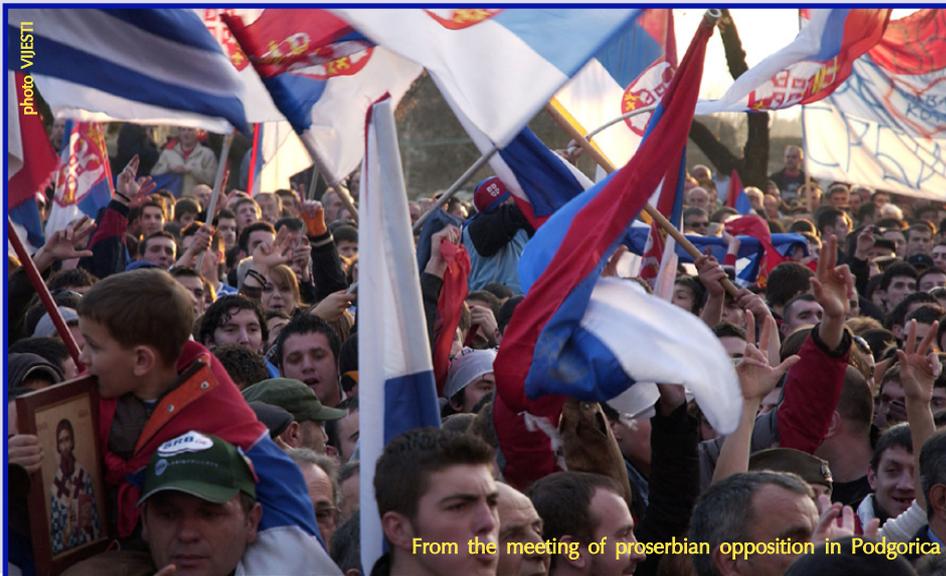
"We have chosen to become a part of European Union and we ought to respect its decisions. Montenegro will not carry the banner of independent Kosovo, and we will certainly not rush to recognise it. But in the final count we will have to do it, like all other

**The government of Montenegro is clearly trying to sit on both chairs: to side with Brussels and Washington while trying to ward off the wrath of Belgrade**

countries in the region", Đukanović said, adding that Montenegro is interested in a sustainable solution for Kosovo, that would guarantee stability in the region.

A few days earlier the ministry of internal affairs declared that "Montenegro will, in cooperation and coordination with EU and international partners, when the time comes, find its own appropriate answer to the Kosovo question".

The government of Montenegro is clearly trying to sit on both chairs: to side with



From the meeting of proserbian opposition in Podgorica

Brussels and Washington while trying to ward off the wrath of Belgrade. Any negative reactions from Prishtina were prevented by the appeasing words that Montenegro will recognise Kosovo sooner or later, the question is only when. According to some estimates, not before we see the results of the presidential elections in April, in order to make sure that

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the DPS candidate **Filip Vujanović** does not entirely lose the votes of Serbs in Montenegro. And certainly not before other countries in the region have recognised it first. Vujanović has himself warned that Podgorica should not make a hasty decision about Kosovo in order

to safeguard its internal interests.

"Nobody is forcing us to decide. I see no reason to make the decision hastily, without thinking through it carefully and I do not understand why the Montenegrin public has been so keen on taking such a decision now, if we know that Montenegro has never acted hastily before", Vujanović said.

The opposition, minus Movement for Changes, has been warning the government not even to consider turning its back on Serbia and demanding parliamentary debate on the issue.

"The question is: What will Montenegro gain by recognising Kosovo? The answer: we gain better neighbourly relations – come off it, please...Montenegro is not forced to take a decision... It is none of my business to interpret the actions of other countries, but it is my job to make sure that Montenegro does not do something that will forever remain a stain on

its history", says the leader of the Socialist People's Party **Srdan Milić**.

The government of Montenegro has a virtually impossible task ahead: to reconcile the passions and desires of its 32% Serbian and 7% Albanian population. For starters, it has advised Albanians not to celebrate in public, while the Serbs protested in front of the Parliament, supposedly because they are more numerous. In the end, they will probably wait for the time to smooth everything out and do what they the leading EU members and the USA ask them to do, because they are the anchors of the Montenegrin future and the guarantors of its two major goals: joining the EU and NATO. The question remains what to do with regional cooperation in the next few years if Serbia finds itself in a situation in which all of its neighbours have recognised Kosovo as an independent state. And the regional cooperation is, we know, a precondition for EU membership.

N. RUDOVIĆ

# New states and old prime ministers

by Brano Mandić

We can agree that Barcelona is a bit prettier than Prishtina. Better climate, more night clubs, Sagrada Familia, flamenco... It is therefore perfectly normal that five editors of the Montenegrin media recently spent a day or two at a fair dedicated to mobile telecommunications in Gaudi's town. By all means, journalists ought to see the world.

However, the said world got another state last week, which just happens to border the native lands of the above editors and their subordinated reporters. That the Montenegrin media lived to see only RTCG and Vijesti sending their reporters to Prishtina last weekend leads us to a melancholy conclusion that being a journalist in Montenegro is a feat of the same order as playing basketball in Wales.

If the editors failed to recognise the mercy of Allah for dragging one planetary event all the way to the border crossing Murino (or Mehov Krš, across Zubin Potok, until the first KFOR patrol), it is only natural that the high school kids should be raising commotion in the streets and verbally slaughtering the horned and tailed "Shqiptars", who will soon rampage all over Mon-



tenegro, according to the divine prophecy of by **Predrag Popović**. Ten cameras are zooming in on Popović. Ten journalists writing down his revelations. Ten chauffeurs drove their crews to the party offices, ten editors skimmed through the press releases – the media community can sleep tight, it delivered the breaking news. President of a major party with 900 voters pronouncing the fresh news that Montenegro is a part of the project of Greater Albania. If only we knew it beforehand, perhaps Prishtina would be swarming with doyens of all newsrooms, asking uncomfortable questions, reporting on the officials' statements. It is all the fault of Mr Popović who was hiding the supreme truth for so long from the general public and allowed history in the

It is a gross omission of the minister of internal affairs **Jusuf Kalamperović** that he did not also prescribe a list of politically correct toasts, the appropriate menu and the number of invitees that I as an Albanian can invite for a round of joyous hopping in my living room or, if we really have the balls in the bathroom where the acoustics are way more resonant and accordingly the risk that we will annoy our Serbian neighbour.

*It is a gross omission of the minister of internal affairs Jusuf Kalamperović that he did not also prescribe a list of politically correct toasts, the appropriate menu and the number of invitees that I as an Albanian can invite for a round of joyous hopping in my living room*

neighbourhood to slip away from under our noses, while we try to ambush it in every corner of the motherland.

The said motherland has in the meantime warned the Albanians in Montenegro to celebrate Kosovo's independence to their hearts' content, but only between their own four walls.

The Serbian neighbour may then take off to before the Parliament every Friday at 17:00, to indignantly protest against the violation of Resolution no.1244, and to shout as loudly as one can in one's homeland. Then the elections will come and DPS will make commercials with peasant costumes and embracing little rascals and coquettes so overflowing with pure love for Montenegro and youthful libido not to notice whether the other wears a fez, a Montenegrin hat or a keke.

There is only one lie that is bigger than the proposition that Albanians

There is only one lie that is bigger than the proposition that Albanians

in Montenegro are equal as citizens: the insistence of the leaders of Serbian parties that it should be so.

No wonder than that the mobile phones these days are haunted with a message that one's supreme duty is to kill a "shqiptar". Unfortunately, organisers of the mobile telephony contest in Barcelona failed to put on the agenda a discussion on "SMS fascism – past, present and future", and our journalistic doyens did not even consider dealing with such trifles. And the police did not have the heart to arrest three individuals in Bijelo Polje who were posing with a burning Albanian flag. It all comes down to the well known balancing of the executive specialised to preserve international peace. We have preserved the peace so many times in Montenegro, one could nearly forget our rich slaughter-oriented tradition. Defensively-slaughter-oriented, the patriots would say.

The patriots are orgasmic these days. Guess who came back. But the fifth return of the Duke wouldn't be so worrisome for the "Serbian leaders" had it not been for the gloomy fact



liked celebrations in Prishtina is of no relevance. Škrelja is the name of the MP who on the 17 February announced that it was a "bright, sunny day" as if he was mouthing a line from

*There is only one lie that is bigger than the proposition that Albanians in Montenegro are equal as citizens: the insistence of the leaders of Serbian parties that it should be so*

some low budget spy movie. He cannot say that he likes the new state, he is a DPS kid, a political tribe that knows how to slyly avoid any respon-

*Opinion polls show that most believe European Union to be that utopian destination, but a few strokes on the battle fiddle with appropriate loudspeakers suffice to demonstrate that the European story in Montenegro is blatant pretence. One would, naturally, need a good fiddler, but we have sure got one – for the fifth time*

that he came back (they say) to recognise Kosovo's independence.

The question is how far we can still stretch this cosmic tale, for how long can we chew on Putin, Russian veto in the Security Council, China...all because the private lives of Belgrade scholars and politicians seem to be so dull that they can muster a straight face seeking justice in world politics.

It is anyhow excellent for the government that the Serbian List is rumbling towards Kosovo so that they can verbally flutter towards European Union. Enthroning once again DPS as a modern party. That its Albanian MPs cannot publicly say how much they

sibility, even towards their own people, in this case Albanian. Škrelja's little pun is the peak of 28-years in power that taught them to beat around the (burning) bush whenever they ought to speak straight. That's the smugglers' joke when they say that nobody asks about the first million, that's how you treat European politicians to fritters, that's how the director went to Kinshasa instead of jail. That is the oriental wisdom and the grocer's reasoning in which wallow both the students and the pensioners, happy to have their representative at Eurovision and hopeful that he or she will get ahead of the Serbian col-

league.

Whereas our brotherly neighbouring republic could, if it has any brains, lift a hefty compensation off its Kosovan Golgotha and overtake us on the road to Europe. Then Montenegro could seize the aureole of a victim, but only with the Russian millionaires in our tracks to put a veto on the Budva beaches.

To recapitulate: the last few days made it clear that it was a good thing that Montenegro left the problem of Kosovo behind in the former state union. It is an open question, however, how the government and the opposition intend to exploit the issue once they decide to pump up the tensions and sway the grumblers.

The citizens could, in the meantime, figure out that national is only one feather in a wide fan of identities offered to us by the Western civilisa-

*There is only one lie that is bigger than the proposition that Albanians in Montenegro are equal as citizens: the insistence of the leaders of Serbian parties that it should be so*

tion – that one can also be a committed parent, a professional, a neighbour or a citizen.

As for Greater Albania, Serbia or Croatia, these are the monsters in the closet of history that can only grow wings in Montenegro if it fails to have loyal citizens. If the state does not allow us to celebrate or protest, there is no reason to be loyal to it. Instead, in the small hours of 2008 we will lay low dreaming about some promised land "behind the mountains" where there's respect for the human right – to happiness.

Opinion polls show that most believe European Union to be that utopian destination, but a few strokes on the battle fiddle with appropriate loudspeakers suffice to demonstrate that the European story in Montenegro is blatant pretence. One would, naturally, need a good fiddler, but we have sure got one – for the fifth time.

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

WHILE CROATIA IS DESPERATELY FIGHTING FOR ITS PROTECTED ECO-FISHING BELT, MONTENEGRO IS NOT YET PLANNING TO DESIGNATE ITS OWN



by Emil Kriještorac

The Croatian parliament adopted in October 2003 a decision to declare a protected eco-fishing zone which was ever since the bone of contention between Croatia and Slovenia. Since 1 January the decision applies also to other EU countries and the conflict is brewing.

*As for Montenegro and its neighbours, there should be no open issues, especially given that the maritime borders towards Albania and Italy have been resolved by agreements with SFRY which Montenegro inherited. With Croatia we have an interim agreement, i.e. Protocol on the interim regime on the territory of Prevlaka*

Croatia believes that the implementation of the above popular regulation is its sovereign right, whereas Slovenia in its capacity of EU president has been contesting it, threatening that its implementation will slow down Croatia's accession to EU. Italy is just as troubled with the declaration of the zone, but has so far refrained from assertive action.

Recently, in late 2007, Montenegro adopted its own Law on the Sea, based on which it acquired a legal foundation to declare an exclusive Montenegrin economic zone in the Adriatic. As for Montenegro and its neighbours, there should be no

## A sovereign right not to be endangered by EU

open issues, especially given that the maritime borders towards Albania and Italy have been resolved by agreements with SFRY which Montenegro inherited. With Croatia we have an interim agreement, i.e. Protocol on the interim regime on the territory of Prevlaka. Besides, our law does not prohibit foreign fishing boats from exploiting the fisheries of our part of the Adriatic, which means that declaring such a zone would be pure formality.

Exclusive economic zone is a belt stretching from the border of the territorial sea towards the open seas until the border of the epicontinental belt, or until the border with another state, as defined in the relevant agreements. In this zone the state has the right to exercise sovereign rights in order to: exploit, research, preserve and manage organic and non-

organic natural resources; produce energy using the maritime potentials, currents and winds; and monitor, inspect and if necessary banish foreign ships and pursue court cases.

However, in accordance with the international law, this zone remains open to all countries to exercise their guaranteed rights of sailing, flying, laying submarine cables and pipelines and other legally prescribed modes of using the sea.

What is so problematic about it, then, if 135 out of 152 states with access to the sea have already declared such a zone? In the Croatian case, the trouble is with the decision to extend Croatian sovereignty over its exclusive zone to fishing, which is contested by Italy, being in command of an enormous fishing fleet which exploits the fisheries outside of its own protected economic zone. Croatia, on the other hand, has a comparatively tiny, outdated fleet but much more abundant fishing potential in the vicinity of its coast. Italy, for instance, draws 200.000 tons of fish every year from the Adriatic, while Croatia's catch is estimated to 20.000. Italy never mentioned the fishing clause when it declared its protected zone in 2006, as it cannot draw any benefits from it. Thousands of Italian anglers have serious problems with scarcity of fish in their own waters, which are incapable of supporting exploitation on such a scale.

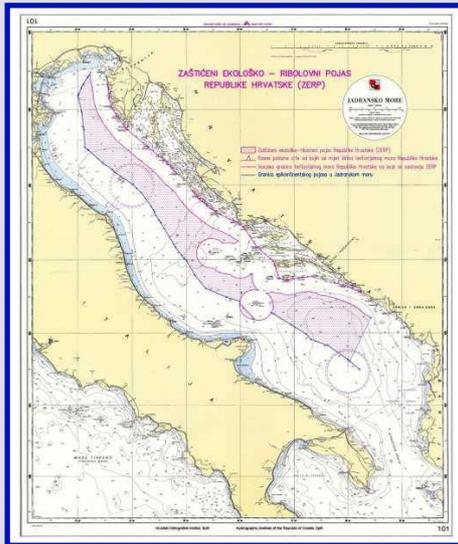
The Slovenian issue is more complicated, as the two countries never agreed on their maritime borders. Given the international law, it is not even certain that Slovenia has right to an epicontinental zone, and thereby the protected economic area in the Adriatic, because its 45 km of the coast are configured in such a way that even under the most benign interpretation of the legal clauses it can barely claim access to an open sea, and thus to the accompanying benefits.

"Croatia has endangered



its accession to EU with the law on the protected zone, and will have to make serious adjustments in order to continue the process", said Slovenian president **Tuerk**. The PM **Janez Janša** maintains that the "territorial agreement" from 2004 which exempts EU members from the Croatian maritime regulations is still in force, and that Slovenia is content with such arrangement.

The clause in question is an official note composed by the Foreign Affairs Secretaries of Slovenia, Croatia and Italy in 2004, when Croatia was about to begin its EU negotiations and was conditioned by exemption of EU members from the regulations applying to the protected zone, until the Agreement on partnership and fishing is signed between European Community and the Republic of Croatia. Croatian PM **Ivo Sanader** has, however, expressed little concern over such threats and already on 3 January Croatia has arrested the first Italian fishing boats that were found in the Croatian



on the protected zone", Sanader said.

**Davor Vidas**, a Croatian legal expert believes that "Croatia has the duty and the right to care about the sea waters and sea bed surrounding its 6278 km long coastline, including the zone around the islands, isles and cliffs. Croatia will not become an EU member at the

*Italian, Slovenian and Croatian experts, unlike their politicians, have no second thoughts about the protected zone being a sovereign right of every state, and the only bone of contention remains the issue of monitoring. Italy has asked for joint monitoring forces, while Croatia insists on independent monitoring*

territorial waters north-east of Palagruža.

"I believe that with a little bit of good will we can assuage the discontent of Italy, Slovenia and European Commission, without altering the present law

price of relinquishing its internationally guaranteed rights, all the more because the rule of law is among the founding principles of EU", adds Vidas.

The present issues are obviously not

merely specificities of the Adriatic, but the question facing EU now is whether an EU member, such as Slovenia, can use its position to blackmail another state, which is a candidate for EU membership, by its unsolved issues regarding prerogatives and economic interests on the sea. Unfortunately, the answer seems to be positive. Or so follows from the words of **Hannes Swoboda**, MEP responsible for Croatia, who in the interview for a Viennese paper *Die Presse* said that Croatia can hardly conclude its negotiations by 2009, in light of the necessary reforms in the fields of shipbuilding, fishing and especially the problems of the protected zone.

"The maritime border is problematic. Croatia is thinking selfishly, whereas the EU principles would require it to coordinate with its neighbours, said Swoboda on account of the protected zone. In the EC Progress Report on Croatia for 2007, published in Brussels on 6 January 2008, this problem crops up in several places, with a curt recommendation that the issue "ought to be solved".

It should be emphasised here that the protection of maritime zones has no bearing on the legal acquis of the EU.

Still, while the problem seems to be growing, Croatia's insistence and the latest meetings indicate that it may nevertheless be resolved. Italian, Slovenian and Croatian experts, unlike their politicians, have no second thoughts about the protected zone being a sovereign right of every state, and the only bone of contention remains the issue of monitoring. Italy has asked for joint monitoring forces, while Croatia insists on unilateral monitoring. One positive signal for Croatia came from the Enlargement Commissioner, whose port-parole **Kristina Nagy** recently expressed the belief that "the spread of national jurisdictions in the Mediterranean will create conditions conducive to sustainable fishing, contribute to effective eradication of illegal and unregistered fishing, and establish foundations for effective bilateral and multilateral cooperation of countries in the Mediterranean".

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

## PROTECTED ZONE BASED ON UN CONVENTION

The United Nations Convention on Law of the Sea (UNCLOS), stipulating the right of every coastal state to establish its protected zone was adopted in 1982, and came into force in 1984, a year after it was ratified or recognised by 60 countries. It is a document of exceptional legal, political and economic importance, setting by the force of international law a comprehensive arrangement for the acceptable modes of using the sea, exploiting, preserving, protecting and improving the quality of the sea, seabed and waters and ensures the establishment of a global legal regime in this area. Unlike the Geneva Convention on Law of the Sea from 1958, the UN Convention integrates numerous principles of the international law. SFRY ratified the UNCLOS in 1986.

There is for the time being no agreement on borders in the Adriatic. In the meantime, the line delimiting the epicontinental belts is the one set forth in the agreement between SFRY (Montenegro and Croatia as its successors) and the Republic of Italy in 1968.

**GORAN ĐUROVIĆ, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR OF CENTRE FOR DEVELOPMENT OF NON-GOVERNMENTAL ORGANISATIONS (CDNGO)**

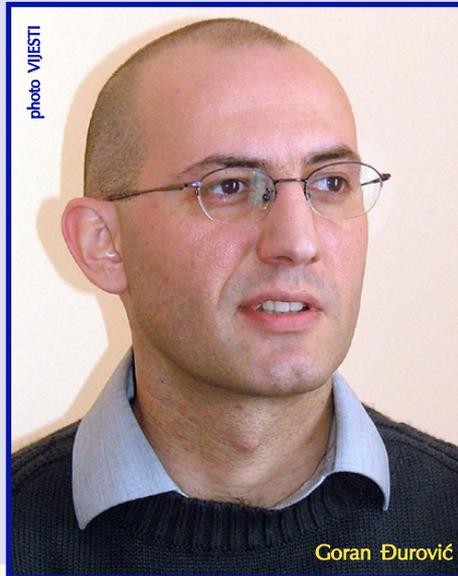
## Anti-European front is spreading through public institutions

The Parliament of Montenegro is contributing a great deal to the estrangement of the Montenegrin society from the European Union. An anti-European front is spreading through all public institutions and the Parliament siding with this front is the emergency signal for solidarity: joining forces with all those who belong to a different, European Montenegro. Today we have another very visible and I would say crucial polarisation: a European and an anti-European Montenegro, says **Goran Đurović**, executive director of the Centre for Development of Non-Governmental Organisations (CDNGO).

The ruling DPS-SDP coalition has refused his candidacy for membership in the RTCG Council three times, although the law clearly states that the Parliament has no right to vote on the issue but only to confirm the appointments.

"For two years now the RTCG Council has not been functioning and the "arguments" against certain appointments have been changing from one case to another – creativity is boundless. It seems, however, that it is becoming ever more difficult to conceal the fact that Montenegrin society has been sliding into a soft dictatorship, if such qualifications are at all appropriate" said Đurović in the interview for *European Pulse*.

He stressed that the Law on Public Broadcasting Service RTCG, long adopted in



Goran Đurović

conduct the elections. They only bought extra time to allow them to foster the aims of the ruling political coalition through the so-called public service", Đurović warns.

He added that the "alleged higher interest did not exist two years or two months ago, when the parliamentary majority refused to appoint 6 members to the Council and for heavens know how many times violated the law".

"In the previous case the relevant parliamentary committee confirmed that the procedure has been entirely observed, and neither the international nor the domestic public had a singly objection to the process

business" that the socially vulnerable and marginalised groups, persons with handicaps, and those who care about human rights are refused the opportunity to contribute to the development of our society through a better public service.

"I suppose some other country and another public service should instead take care of these groups. The infinite repetition of the same appointment procedure is used by the majority to deprive of all meaning the concept of civic participation and the principles of civil society, to exhaust and demoralise non-governmental organisations who are the nominating subjects and thus create the environment in which the places in the Council can only be occupied by those whose political, ideological and interest profile and loyalty are unquestionable or less questionable. Except for undermining its relations with the citizens and non-governmental organisations, the Parliament is also ready to ignore recommendations and opinions of non-governmental organisations and institutions. The EP Resolution from December 2007 has clearly urged the Parliament of Montenegro to cease with the current practice of deciding on the appointed members to RTCG Council. The same demands have been put forth by the European Commission, Council of Europe and OSCE", Đurović stressed.

He warns that instead of a "mature response by MPs to the requests from the national and international public all we got were new manipulations and panic attacks on the non-governmental sector".

"Unfortunately, the reactions of the domestic public towards the scandalous behaviour of the Parliament were mild, while the reaction of the international organisations who monitor the process of democratisation in Montenegro is apparently also insufficient. Only a powerful, joint action of all citizens, national organisations and institutions and international organisations can prevent absolute anarchy which is slowly but surely permeating Montenegro. If we fail to act now, we have no right to be surprised once dictatorship becomes a glaring, everyday phenomenon in Montenegro", Đurović warned.

***Only a powerful, joint action of all citizens, national organisations and institutions and international organisations can prevent absolute anarchy which is slowly but surely permeating Montenegro. If we fail to act now, we have no right to be surprised once dictatorship becomes a glaring, everyday phenomenon in Montenegro***

the Parliament, has been entirely suspended.

"The recent procedure of sidelining the Regulations to place on the agenda and once again refute appointments of the nominated members to the Council, with justification calling upon the "higher interests", is at best ridiculous, although the situation is far from being jolly. The said "higher interest" was to elect hastily one or two people from the extended list, in order to make the process appear legal in the eyes of the public, form the Council and

of appointments. In the most recent case, however, the relevant committee was not even asked to evaluate the regularity of the nomination process, so that everything was, directly and against the law, left to voting, where the outcome is obviously known. The parliamentary majority does not care about the interests of Montenegro and its citizens. All they need is 6 or 8 (the more the better) tightly controlled people in the RTCG Council", Đurović said.

He claims that "it is none of their

N.R.

PROGNOSIS OF A LEADING BRITISH ECONOMIST JEREMY RIFKIN

# EU to lead the third industrial revolution

Climate change and the depletion of oil reserves are taking place faster than expected and the policies being put in place are insufficient to keep up, says one of the leading British economists **Jeremy Rifkin**, pleading for the EU to lead the way towards a "Third Industrial Revolution".

We are "at the last stage of an energy era", Jeremy Rifkin told *EurActiv*.

The current energy system based on fossil energies will not last through the 21st century as oil prices surge and "peak oil" – the point of maximum oil production – will, according to him, be attained in 2030 at the latest.

"I don't know who's right, the optimists or the pessimists. But anyway, it will happen between 2010 and 2030, and it leaves a very small window," he said.

Action is needed urgently, he added,

**Rifkin believes that hydrogen can provide a solution – as a "universal medium that 'stores' all forms of renewable energy**

pointing to the increasing number of studies, including the United Nations' third climate report, which reveals not only the speed and acceleration of climate change but also the alarming consequences it is already having. "We have to understand the enormity of what is happening here. We are talking about the potential extinction of our species," Rifkin warned.

A third industrial revolution will be based on three pillars. Firstly, renewable forms of energy, including solar, wind, hydro, geothermal, ocean waves and biomass, need to be developed and factored in "wherever we are, in our infrastructures, in our homes, in our offices, in our vehicles". The EU has already started investing in these and has set itself the target of attaining a 20% share of renewable use in energy by 2020. This is a "good thing", says Rifkin, but it will "not be enough".

The EU must now work to find ways of storing these renewable energies.

"Renewable energy is intermittent. The sun isn't always shining, the wind isn't always blowing."

Existing storage media, such as batteries or differentiated water pumping, can only provide limited storage capacity. But Rifkin believes that hydrogen can provide a solution – as a "universal medium that 'stores' all forms of renewable energy".

"If some of the electricity generated when renewable energy is abundant can be used to extract hydrogen from water, which can then be stored for later use, society will have a continuous supply of power," he explained. While the technology may appear expensive now, so were the first cars and computers, he added.

"The third pillar relates to distribu-

tion. Europe must establish a continent-wide, fully-integrated intelligent inter-grid that allows each EU member state to both produce its own energy and share any surpluses with the rest of Europe in a 'network' approach to ensure EU energy security. In this way, Italy could share its surplus solar energy with Britain, which could in turn share its excess wind power with Portugal, and so on.

But for this to happen, the "communication revolution" must connect with the energy revolution" Rifkin stressed.

The great pivotal economic changes in world history have occurred when new energy regimes converge with new communication regimes, he said, pointing to the convergence of Gutenberg's print press with coal steam and the first industrial revolution, or the creation of the telephone in the 20th century, which converged with internal combustion and oil for the second industrial revolution.



Jeremy Rifkin

"We are now living the IT revolution, but we have yet to see its full potential, its "deeper historical mission", Rifkin said.

According to him, that potential lies in their convergence with renewable energy, partially stored in the form of hydrogen, to create the first 'distributed' energy regimes."

Rifkin believes that nuclear energy is one of the "blind allies" on this road, and that investment in that direction only inhibits progress towards the "third industrial revolution".

"In order to fulfill the world's energy needs through nuclear energy, you have to put under construction a new nuclear power plant every 30 days for the next 50 years. That's 2,500 new power plants. This is not realistic", he added.

"Everyone is trying to hold onto the current system because they are afraid and no-one is willing to make the first sacrifices. Yet, the Third Industrial Revolution could probably be the greatest economic opportunity in history. Precisely the EU – as the world's biggest internal market, with 500 million consumers – has the necessary assets to lead the way. Europe should not panic or deconstruct because other economies, like the US, are bailing out. Europe created the first industrial revolution. USA created the second revolution and Europe can make the third one", Rifkin emphasised.

N.R. – V.Š.



by Bojana Stanišić

To tell the truth, I do consider myself a citizen of Europe. I am European in spite of the fact that neither Montenegro where I live, nor Serbia, my homeland, nor Macedonia, the country where I was born are members of the European Union. I do not feel European because of the geographical belonging to the Old Continent, but because every one of these three countries, historically and culturally, has many European traits. Unfortunately, either we do not know how to display those convincingly, or those who we consider European do not want to see and recognise them.

I feel European, because my education, personal culture and levels of tolerance set me on par with any Dutch, German or French citizen. Perhaps I am even a little ahead of them. Unlike many Europeans,

*While in Brussels they protest against the noise of airplanes, in Podgorica one does not dare ask for the basic rights. "Illegal" forms of protest are rewarded with lay-offs of workers, and instead of receiving medical assistance, they are simply thrown out on the street*

who do not even know where Montenegro, Serbia or Macedonia is, I can place every one of the 27 EU member states, I know their capitals, the fathers of the French revolutions,

# Why do I want to be a citizen of Europe?

rulers of England and political masterminds of Eastern Europe. I, like so many young people in the Balkans, have read Jacques Prevert, Edgar Allan Poe and Herman Hesse. Does an average European know about Petar Petrović Njegoš, Stefan Mitrov Ljubiša, Mihailo Lalić, Vuk Karadžić or Đura Jakšić? They do not, you can take my word for it.

It is our advantage, an advantage we ought to learn to exploit and demonstrate our intelligence in the best manner. Although I personally disagree with a few politics and principles of European Union, I

*I want to give Europe a bit of our Balkan passion and hot blood, to teach it how to laugh and love, to sing and have fun. I want the cold-blooded Brits to see how humans can be warm and hearty, to tell workaholic Germans that there are other things in life but work, and to teach the French that we can also love, more strongly and passionately than they do*

believe that there is no other road for Montenegro, or for the Balkans in general.

And why? Because only by grabbing ahead on that road lit by 12 yellow stars can we force the rest of Europe to take us seriously, not to think of us as of savages who only know how to wage wars. Because only this road will give us a chance

to show our Balkan and European values. And finally, because only in this way can we assume in the near future the place that rightfully belongs to us.

Why do I want to be a citizen of Europe? Because I want my country, my Balkans, to learn something from Europe. To be pushed to revise long forgotten lessons on fundamental human rights. To learn about freedom of speech and expression, respect for the law and human rights, the rule of law. I want our youth to study and earn their distinctions at the prestigious universities.

Why else? Because I want to make Europe better. Somebody may laugh, but I mean it. I want to give Europe a bit of our Balkan passion

and hot blood, to teach it how to laugh and love, to sing and have fun. I want the cold-blooded Brits to see how humans can be warm and hearty, to tell workaholic Germans that there are other things in life but work, and to teach the French that we can also love, more strongly and passionately than they do. I want to show everyone that our little country has, all on the heap, mountains and the sea, cheerful Mediterranean spirit and harshness of the North, multiethnicity and multiculturalism. We are today at the margins of Europe and Europe has not yet heard of us. This is why I want to be a citizen of Europe, as soon as possible.

A few days ago I read in the papers about a German pensioner



who missed his destination by 820 km and ended up in Denmark, instead of the west of Germany. The lively 84-years old arrived with his car to a private holding in the northern Jutland, Denmark, convinced that he has in fact reached the vicinity of his house near Essen.

Do you now understand why I want to be a citizen of Europe?

It must be a great feeling to have an ordinary citizen, hitchhiker or a traffic policeman inform you that you have entered the territory of another state, instead of the proverbially unfriendly border police. It must be great not to stand in line for "non-

***Let us show this Europe that living the Balkan way does not only stand for barbarism, wars and crimes, for filth and lack of education. Let us show that it also can mean patriotism, love for freedom, justice, and finally, why not, being humane and courageous***

EU" citizens at every airport. It must be great to be a citizen of EU. To have the right and freedom to say what you think, to have the right and freedom to choose.

I would like my biggest problems in life to be the airplanes making enormous noise over Podgorica. To take it as a reason, like the citizens of Brussels, to walk out on the streets and protest. And while in Brussels they protest against the noise of airplanes, in Podgorica one does not dare ask for the basic rights. "Illegal"

forms of protest are rewarded with lay-offs of workers, and instead of receiving medical assistance, they are simply thrown out on the street. Why do I want to be a citizen of Europe? So that such things would become unthinkable!

Now the question is how to achieve this goal.

I found the answer in the words of **Paolo Coelho**: "The secret lies in the present: if you pay attention to the present, you can make it better. If the present is better, what comes after will be better too".

We have no illusions that our present will improve by joining EU.

There are few things that the act of accession can change. Whatever ought to be changed in order to join the European 27 should be changed here and now.

Let us improve our present, to make our future better, "European", like our politicians like to say. Let us join our forces to create a democratic state, let us, the ordinary citizens, not our politicians, be the ones who will begin implementing EU standards. Let us not wait for Europe to teach us that the street ought to be

crossed at the crossings and rubbish thrown into rubbish bins.

Let us show this Europe that living the Balkan way does not only stand for barbarism, wars and crimes, for filth and lack of education. Let us show that it also can mean patriotism, love for freedom, justice, and finally, why not, being humane and courageous. Let us show them that we are capable of integrating their values into ours and turn the Balkans into a region where everyone would like to live. "God gave us bow and arrows, but he did not bless us with the ability to stretch the bow and shoot the arrows", said **Henryk Sienkiewicz**. I believe it is time to show that we can also shoot those arrows and prove to European Union that we deserve to be a part of it, with all our advantages and disadvantages. Let us show that our culture and education are not lesser than those of Britain, Denmark or Italy. Let us prove that we can offer something to Europe!

Let us use our intelligence and learn European lessons. Let us give our best to get the best. Let us bring Europe here so we can be its citizens.

*The author is a journalist of TV "Vijesti". She attended VI generation of the European Integration School.*

## ALBANIA AND EUROPEAN INTEGRATIONS

# Dreaming of success

by Rudina Hoxha

The core of European integration has not been transmitted successfully to the Albanians because the political class has presented it simply as a matter of political will – the 3.6 million people living in Albania are running after a dream. Unfortunately, they do not know exactly what the dream is fully about. They want their country to join the European Union (EU) and are very enthusiastic about the prospects. Sentiments are strong. When talking of Albania's experience along the road to integration, these are the first impressions one gets. Like no other society, Albania does not

suffer dilemmas or prejudices over European integration. On one point, at least, its people think alike. The Albanians, who experienced the fiercest dictatorial regime in Europe over 50 years, have dreamed a lot about the West, the Promised Land, Europe and Freedom. This is why the phrase EU integration is virtually sacred to this nation. Polls show that the Albanians are the most enthusiastic people in the region about their own integration: more than 90% strongly support this process, in contrast to the prevalent trend in the region: the closer a country approaches the EU, the less support for the movement by its society.

*The Albanians, who experienced the fiercest dictatorial regime in Europe over 50 years, have dreamed a lot about the West, the Promised Land, Europe and Freedom. This is why the phrase EU integration is virtually sacred to this nation*



EU affairs' analyst and director of the Albanian Institute for International Studies **Albert Rakipi** explains this view given the Albanians' historical sentiments to Europe, through a sort of misunderstanding among some segments of Albanian society.

"Albanians perceive EU integration as a miracle which will come from abroad. If the EU takes the long-awaited decision on Albania overnight, there are Albanians who think that the Miracle will happen at once: roads will be resurfaced, there will be jobs, prices will be lower, hospitals will provide a high quality service, universities also and embassies will issue visas for them. But, their perception is wrong," said Rakipi who also blames the governmental propaganda for highlighting only the bright side of integration while failing to make the crux clear.

In fact, most of the Albanians shrug their shoulders when they are asked about the essence of European integration even though they have heard the phrase regularly since June 2006 when Albania signed the Stabilization and Association Agreement (SAA) with Brussels.

"A debate on European integration at the population's or elite's level

## GOVERNMENT AND OPPOSITION WORKING TOGETHER ON JUDICIAL REFORM

Director of the Albanian Media Institute, **Remzi Lani** insists on the fact that "it is important to change Albania's concept of European integration from a foreign policy's affair to a domestic one. It is our job to address our sharp problems in order to turn Albania into a normal country, so we can join Europe afterwards."

There are such unresolved and lengthy problems that constitute the gist of the EU's 2007 progress report on Albania, released in November. Reforms were the buzzword of this report which lashed out at the government's insufficient efforts to implementing the reform in the judiciary and elections, fight corruption and build a safer and more reliable business climate. In line with the 2007 EU progress report, the Albanian government has set its priorities and duties to be carried out. For the first time, in the name of the EU and NATO integration, both majority and opposition have put down their arms and have begun to show up the first signs of consensus over key reforms, concretely those of the judiciary and electoral system. The Interim Agreement, in force since December 2006, has started to be applied and in this respect the Albanian Parliament has passed a number of important laws and decisions, especially in the area of fiscal policy.



has been virtually absent, or has been improvised because the political class has presented integration only as a matter of political will," says publicist and scholar **Pirro Misha**, who is also head of the Albanian Institute of Public Dialogue and Communication.

Debates, he insists, must address thorny issues directly related directly to integration such as economy, poverty, challenges for the rural population (Albania has the highest percentage of rural population in Europe) and other problems.

A visa facilitation accord was enforced earlier this year but, unfortunately, little has been changed in the visa procedures for the Albanians: they have to present the same number of documents as before.

"Overall, Albania has made some progress in strengthening its government structures to address its commitments towards the EU and the broader development agenda. Further strengthening of capacity, coordination and strategic planning remains necessary," states the EC Progress Report for Albania.

In order to achieve much more, the Albanian opposition has underscored the vital need for having a clear integration strategy.

"No one really knows exactly when Albania will exactly join the European Union," said the leader of

the Socialist Movement for Integration, **Ilir Meta**, a strong opposition voice in Albania. Meta suggests a thorough revision of the national strategy on integration and development. But the pattern is familiar: against the opposition's skepticism, the government keeps bragging.

"Albania will open membership talks with the European Union on the second half of 2008 if reforms are successful," Albanian Integration

*A debate on European integration at the population's or elite's level has been virtually absent, or has been improvised because the political class has presented integration only as a matter of political will," says publicist and scholar Pirro Misha*

Minister **Majlinda Bregu** stated recently after the country's premier, **Sali Berisha** reconfirmed Albania's integration into the EU and NATO as two major goals for the government. The speaker of parliament, **Jozefina Topalli** pledged the ratification of Albania's SAA by the parliaments of all the 27 EU member countries by August 2008. So far, the parliaments of 17 EU countries have ratified Albania's SAA leaving ten others still to do so. The President of Albania **Bamir Topi** wants greater commitment to SAA's ratification. "The SAA ratification is encouraging, but insufficient," he says.

Meanwhile, Albania's progress in

reforms remains the only indicator that will tell whether this country will get candidate status or not. What can be said with certainty now is that the European Union is seen by the Albanians as the most important strategic actor. "The role of the European Union is quite visible in Albania. It has contributed considerably to state building and politics consolidation, so a zero-sum game has often been avoided. The EU is also present through its economic projects mainly in infrastructure and the electricity network," says Rakipi.

Since January, pre-accession financial assistance to Albania has been provided under the new Instrument for Pre-Accession Assistance (IPA). The European Commission allocated a total of 61 million euros in 2007.

No one can deny that EU integration has been the major stimulus for Albania to progress with its democratic processes.

"Being under EU integration pressure and international monitoring, Albania has been forced to respect

proper standards which has helped us bring the democratic processes ahead," said analyst **Skender Minxhozi**.

All in all, joining the EU is a two-way process. As time passes, the race to join this powerful organization will get keener and the parameters more difficult to be met. It is not known to what extent this will expose Europe's lack of desire to have a second enlargement after that of May 1, 2004 and this may delay Albania's accession to the EU. Nevertheless, until the dream takes wings, the Albanians keep on dreaming...

*The author is a journalist in the "Albanian Daily News", Tirana*

## EU WARNS ROMANIA AND BULGARIA OVER 'SLOW' ANTI-CORRUPTION EFFORTS AND THREATENS WITH SANCTIONS

# Brussels expected a better game from Sofia and Bucharest

It is a cruel irony that the EU has maximum leverage in questions of corruption performance before accession, but once countries are in the Union, where money, goods, people – and problems – can move freely, the influence drops to almost zero. This has to change, warns **Rune Rasmussen**, Transparency International EU Policy Officer. The comment is a follow-up on the interim reports by European Commission on the progress made by Romania and Bulgaria on judiciary reform and fighting corruption and organised crime which shows that both countries must seriously step up their efforts ahead of the next detailed evaluation due in mid-2008. Otherwise they could face sanctions, Brussels warned.

"An EU that works must be free of corruption. The fight against corruption in Romania and Bulgaria is a question of the integrity of the entire European Union. It's critical", emphasised Rasmussen.

The reports, issued on 4 February 2008, express EC's concern over the absence of convincing results in the fight against high-level corruption in both countries, as well as organised crime in Bulgaria.

The report on Bulgaria concludes that whereas some successful efforts have been put in place in the areas of judicial reform and fighting corruption at the country's borders, efforts to fight corruption within local government and organised crime should be strengthened to show positive results.

"What we see, especially in the area of organised crime, is that, while the figures are improving, we have no way to assess how this fits in with the situation on the ground, and also with other data that is been provided in previous years," said EC spokesperson **Mark Gray**.

Furthermore, the report points out that Bulgaria's Action Plan for local cor-



ruption, high-level corruption and organised crime lacks meaningful performance indicators and the measures proposed (such as awareness-raising campaigns, etc.) do not reflect the level of commitment necessary to tackle the

*The report on Bulgaria concludes that whereas some successful efforts have been put in place in the areas of judicial reform and fighting corruption at the country's borders, efforts to fight corruption within local government and organised crime should be strengthened to show positive results*

issues concerned. As for Romania, the report points to delays in implementing a coherent recruitment strategy for the judiciary and fighting local corruption.

EC's main concern regarding Romania is that despite the structures in place, such as the national anti-corruption directorate, the authorities "have not been able to demonstrate convincing final results" in the fight against high-level corruption. "We have ten important cases that have been delayed for over six months," said Gray, expressing the EU executive's concern about the pace of reforms in the country.

Romania's Action Plan for local corruption, high-level corruption and organised crime "lacks coherence and suffers from gaps", does not provide sufficient detail for local corruption and does not feature sufficiently targeted

activities and indicators to deliver the intended result.

"If I can use a sporting analogy, we expect a much better half. None of us want to see extra time or penalties. That is why we expect the two governments to improve in the second half," Gray added, underlining that sanctions may be imposed in case of further lack of progress.

The final reports will be published in mid-2008 when, depending on the progress made, sanctions could be imposed upon the two countries.

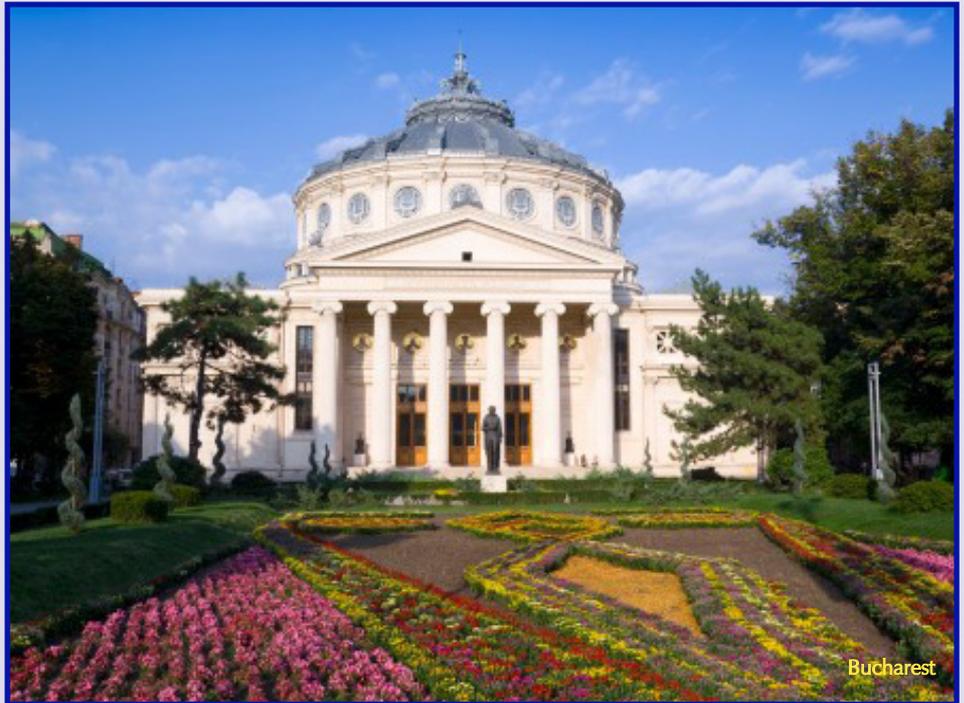
When Bulgaria and Romania

joined the EU on 1 January 2007, the Commission made clear that there was still work to be done for the two countries to meet the necessary EU requirements. Otherwise, the EC may decide to make use of special safeguards. Such safeguards are included in the Accession Treaties and can be invoked against new member states as a last resort, which could lead to a refusal to recognise court decisions or cuts to EU funds.

The current report is part of a "Co-operation and Verification Mechanism" replacing the monitoring system since 1 January, and looks in particular at the progress made in the areas of judicial reform, organised crime and the fight against corruption.

The progress reports on Bulgaria and Romania conclude that "progress in the judicial treatment of high-level corruption is insufficient". However, the Commission finds that it is too early to trigger or remove the threat of sanctions against the two countries.

"While safeguard clauses are not being proposed by the Commission at this stage, we will remain vigilant. The further changes that are necessary



Bucharest

require a long-term commitment," EC President **Jose Manuel Barroso** stated.

EC said it was satisfied about Romania's progress in tackling judicial reform, local-government corruption and setting up a national integrity agency. However, it points out that

there are still efforts to be made and that progress regarding high level corruption is "insufficient".

Romania is currently investigating two former prime ministers and two former ministers over corruption allegations.

Some commentators were surprised by the report's softened tone and criticised that even in areas where there has been hardly any progress, the Commission certified that the two countries "largely met the benchmarks".

But Freedom, Security and Justice Commissioner **Franco Frattini** underlined that he wanted to send out the right message to the populations of Bulgaria and Romania.

"It is not a blaming and shaming exercise. It is an honest report highlighting what the two governments should do", he said.

However, the EC is not letting Bulgaria and Romania completely off the hook. It will continue to follow their progress and keep up the threat of sanctions, such as the non-recognition of court judgements, until mid-2008. Frattini said that the Commission would not shy away from making use of the safeguards if the two countries were "failing to make progress and meet the benchmarks".

N. RUDOVIĆ  
V. ŠČEPANOVIĆ

*EC made clear that there was still work to be done for the two countries to meet the necessary EU requirements. Otherwise, the EC may decide to make use of special safeguards. Such safeguards are included in the Accession Treaties and can be invoked against new member states as a last resort, which could lead to a refusal to recognise court decisions or cuts to EU funds*

## THERE IS ALWAYS SPACE FOR IMPROVEMENT

Becoming a member of the EU does not mark the end of work. Many things are yet to be achieved, but we hope that Romania will continue its reform process and make quick progress, said the chairmen of European Democrats in EP, **Joseph Daul**, welcoming EC's decision not to use safeguard clauses against Romania.

Romanian Prime Minister **Calin Popescu Tariceanu** judged that the report was "fair" and promised to continue reform efforts.

"The report shows that we are treating these issues very seriously. Many of the requested measures are in the process of being taken and there will be more progress soon", he added.

Bulgarian Europe Minister **Gergana Grancharova** welcomed the Commission's decision not to apply safeguard clauses to Bulgaria and said the way forward was through "work, partnership and trust".

A GUIDE TO WORDS AND EXPRESSIONS  
FREQUENTLY USED BY THE PEOPLE WHO ARE  
PROFESSIONALLY DEALING WITH EU INTEGRATION



# Eurojargon

support post-graduate studies involving cooperation of at least three universities from three different EU countries. Erasmus Mundus scholarships are available for students from all countries.

**Eurobarometer:** This is a Commission service, set up in 1973, which measures and analyses trends in public opinion in all the member states and in the candidate countries. Knowing what the general public thinks is important in helping the European Commission draft its legislative proposals, take decisions and evaluate its work. Eurobarometer uses both opinion polls and focus groups. Eurobarometer publishes its findings in more than 100 reports annually.

**Eurocrat:** The term "Eurocrats" (a pun on the word "bureaucrats") refers to the many thousands of EU citizens who work for the European institutions (Parliament, the Council, the Commission, etc.).

**Euroland:** This is an unofficial nickname for what is officially called "the euro area" or "the euro zone". This area consists of the EU member states that have adopted the euro as their currency. So far the countries involved are Austria, Belgium, Finland, France, Germany, Greece, Ireland, Italy, Luxembourg, Netherlands, Portugal, Slovenia and Spain.

**European Communities:** In the 1950s, six European countries decided to pool their economic resources and set up a system of joint decision-making on economic issues. To do so, they formed three organizations: the European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC), the European Atomic Energy Community (Euratom) and the European Economic Community (EEC). These three communities – collectively known as the 'European communities' – formed the basis of what is today the European Union. The EEC soon became by far the most important of the three and was eventually renamed simply 'the European Community' (EC).

EC decisions are taken using the 'Community method', which involves the EU institutions. This covers everything the EU does except for those things that are decided purely by agreement between governments.

People within the EU institutions and in the media dealing with EU affairs often use 'eurojargon' words and expressions that they alone understand. Eurojargon can be very confusing to the general public, which is the reason we decided to introduce those terms for the benefit of those who are new yet entirely comfortable with the field of EU integrations.

**Enhanced co-operation:** This is an arrangement whereby a group of EU countries (minimum eight) can work together in a particular field even if the other EU countries are unable or unwilling to join in at this stage. The outsiders must, however, be free to join in later if they wish.

**Enlargement:** In the 1950s, the EU began with just six member states. It now has 27. Growth in EU membership is known as 'enlargement', and it has happened several times: 1950 – Belgium, France, Germany, Italy, Luxembourg, Netherlands, 1973 – Denmark, Ireland, United Kingdom, 1981 – Greece, 1986 – Portugal, Spain, 1995 – Austria, Finland, Sweden, 2004 – Cyprus, Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Malta, Poland, Slovakia and Slovenia, 2007 – Bulgaria and Romania.

**ERASMUS:** This is not really eurojargon. Named after the great Renaissance scholar, it is an EU-supported education programme that began in 1987. By 2007 nearly two million students have so far benefited from Erasmus grants, which give European university students a chance of living and studying for the first time in a foreign country. In 2004 a new programme, Erasmus Mundus was initiated, with a 40 million euros annual budget to

NON – GOVERNMENTAL  
ORGANISATIONS  
IN EUROPEAN UNION



## SOLIDAR

Solidar is a European network of NGOs working in development and humanitarian aid, social policy, social service provision, migration and lifelong learning in order to promote social and economic equality in European societies.

The network consists of 42 members active both in Europe and internationally in alliance with trade unions, the labour movement and civil society. By organising seminars and conferences and lobbying in institutions responsible for decision making in the area of social policy, Solidar strives to rise awareness about the gap in social and economic status of citizens in European societies and works to diminish this gap.

An important segment of Solidar's activities takes place in the framework of "SOS Europe" (Support our Social Europe) which calls for equal access to high-quality, accessible, affordable social, care and educational services for all members of society. Solidar focuses on inclusion of marginalised social groups, especially in the area of education and works to strengthen the role and participation of civic society into decision-making processes on all societal levels.

Thus, in cooperation with its partners, Solidar works to influence and inform the EU agendas on social policy issues by providing reports and information on various socioeconomic parameters and formulating recommendations.

A number of Solidar member organisations work with and for migrants, lobbying the EU Institutions for migrants' rights and their inclusion into the European societies, with a special focus on migrant workers.

Since 2006, Solidar is exploring education and life long learning issues. Internationally, Solidar promotes and coordinates humanitarian aid projects in countries including Sri Lanka, India, Iraq, the Balkans and Palestine. For more information visit [www.solidar.com](http://www.solidar.com)

Prepared by: Petar ĐUKANOVIĆ

Centre for Civic Education, Centre for Development of Non-Governmental Organisations and European Movement in Montenegro with support of the Foundation Open Society Institute – Representative Office of Montenegro issue



## ANNOUNCEMENT

– For participants in VII generation of –

### EUROPEAN INTEGRATIONS SCHOOL

European Integrations School consists of 7 modules, lasting four months in total, and offers a broad range of theoretical and practical insights into the field of European integrations.

Participants attend lectures twice a week for two hours (with a possibility of additional lectures) and participate in specialised seminars.

Renowned lecturers from the country and abroad, members of the diplomatic corps in Montenegro and other guests introduce the participants to history, development and functioning of European integration processes, the contemporary status of European institutions, their influence on our society and the prospects for cooperation in this area.

Eligible candidates are those with a special interest in acquiring new knowledge in these areas and contribution to the promotion of the idea, meaning, and standards of European integrations in Montenegro. All applicants are welcome regardless of their age, gender, nationality, religion or beliefs. Priority will be given to the applicants who demonstrate high levels of societal activism in governmental, non-governmental, party, trade union, economic, scientific or cultural domains.

All attendance costs are covered by FOSI, CCE, EMiM, CDNGO, but the participants are obliged to attend at least 80% of the programme.

Applications with a short CV should be sent by 15 March 2008 to:

Centre for Civic Education  
(for European Integration School)  
Njegoševa 36, I sprat, 81 000 Podgorica  
Fax: 081 / 665 112  
E-mail: [cgo@cg.yu](mailto:cgo@cg.yu)

## New generations of Democracy School

XI generation of Democracy School started the programme in February. The School is organised by Centre for Civic Education with Support of the Friedrich Ebert Stiftung. 30 new participants will be spending the next four months learning about democracy through five modules of the Democracy School. The curriculum consists of theoretical insights, comparative studies and practical recommendations for building up the knowledge and skill of applying democratic principles in everyday life, and especially in the political sphere. The leader of the school is Prof Dr Radovan Radonjić, and there will be additional lectures by renowned experts from country and abroad. The School was attended so far by 234 citizens of Montenegro, mostly activist of non-governmental organisations, political party activists, journalists, civil servants from local and state administrations, students and others who expressed their interest in participating in the public scene of Montenegro and contributing to further development of democracy in Montenegro.

### COOPERATION FOR SUCCESS

## Creating conditions for responsible management of public funds

On 11.02.2008 NGO coalition "Through Cooperation to the Aim" organised a conference on the topic "Better financing for NGOs from public funds", which was attended by representatives of the NGO sector and the Government of Montenegro.

The goal of the Conference was to use this joint discussion forum to establish mutually acceptable solutions that would contribute to an efficient system for the financing of non-governmental

organisations through public funds, a system that would be based on clear principles and criteria with full respect for independence of the NGO sector and establishment of adequate responsibilities of all sides for the money coming from these funds. In this sense the discussion contained recommendations for amendments and changes in the existing Regulation on the criteria for selecting the beneficiaries and the modes of distribution of funds from the

games of chance.

The key speakers at the conference were: **Goran Đurović**, president of the Cooperation for Success coalition, **Daliborka Uljarević**, coordinator of the Working Group III – structure of NGO financing from public funds, **Fadil Mučić**, member of the Working Group III – structure of NGO financing from public funds and **Dragan Drobniak**, president of the Commission for distribution of finances from the games of chance.

## FOR THIS ISSUE WE RECOMMEND:



## INTERNATIONAL SUMMER SCHOOL SEGGAU GRAZ, AUSTRIA

**Scholarship / Financial aid:** partially available

**Date:** June 28th – July 12th 2008

**Deadline:** 21st of March 2008

**Open to:** students from all over the world

This year's Summer School will take place from June 28th to July 12th again at Seggau Castle (near Graz/Austria) and will focus on the topic "US EUROPE: Towards a multi-cultural continent".

### Aims and objectives:

Interdisciplinary meeting and cooperation of teachers and students, focussing on East and SEE and dealing with the cultural and intellectual aspects and dimensions of current European integration. Shaping profiles of future executives in different areas such as politics, administration, economy, science and religion.

- Two-week Summer University for 80 students and 15 teachers.
- 2 lecture series, 6 parallel seminar modules, excursion to Graz
- Discussions with guests from the area of culture and politics

- Accreditation via ECTS – credits (2 ECTS for participation & final exam; 4 additional ECTS for seminar paper)

The International Summer School Seggau is funded through grants given by sponsors and donators from all over Europe. For that reason it is possible to reduce the tuition fee for students to the amount of Euro 360.– (reduced fee Euro 180.–). This tuition fee includes the Summer School programme, meals, housing and a printed report. Travel arrangements have to be made and paid for individually.

### Accreditation:

As the Summer School is based on the ECTS system, the recognition as a regular part of participants' studies at their home universities should be facilitated. In order to obtain a certificate, students must actively participate in one seminar module and all lectures (recommendation: 2 ECTS). It is also possible for students to write a scholarly seminar paper (recommendation: 4 ECTS). This paper will be evaluated by the academic coordinators to ensure an appropriate level.

**The deadline for applications is the 21/03/2008 (date of receiving!)**



Applications have to be sent via normal mail (snail mail) – applications via email will NOT be accepted.

## INTERNATIONAL SUMMER BALKAN CASE CHALLENGE 2008

### VIENNA, AUSTRIA

**Scholarship / Financial aid:** Full

**Date:** mid of April till mid of May

**Deadline:** March 31st, 2008

**Open to:** exceptional students

WUS Austria invites exceptional students from Albania, Austria, B&H, Bulgaria, Croatia, FYR Macedonia, Kosovo UNMIK, Moldova, Montenegro, Romania, Serbia and Slovenia, who study law, economics, political sciences, international relations, information technologies or related disciplines to take part in the BCC 2008. On an international level the BCC International Case Study Competition will be held between 6th of July and 11th of July 2008, Sub-Competitions will be held in the respective countries/region between mid of April and mid of May 2008.

The around 140 winners out of all the Sub-Competitions will compete in the competition in Vienna. Prerequisite for participants to compete in the Sub-Competitions is a successful admission via an online process, following established criteria. Please find further details for the applications under [www.bcchallenge.org](http://www.bcchallenge.org)

Applications are to be submitted online until 31/03/2008.

### Contact:

WUS Austria  
Heinrichstr. 39  
8010 Graz

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