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## REPLAY

From the European standpoint, October was marked by two major events.

The first will enter history books: on 3 October, the Irish have supported the Lisbon Treaty on the second referendum by an overwhelming majority. This removed the key barrier for the adoption of this document that will make the EU more functional.

The second date worthy of mentioning is 14 October. The European commission presented progress reports for the West Balkan countries.

The report on Montenegro is almost a copy of the last years'. If it weren't for the part dedicated to the freedom of the media and information society, as well as that on the relations with civil society which contained very harsh comments on the Government, together with a few positive remarks on Monstat and the Parliament, it would be very difficult to tell the difference between the two EC documents.

There is still concern over corruption and organised crime, no convictions in cases of "high corruption" nor for money laundering, administrative capacities, especially on the local level, still weak... The Commission has been repeating these findings in all documents for the last three years.

Irish voters, in two-digit percentages, realised in just over a year the importance of EU which saved their country from an economic collapse.

What should happen so that the Montenegrin authorities finally understand seriously the messages about corruption, crime and administrative capacities coming from the European Commission.

If the next EC Report on Montenegro turns out to be a replay of the previous ones, our expectations of the candidate status next year will prove highly unrealistic.

V.Ž.

**Ireland said "yes" (3 October)** – On the second referendum on the Lisbon Treaty in Ireland 67.13% of the voters voted in its favour. Irish PM **Brian Cowen** said it was a "big day" for Europe and Ireland which had previously blocked the adoption of the Lisbon Treaty in a referendum last year.



**Croatia offers translations again (6 October)** – During the meeting with the head of the Montenegrin Parliament **Ranko Krivokapić** President of the Croatian National Committee for Monitoring the Accession Negotiations **Vesna Pusić** said her country was ready to grant Montenegro the Croatian translations of *acquis communautaire*. Two years ago the then Croatian PM **Ivo Sanader** also offered these translations to Montenegro, but he changed his mind in the face of public disapproval.

**Expert visit (13 October)** – European Commission representatives and EU experts conducted a three-day visit to Montenegro in order to assess the fulfilment of the remaining benchmarks from the Roadmap for Visa Liberalisation. Ministry of Interior Affairs announced that the report of the expert mission will be the basis for the final decision on visa liberalisation, which is expected in December.

**EC published Progress Report (14 October)** – EC presented its progress reports on West Balkan countries. The report on Montenegro reiterates the need to step up the efforts to fight corruption and organised crime, and to continue with the strengthening of administrative capacities. Together with the finding that freedom of expression is a cause for concern, an important novelty compared to last year's report is the concern over "terrifying statements by public officials on the role of the media and civil society". In its report on Croatia the EC announced that this country could complete its membership negotiations next year. EC advised the EU to begin negotiations with Macedonia, but did not specify the date. It also advised the Union to begin implementing the Interim Trade Agreement with Serbia, and expressed grave concerns over the situation in Bosnia and Herzegovina, adding that this country "must urgently speed up implementation of key reforms".

**Prime ministers content (15 October)** – Prime Ministers of Montenegro, Croatia and Serbia **Milo Đukanović**, **Jadranka Kosor** and **Mirko Cvetković** said at the celebration of the beginning of the construction of highway Bar-Boljare that they were content with EC reports and that continuing process of European integrations and fight against corruption will remain top priorities of the three neighbouring countries.

**In EU probably by 2016 (15 October)** – It is very improbable that Montenegro, Albania and Serbia could join EU before 2016, writes the British journal Financial Times. In an article about the most recent EC report on the countries aspiring to EU membership, the paper notes that Croatia could join EU in 2012, together with Iceland.

**Translation of answers begins (19 October)** – Drafts of all answers to EC Questionnaire are finished, and the work has begun on their translation into English, said Minister for European Integrations **Gordana Đurović**. She added that 50 translators are working on this task, while another 200 are available in case of need.

**Harsh criticism in a joint statement (28 and 29 October)** – Corruption and organised crime, as well as cases of money laundering and drug trafficking are still serious problems in Montenegro, says the joint statement of Montenegrin and European parliamentarians. The document adopted towards the end of the IV inter-parliamentary meeting of the Parliament of Montenegro and European Parliament delegation expresses concern over political influences on the appointment of members of the Judicial and Prosecution Councils. After the meeting, head of the EP delegation **Eduard Kukan** said that Montenegro has achieved progress in European integration, but that there is space for improvement in many areas.

## A VIEW FROM EU

# Europe's soft power is alive

The European Union has accomplished a crucial step toward its further institutional con-



by Ivan Vejvoda

solidation by making the final steps to ratify the Lisbon Treaty. On 2 October, three million Irish voters helped decide the future of Europe's institutional reforms – and with them, of close to 500 million European Union citizens.

Irish voters had rejected the Lisbon Treaty once before, in a June 2008 referendum. They had now come back a second time to decide upon the same issue. Spurred by the realisation of how the EU helped Ireland weather the global financial crisis, voters decided to say 'yes' to further European reforms.

Let's remember how this all began. In December 2001, the European Union, at the Laeken European Council in Belgium, decided to set in motion a process that would lead to a treaty establishing a European Constitution. The intention was to put all prior European treaties under one hat, but more importantly to prepare the Union's institutions to be able to function effectively after an enlargement encompassing ten new countries.

In its more than 50 years of existence, the EU has advanced through consecutive processes of institutional deepening and membership widening. These are inextricably linked in the EU's history.

After a lengthy process of public debate and consultation, the European Convention in July 2003 produced a treaty establishing a Constitution. European leaders ceremoniously signed

the document in Rome in October 2004. However, for reasons driven principally by domestic politics and fears, the French and Dutch electorates abruptly halted that endeavour through two referenda in 2005.

And so, in December 2007, after a period of institutional reflection to figure out how to overcome the status quo, from the ashes of the botched Constitution rose the Lisbon Treaty – a document that was shorter, amended (to remove some of the member states' most virulent objections), and altogether more palatable and less supranationalist in its intent.

Its success is crucial to the continued deepening of the EU's institutions. The EU is today about to conclude this circuitous eight-year-long institutional reform endeavour. Of course, it is not

*The EU after the Irish 'yes' to the Lisbon Treaty "can re-engage in what it does best – enlarging while at the same time adapting its institutions to the global challenges it faces"*

fully out of the woods yet because the Polish and Czech presidents have to ratify their parliaments' positive votes on the Lisbon Treaty.

The EU has been put through a severe stress test lately – confronted with a global financial and economic crisis, other security, climate and energy challenges, elections for the European Parliament in June, a contentious reelection process for the European Commission, and on top of it all, the fight for a new institutional architecture. It has not only shown its resilience but is simultaneously engaged in the next round of enlargement and in creating a neighborhood policy for its Eastern reaches.

In fact, enlargement has been a driving force of the EU's existence. The attractive force of the EU as a political, societal, and economic model remains immensely powerful.

Numerous countries are standing in line to join. Currently, Croatia, Mace-

donia, and Turkey are official candidates. Montenegro and Albania have put forward their requests for candidacy in the past 12 months. Serbia will do so most probably by the end of the year, and Bosnia and Herzegovina may do so next year. The global crisis has also led Iceland to put forward its candidacy, and there are rumblings that Norway might have renewed thoughts about joining after the re-election of the incumbent Stoltenberg government.

What began as a post-World War II peace project, the coming together of European countries, emphatically political yet grounded in an economic rationale, still has a strong magnetic pull. The transatlantic partnership has been a core element of this success. The role of the United States in the security of Europe has allowed for the flourishing of the

European Community and then the Union. In the post-conflict region of the Balkans, or rather the former Yugoslavia, this joint effort of the EU and the United States has been crucial to achieving peace and consolidating stability. The EU is the strategic priority of all the aforementioned countries, and yet the role of the United States in backing this integration process is crucial.

Europe's soft power is alive and active. After a period of self-absorption and self-reflection during which there was a severe bout of enlargement fatigue and a reluctance to consider the possibility of new members, the EU after the Irish 'yes' can reengage in what it does best – enlarging while at the same time adapting its institutions to the global challenges it faces.

*The author is executive director of the Balkan Trust for Democracy (the article is republished from the website of the German Marshall Fund)*

## HOW TO STRENGTHEN THE CONTROL AND MONITORING FUNCTIONS OF THE PARLIAMENT

# A minister is not an MP's boss



A change in Parliament's regulations and the adoption of the Law on the Parliament of



by Mirela Rebronja

Montenegro or other similar documents that would more precisely delimit Parliament's responsibilities with regard to the executive are some of the options considered by the MPs in the hope of strengthening the control and monitoring functions of the legislative branch, upon Brussels' request.

In the latest Progress Report on Montenegro, European Commission noted certain progress in the work of the Montenegrin Parliament, but warned that "inspection and control mechanisms are not sufficiently utilised and the monitoring role of the Parliament remains very weak overall", as well as that "additional efforts will be necessary to improve efficiency of the Parliament as a legislative and monitoring body".

The recommendation of the European Commission has echoed differently among the MPs of the government and those of opposition parties, although the EC has sent it out now for the third time. While the ruling coalition believes that strengthening the control and monitoring functions is a complex process in which slow but continuous progress is being made, the opposition protests that the reason for the weakness of

the control function is the lack of political will, for which the MPs of the parliamentary majority are to blame.

President of the Parliamentary Committee for Economy, Finance and Budget and MP of the oppositional Socialist People's Party (Socijalistička narodna partija – SNP) **Aleksandar Damjanović** says that "sometimes it seems as if some of the MPs of the ruling parties at the committee or

plenary session behave less like legislators or controllers and more like Government employees".

In the interview for *European Pulse* Damjanović explains that "parliamentary minority, by Constitution, has the right to initiate parliamentary investigation upon a proposal by 27 MPs, which unfortunately still has not happened in this assembly, although there was no shortage of causes".

He emphasises that the

## IT WILL GET EVEN BETTER

President of the Parliament of Montenegro **Ranko Krivokapić** is encouraged by the tendencies of ever greater activity of the working bodies in the overall functioning of the Parliament which, he says, shows that the committees will be more intensively engaged in fulfilling their control function in the future.

"I agree with the Report that the control and monitoring functions ought to be strengthened further and that we are still not using the full potential of our powers. Nevertheless, there is a clear trend of greater activity of the working bodies in the overall functioning of the Parliament which testify that in the future the committees will be more intensively engaged in fulfilling their control function", says Krivokapić for the *European Pulse*.

He added that as regards the monitoring function of the Parliament significant progress has been achieved.

"The possibility to call control hearings as an efficient mode of controlling and monitoring of the executive is regularly employed and it became routine practice in the work of the most important bodies of the Parliament. A single glance at the statistics shows that this aspect of the Parliaments' functioning has been steadily improving from one year to the next", said President of the Parliament of Montenegro.

According to him, it is also encouraging that the public is now showing more interest in this segment of the Parliament's work.

The Progress Report, notes Krivokapić, recognised intensified activities with regard to the control function of the Parliament, especially in the domain of defence and security.

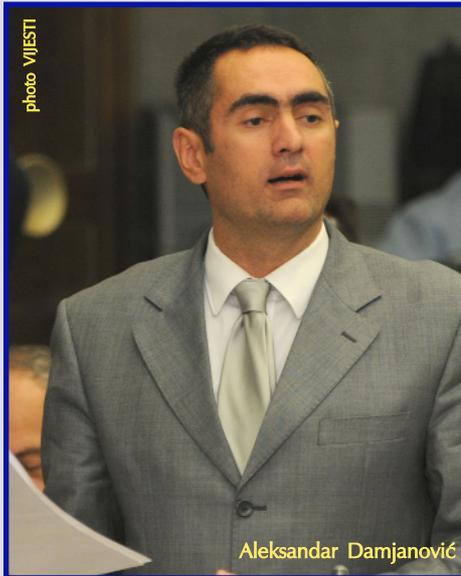
"Bear in mind that these are areas of special importance and sensitivity and therefore the EC's finding that the Parliament has progressed in establishing civic and democratic control of defence and security forces is highly encouraging", Krivokapić said.

He added that the "Prime Ministers' hour" has become institutionalised, and, in accordance with regulations, it is organised at least once every two months.



Ranko Krivokapić

photo: VIJESTI



Aleksandar Damjanović

Committee he chairs saw one initiative, for the hearing of the Secretary General of the Parliament, but it failed to receive support of the sufficient number of members.

According to Damjanović, from the standpoint of the opposition, strengthening of the control and monitoring functions of the Parliament is to some extent limited

***President of the Parliamentary Committee for Economy, Finance and Budget Aleksandar Damjanović says that "sometimes it seems as if some of the MPs of the ruling parties at the committee or plenary session behave less like legislators or controllers and more like Government employees"***

by the current regulations, which states that "Parliamentary hearing will be called upon a decision by a majority of committee members".

In theory, says Damjanović, this is a legitimate way of decision-making, but the fact remains that every initiative depends on the will of the ruling parties who control majorities in all 11 parliamentary committees.

Thus he believes that in the event of new regulations on the work of the Parliament or, even better, the Law on Parliament, the MPs should consider introducing an obligation for the Parliament and its committees to regularly monitor implementation of the laws in their specific areas, and to produce regular assessments on the

effectiveness of these laws.

President of the Security and Defence Committee and MP of the ruling Democratic Party of Socialists (DPS) **Dragan Kujović** says that in most countries there is certain resistance of the executive towards parliamentary control, but there is also a continuous effort to improve inspection mechanisms, and that Montenegro is no exception.

"We are aware that it is not easy to get all information on the work of agencies and ministries. It is a fact that they are still to some extent resisting access to their performance in certain activities and areas, but this is the case with all agencies everywhere in the world. This is not only the case in Montenegro", said Kujović for the *European Pulse*.

He believes that one should not neglect European Commission' assessment that the Parliament has made some progress, which for him is the most important finding.

Citing the example of the

Security and Defence Committee which he is heading, Kujović emphasised that in a very short time they made a lot of progress with regard to control and monitoring.

***President of the Security and Defence Committee Dragan Kujović said that his Committee, following the example of Slovenia, proposed a law on the control of security agencies, which currently exists as a draft. "The Law will stipulate precisely the obligation of all such agencies to respond, upon request by the Parliament, to any question posed by the parliamentary committees", Kujović said***

He reminds that the committee conducted several control hearings which were open to the public and added that they demanded answers and certain explanations also from the Director of Police and Interior Affairs Minister, as well as from the director



Dragan Kujović

of the Agency for National Security.

Montenegrin Government, he says, is aware that the Parliament has the constitutional control and monitoring role and that the Government does not rule the Parliament but must obey its decisions in certain matters.

Kujović also reminded that the Security and Defence Committee has initiated adoption of a law on the control of security services which currently exists as a draft. "The Law will stipulate precisely the obligation of such services to respond to any question by the parliamentary committees upon request by the Parliament", Kujović said. He added that the model was copied from a positive case in the region – Slovenia – where such a law already exists.

Monitoring function of the parlia-

ment is also mentioned in the Warsaw Declaration, stating that "Government institutions ought to be transparent, participatory and entirely accountable to the citizen". Most contemporary parliaments have some kind of a mixture of mechanisms that

allow for monitoring over the executive. In France and the United Kingdom there is the notion of the collective responsibility, i.e. joint responsibility of the cabinet of ministers. Responsibility of individual cabinet members also exists in a number of countries, sometimes alongside the system of collective responsibility.

Comparative practice reveals a great number of mechanisms based on which the parliament can strengthen its control and monitoring functions.

In a parliamentary system, the monitoring function is accompanied by the Parliament's right to control the Government and hold it accountable by its ability to withdraw support at any given time. Similarly, in addition to the power of the parliamentary committees to summon government officials for hearings and request certain documents from them, a great number of parliaments – especially in parliamentary systems – has the legal right to extract information from the executive through certain mechanisms. It is often the case that parliaments have the right to regularly question ministers in plenary sessions, and their questions must be answered comprehensively and within reasonable time. In the countries with more developed democracies, such as Norway, PM and ministers answer the MPs questions once a month, directly and without prior preparation, unlike in Montenegro, where the parliamentary committees ought to submit their questions to the Prime Minister 48 hours in advance.

However, in order to ensure that

### ***Comparative practice offers a great number of mechanisms based on which the Parliament could strengthen its control and monitoring functions***

the next Progress Report brings a more positive assessment of the strength of the Parliament's control mechanisms, it is necessary for all committees that have a mandate to

## PREVENT MISTAKES OF PUBLIC ORGANS

President of the National Committee for Monitoring Accession Negotiations in Croatia **Vesna Pusić** says in the interview for *European Pulse* that Montenegro should think about establishing a similar new body within the Parliament.

According to her, this body should have an exclusively control and monitoring based role, and would oversee all laws that are being adopted.

She explains that this is of extreme importance when harmonising national laws with EU standards, a process which does not allow for even the smallest mistakes, which is why Croatia decided to establish this additional monitoring layer.

"Croatia introduced a new mechanism, the institution of the National Committee. It was created by consensus, and its main purpose was to discuss every chapter before it is sent to the European Commission", Pusić said.

Explaining that Montenegro will also have to go through the step-by-step harmonisation process by chapters and areas, Pusić said that this body is thus meant to "be ahead of the potential mistakes in the work of public institutions".

Most interesting, in the case of the Croatian National Committee, is the fact that its sessions are open to the public and that all decisions are made unanimously, which means that each member has the right to veto any decision.

According to Pusić, this is an advantage since every decision must be carefully studied before it is adopted.

She added that in the Croatian Parliament there are also committees with specific control functions, such as the committees dealing with the conflict of interests and corruption, as well as possibility of establishing ad hoc investigating commissions for specific cases. However, she warns that the Parliament does not have the capacity to deal with each individual case in depth and cannot possibly include all such cases, which is why she recommends establishing a special body consisting of MPs whose sole purpose would be to monitor the work of the executive.

For Pusić, the most important thing is to make sure that the Parliament is truly and in practice part of all important decisions by the state.

stage control hearings to use this right in the best possible way. The Law should be more precise in defining the competencies of the committees and the obligation of all agencies to

### ***comply with clearly delineated rules. If the law says that all information must be submitted to the relevant committee within a certain period, representatives of the executive will***

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photo GLOBUS

Vesna Pusić

have no leeway to avoid public scrutiny of their activities.

Regardless of whether the solution is to be found in changing regulations or new laws that would strengthen the control functions of the Parliament on paper, the key question is – when will the MPs of the ruling coalition cease to think of ministers as their bosses, to what extent are the MPs of the government and the opposition ready to work and whether they have sufficient capacities to control the executive.

## WHY DOES BRUSSELS SUSPECT THAT THERE IS NO POLITICAL WILL IN MONTENEGRO TO TACKLE CORRUPTION

# Keepers of bad traditions



The European Commission expressed a few remarkable observations in this year's Progress Report on



by Nedeljko Rudović

Montenegro. One of them is that it appears that there is no political will in Montenegro to tackle corruption, especially on the highest level. The second is that no adequate institution exists which would monitor the financing of political parties, public sector expenditures, public procurement and privatisation. Besides, nobody controls private donations to political parties.

In other words, there is quite some reason to suspect that high officials in the current government are not and will not be prosecuted for abusing their offices and accumulating personal wealth while neglecting their duties and causing damage to the state and its purse. Same with privatisation and public tenders where fraud is still commonplace and the officials as the word goes, routinely earn a share of such

*It is only logical that most prefer opportunism over attempting the impossible. For this is after all the task of those who, as Brussels also suspects, lack the necessary political will*

sales by adjusting the terms of auctions or pre-arranging sales with those customers who pay a larger sum for the personal benefit of those organising tenders or selling public enterprises. Finally, those who get discounts for doing business with the state (Government and local authorities) may (read: must) pay back some of these profits to those who made them possible around the election time, to ensure that they stay in power and, naturally, continue to do them favours.

This could be a sketch of the vicious circle of robbing the state. Although many believe that this is how things work, in a number of variations, few can say so with

any certainty. We could, if we could find a Montenegrin prosecutor who would investigate one of these cases and start a procedure against involved parties, and if there would be a judge who would, based on hard facts, condemn them for corruption. Since there are no such cases, least of all those involving "high" corruption, the question is whether judiciary itself is part of the devilish plot. Are there pressures on the judiciary, or "self-censorship" which supposes that there are people and issues that may not be touched? Are prosecutors and judges in Montenegro free to do their jobs, or are they also corrupted? Some by money and real estate, some by fear. It is enough to remember that they are chosen and practically appointed to do this work by those liked by the ruling circles.

And so we get a closed circuit where most citizens are aware that corruption is

*Corruption is a way of living. And a reflection of another disastrous trait of Montenegrin mentality – obsequiousness towards the powerful and lack of awareness that they are only "powerful" because we gave them this power by voting for them so that they could serve public interests*

the dominant mode of functioning, but are unwilling to do anything to change it or even point out the problem. Therefore everyone in Montenegro "knows" which firm will get which tender, whom to call to get

a permit or a licence more quickly, whom to call if you need a job... And those administering the kingdom of tenders know how to woo over those who would oppose their way of doing business. Mostly quietly. Today it's almost important to find a person who's in construction business and is not a member of the ruling party or is, god forbid, sympathiser of an opposition group.

It is easy to see that corruption is promoted exactly by those who were given the mandate to introduce order in this country, establishing the rules that would really be the same for all and allowing the best, the most qualified and innovative to pull this society forward. This way, they are the ones

who are systematically robbing this state, trying to establish absolute control over it, and finally creating an obedient flock instead of free thinking citizenry.

Maybe the real question is why does corruption have such deep roots in Montenegro. Is it about tradition and mentality or is it simply the lack of scruples and vision on the part of those who should be taking care of our common house, or, as the word goes, of our ship which is still sailing in turbulent waters.

A look at our history shows that even in Montenegro of the Petrović dynasty no important job could be done without the blessing of the ruling houses. In the poor country like that, the quickest, and sometimes the only way to get your work done was to ask audience before the Lord under his elm tree in Cetinje. In today's Montenegro it is perfectly normal to bribe a

doctor or civil servant in order to get what you've already paid for through your taxes. If you're looking for a job or a contract with the government in order to keep your company afloat, then you address your petition to higher instances. Those who fail to follow the scheme are fools, because the scheme is the dominant mechanism of survival, from the bottom to the top of the pyramid.

In essence, corruption is a way of living. And a reflection of another disastrous trait of Montenegrin mentality – obsequiousness towards the powerful and lack of awareness that they are only "powerful" because we gave them this power by voting for them so that they could serve public interests.

Those who rebel are automatically branded outsiders and will soon find themselves fighting for bare existence. In such a system, it is logical that most prefer opportunism over attempting the impossible. For this is after all the task of those who, as Brussels also suspects, lack the necessary political will.

HUNGARIAN AMBASSADOR IN MONTENEGRO ZOLTAN SOMOGYI

# Hard work and patience

The outgoing ambassador of Hungary in Montenegro **Zoltan Somogyi** advised Montenegro to have patience in European integrations.

"Processes that involve structural changes do not happen from one day to another. During the integration period patience is essential" said Somogyi in the interview for *European Pulse*.

According to him, this task may look difficult as diligent and hard working people want to produce quick results in order to keep up with the momentum.

"However, during the integration process the adoption of new rules are simply not enough. Montenegrins will have to give proof that they are ready to accept and follow the newly accepted set of rules systematically in the medium to long term", he added.

Change in mentality in the solving of problems and carrying out everyday business as usual should become similar



Zoltan Somogyi

to that in other EU countries.

"They ought to be predictable and without the interference caused by small anomalies of the society", Somogyi said.

He believes that the opportunity to travel visa-free in the Shengen zone will bring an additional impetus to these kinds of changes, but that nevertheless the most important thing is to work on hard and have patience.

● **What were the main problems of Hungary ahead of its accession to EU? Was it corruption, organised crime, administrative capacities, independence of the judiciary – like in the case of Montenegro? What was Hungary's experience with this process?**

Every country that aspires to EU membership has a different integration path – in this sense, all of them are sui generis. Just like now Montenegro, Hungary had to deal with its own specific problems at the time.

Concerning Hungary the most difficult part in its integration process has been to re-establish the population's trust in the system. For historical reasons, Hungarian mentality in the past developed a hostile approach towards public institutions in general. Reconstructing the image and re-establishing the faith in these institutions – together with those institutions in Brussels – was not an easy task and in some sense this confidence building process is still ongoing.

Just like the other countries of the former socialist block, during the period of transition Hungary faced many problems with organized crime, corruption and administrative capacities. These problems were managed with outside help and through reforms introduced in the judiciary and law enforcement system. Only when a well functioning system of checks and balances between institutions was established and the people began to trust the government as a defender of private property, the confidence in the system became more visible. To the extent that neither organized crime nor corruption could be eliminated entirely from our society, today these phenomena are generally perceived as social anomalies which are stigmatised by the

## EVERYONE FACED STRICT CRITERIA

● **Do you agree with the some opinions that the west Balkan countries will face greater difficulties in joining the EU than the countries from the previous two rounds of enlargements, also because of the negative experiences with Bulgaria and Romania?**

The process of European integration is a very complex one. The aspiring future members will do their best in the accession process to adopt EU rules, customs, regulations and standards, but must also bear in mind all the time that the integration process is a very dynamic phenomenon.

The EU itself is constantly changing and no enlargement is exactly like the previous one. In the past countries candidates for EU membership had a different approach to the accession process, and the EU, which was much smaller at the time had a different perspective on them. In this sense Hungary has been handled very differently during its accession negotiations than Austria or Romania, and countries of the Western Balkan region will as well be handled differently than countries before them.

In this regard we cannot say that the countries of the Western Balkans will be faced with more or less severe criteria than previously acceded countries. EU is made of independent states and the citizens of Member States elect their politicians who reflect the will of their constituencies in various EU decision making forums. While keeping in mind that the EU is founded on a policy of openness and respect towards diversity the policies of its Member States concerning the speed of enlargement are constantly changing, reflecting the will of the citizens who constitute this Union of democratic states.

rest of the population and fought against by all available means.

● **Does Hungary have projects for assisting Montenegro on its road to EU?**

Stability of the Balkan region is a high priority for Hungary. We see sustainability of good relations among Balkan states within the frame of European Union. Hungary has been ready for a long time now to offer both financial assistance and know-how to countries of the region in order to support the integration process.

However, due to limited financial resources each and every foreign aid project must first undergo a series of evaluations and analyses. In this process, the potential beneficiaries can significantly contribute to the selection process by submitting themselves detailed and well planned projects in need of foreign support.

Hungary has been involved in various development projects in Montenegro that directly or indirectly contribute to the country's rapprochement with EU.

Some of these projects are still ongoing, such as the Tied Aid programme, which involves construction of four educational facilities in Podgorica.

The most recent assistance projects from Hungary are connected to Montenegro's NATO accession, but we are planning to be more active in supporting the local law enforcement capabilities and judiciary system in the near future, which we consider the pillars of every democracy.

Nevertheless, I believe the biggest impact has been achieved by our investors. By investing large amounts in Montenegro these companies created hundreds of job opportunities for the local population and like all other foreign investors they brought in modern business know-how and business culture, which has been passed on to the local staff and partners through coordinated interaction, contributing to the emergence of similar, functional small and medium size enterprises, and thus to the higher growth of Montenegrin economy.

● **What, according to you, is the greatest benefit of EU membership?**

The world we are living in has shown that autarchy is impossible. International business, free trade of goods and

## MONTENEGRO THE CHAMPION OF PERSONAL CONNECTIONS

● **In Montenegro there is a lot of talk about corruption. As a representative of a country which has numerous investors in Montenegro, did you ever hear them complain about concrete cases of corruption?**

Just like all the other foreign representations our Embassy follows the issue of corruption in Montenegro as well. Corruption is an enemy of foreign investments because it leads to a sense of mistrust through discrimination. The greatest harm however is done to the people of Montenegro. When the winner of a public tender or business investment is not the "best" and most "adequate" company but one that has been appointed through a non-transparent and dishonest selection process, the costs of such decisions are later paid by the taxpayers of the country. Corruption is like cheating at school exams – it will pay off in a certain moment, but in the long run all unlearned school material will resurface and have an impact on the entire life path of the cheater.

Moreover it is also a trap, just like with a student who never learned the basics at school: if you cheat once, the next time you will have to cheat as well in order to cover it up and thus you become the hostage of own wrongdoing. The same is true for any unfair business deal that is realized through corruption.

The Embassy's duties are to map out the fields for possible Hungarian investments in Montenegro. When opportunities are found and business' partners are introduced to each other the Embassy gives way to the market forces to establish which company will best suited for a certain investment or tender. Obviously we follow with great concern the alleged corruption cases in Montenegro and tailor the advice for future investors from Hungary based on what we learned.

We received no concrete complaints about corruption from the Hungarian investors in Montenegro. However, they did point out that for the success of their businesses in Montenegro personal ties seem to carry a greater weight than anywhere else they have made investments before.

services together with the freedom of movement are essential for our economies and everyday life. Besides entering an economic zone with almost unlimited opportunities Montenegro will be perceived by the whole world as a trustworthy country which fulfilled the democratic criteria and thereby earned the respect of the international community.

Secondly, the EU accession is not a reward at the end of work. EU accession is the logical and predestined end station for countries taking the road of democratization. As it might look distant now, at the beginning of the road, so will it become familiar and clearly understood just before the accession. Being a member of EU is a new mode of life for everyone, which entail both the sense of belonging somewhere and the possibility to actively build something together for the future. The EU is a power in the making and it is better to take part in its building than to stay

out and watch it grow.

● **How do you see Montenegro today?**

Montenegro has made a lot of progress since I assumed my post as ambassador in 2006. When I came here I saw a proud nation of men and women with a rich history and cultural heritage and a re-emerging identity after independence.

Today, I see a country of proud men and women who have become aware that first time in the history they can make responsible choices about their future.

I congratulate the Montenegrin people for having set the EU membership as a goal for their country.

After getting to know this country I am absolutely positive that Montenegro will achieve its goals and will join the EU, becoming a loyal defender of everything what these two letters stand for.

V. ŽUGIĆ

## FRENCH–GERMAN ENGINE IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF EUROPEAN INTEGRATIONS

# Europe's best fuel

In late October **Angela Merkel** gained voters' approval for another term as a chancellor of the biggest European country.



by **Vladimir Pavićević**

Her office was won at the elections in which the conservative Christian Democratic Union scored an unambiguous victory. Soon after taking the oath, the chancellor travelled to Paris to meet the French president **Nicolas Sarkozy**. With this she announced that for the citizens of Germany good relations with France are a priority and that the relations between Merkel and Sarkozy will continue along the path laid out by their predecessors, making the French–German engine the strongest driver of European integration.

This gesture of the German chancellor after re-election reminds us that the greatest contribution to the united European economic and political space came precisely from the politicians of the two biggest European countries.

## Konrad Adenauer – Charles de Gaulle

The shape of Europe after World War II was conditioned upon relations between France and Germany.

Two statesmen whose policies strongly influenced the direction of European integration processes at the beginning of the Cold War were **Konrad Adenauer** and **Charles de Gaulle**. Their relationship was marked by mutual respect and cooperation, but also by opposite understandings of the relations of these two European countries towards the US and the supra-national integration in Europe.

The relationship with USA became a bone of contention between the two leading European states, as Germany, guided by the concerns of the Cold War, tended towards stronger ties with the US and Europe in order to safeguard the borders

of Western Europe from the red danger from the East. France, by contrast, looked at the US as a hegemon which tries to minimise the importance of France and other European states in global relations. France and UK indeed became secondary powers already in 1956 when due to US decision not to intervene their military intervention in Suez failed.

After the signing of the treaties on European Economic Community and EURATOM in Rome, French–German relations did not experience any genuine progress with regard to deepening of European integrations. Nevertheless, their bilateral relations continuously improved, leading to the so-called Elysee Treaty, a French–German agreement on friendship signed in the Palais d'Elyse in Paris. The treaty promised a close partnership between the two countries, ensuring that animosities from the past record of conflicts (1870, 1914, 1939) cease to be a burden on the mutual relations between the two states.

Adenauer's and de Gaulle's signatures on this treaty sped up the process of reconciliation between the two countries and had an exceptional impact on the development of European continent in the years to come.

## Willy Brandt – Georges Pompidou

**Willy Brandt** was the first Social-Democratic leader of Germany after the World War II. He is famous for his apology in Warsaw to the Jews for all the crimes perpetrated by the Nazis in the Auschwitz concentration camp.

**Georges Pompidou** built his European orientation in the period between the two World Wars as a member of the Pan-European Movement.

The relationship between Brandt and Pompidou was characterised by a pronounced lack of mutual trust.

With Brandt's coming to power, Germany turned towards the so-called Ostpolitik. With support of liberal democrats Brandt's government recognised its own interest in EC's enlargement towards other European countries.

Pompidou's government was more

geared towards development of the Common Agricultural Policy and with regard to EC enlargement it looked unfavourably upon UK's potential role in the process of European integrations.

In spite of disagreements, political decisions whose initiators and signatories were Willy Brandt and Georges Pompidou yielded exceptionally positive results for EC's development.

The most important event that market the terms of these two statesmen was a meeting of the heads of governments of the six in The Hague in 1969. The Hague summit resulted in the agreement on first enlargement of the Community; it set the guidelines for the creation of new common policies, it reaffirmed commitment to political integration of West European states, it opened the doors for a change in approach with regard to decision-making mechanisms within EC, and finally it approved the proposal for the financing of the Common Agricultural Policy (CAP) redirecting finances for this area from direct national funds to EC.

France and Germany succeeded in 1973 in tying the UK to European Community, allowing it after a long period of candidacy to become, together with Ireland and Denmark, one of the first EC member state. This was the very first, landmark enlargement of the Community by which the EC grew to nine members.

## Helmut Schmidt – Valéry Giscard d'Estaing

In the second half of the 1970s the relations between France and Germany were shaped by Helmut Schmidt, German chancellor from 1974 to 1982 and **Valéry Giscard d'Estaing**, who was French President between 1974 and 1981.

The relations between the two statesmen were exceptionally good and cooperative, and the differences between national interests of the two countries attenuated by their joint initiatives with regard to development of European integration processes.

"European affairs lack authority more than anything else", said in 1974 **Jean Monnet**, one of the founders of the

European Communities. French political leaders always loved the idea of organising summits and thus in the wake of Monnet's idea followed the proposal of Giscard to institutionalise meetings of the heads of states and governments. The proposal was welcomed by the then German chancellor and thus as a result of the summit of the heads of states and governments in Paris in 1974 the decision was made to establish the European Council, a regular meeting of the heads of states and governments and presidents of the European Commissions, as a part of the EC institutional framework. At a meeting in Paris it was agreed that the European Council should meet three times a year, which was changed in 1985 to at least twice a year.

The second interesting achievement of the synergy between Schmidt and Giscard was the agreement on direct elections for the European Parliament. The first direct elections for this body were organised in 1979 and it is believed that this event added the necessary democratic legitimacy to the integration process since until then no EC institution was based on directly expressed will of the citizens of EC member states.

Among the important decisions made during Schmidt's and Giscard's terms there was also the initiative for European Monetary System (EMS), which originated in 1978. Schmidt and Giscard were the central figures who shaped what will later become a reality of EC's institutional system, and their cooperation became a role model for the future leaders of the two states, which was especially evident in the Kohl-Mitterrand duo.

#### Helmut Kol – Francois Mitterrand

Period between 1982 and 1998 is considered especially fruitful for the relations between France and Germany and their joint impact on the future of Europe.

The relationship between **Kohl** and **Mitterrand** was very friendly and cordial, which was also reflected in the direction of development of European affairs.

In this period France tried to strengthen its own influence within EU focusing mainly on economic issues in order to ensure a balanced check on the growing power of Germany.

Germany, on the other hand, sought to secure a continuity of economic development achieved in the previous three decades and thus establish a leading position for itself under the EU umbrella.

Among the decisions and events that



Angela Merkel and Nicolas Sarkozy

marked the period under the leadership of Kohl and Mitterrand the Treaty of Maastricht stands out as the act which established EU in 1992.

The agreement was preceded by southern enlargement of EC which brought first Greece (1981) and then Spain and Portugal (1986) into the family of European states.

In 1987 the Single European Act was adopted, which contributed significantly to the consolidation of institutional mechanisms for implementation of EC's policies.

The Treaty of Maastricht brought a new name and a new arrangement to the Communities. The name European Union finally directed European countries also towards political integration, and in addition to the Treaty on EC it introduced new issues into the European architecture: common foreign and security policy and cooperation on home and justice affairs.

Mitterrand's departure coincided with the fourth round of enlargement of 1995 when the Union was joined by Austria, Finland and Sweden. From then on the EU consisted of 15 states.

Kohl and Mitterrand oversaw the period of development of the European continent through cooperation and desire to preserve French and German leadership in European affairs. This arrangement was to remain relatively stable in the period to come.

#### Gerhard Schroder – Jacques Chirac

The relationship between France and Germany with regard to European integrations remained strong and stable also during the presidencies of **Gerhard Schroder** and **Jacques Chirac**.

Schroder based the alliance with France on the development of common foreign policy approach, which was especially visible during the military intervention of USA in Iraq. The Iraq campaign pushed France and Germany even closer, but proved very detrimental for the two countries' relations with US.

France saw its own interest in the

preservation of the fundamentals of Common Agricultural Policy, whose main beneficiary it remained. At the same time, the French president clearly demonstrated his ambition to strengthen France's leadership role within EU.

As for the joint impact of French-German relations on the development of EU, the landmark events were the summits in Nice and Laeken. The Nice Summit resulted in the Treaty of Nice which created the institutional arrangement allowing for smooth enlargement of EU eastwards. The Treaty of Nice is the crown of EU members' efforts to overcome half a century of division and finally allow for reunification of the two halves of the European continent.

A step further was the final document of the summit in Laeken which established the Convent, a body whose chief responsibility was to draft the proposal for the future Constitution of EU. Former French president Valery Giscard d'Estaing was appointed president of the Convent. The Convent completed its work in mid 2003, and submitted the draft of the EU constitution to the European Council at the summit in Thessaloniki.

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Attempts to ensure enduring peace in Europe lead via regulation of the relations between France and Germany. European founding fathers tied the two old enemies with ties of economic interests which, thanks to the reasonable approaches of the French and German political elites in the second half of the 20th century, created a powerful driver also for political integration. The determination of these two states to live under the same European roof has so far been the strongest support for the development of Europe as a rich and harmonious community.

Thus the visit of chancellor Merkel to the French president Sarkozy immediately after inauguration demonstrates the desire of the heir of Adenauer, Brandt, Schmidt, Kohl and Schroder in Germany and the successor of de Gaulle, Pompidou, Giscard, Mitterrand and Chirac in France to ensure that the existing ties should remain the strongest engine of European integrations. Half a century of successful development in Europe should also convince us that a common (European) goal is the best fuel for this machine.

*The author is a lecturer at the Faculty of Political Sciences, University of Belgrade*

# Boycott of an empty mug

by Brano Mandić

## Cobblestones

Let **Ban Ki Moon** urge on universal unity and fight of the man and animal for a better planet, on the 24 October, the day of United Nations, I couldn't get out of my mind the marketplace in Nikšić, the terrible symbol of Montenegrin sustainable development.

There's little reason for a triumph of urbanism when you have to fit stalls with cheese and peppers smack in the city centre. And yet, Nikšić used to have a marketplace worthy of better European towns. And what happened? The cobblestones were covered with asphalt, the marketplace divided by a wall that would have stopped even **Patrick Sjöberg** in his prime. You can't take a walk across the market and the smells of fruit down to the main square, so it even lost its rare traffic function. The stalls were replaced and covered with plastic roofs. The municipality probably rented out the divided market to two entrepreneurs. For a double rent. Beton and asphalt killed the idea that



years ago to the slope leading to the marvellous city of Old Bar. The mayor wanted to give a new skin to the old Turkish cobblestones, but he chose the wrong stone and made a slide instead. Now you can watch the primadonnas of Bar, when returning from the theatre performances in the ancient city, take off their high hilled

instruments in a half-empty bar. It was the same last time when a bar in Podgorica hosted a humanitarian concert. The mug for donations circulated among the urban youth which swears by alternative and **Nick Cave**. The mug levitated graciously like a Russian astronaut and remained in this weightless state until the end of the night. No money was donated to prove the theories of gravitation and human need to support the hospital "Danilo I" in Cetinje. "The provincial ball with a song at the end" ended with organisers counting out 45 euros, which was the amount the objective youth of Podgorica was ready to donate to the hospital of the royal capital. I learned from the reliable sources that the two waiters received around 40 euros in tips on the same night. I'm no Mother **Theresa**, but I can get angry in such situations, so I order another few rounds and I left a hefty tip to my favourite waiter, knowing full well that he had a tough night. It's not easy to serve selfish half-rebels, especially for that wage,

*The controversial UN questionnaire nonetheless revealed what we'll try to hide in the other Questionnaire destined for Brussels. That a cultured person here lives like a dog hunted down by a dogcatcher. Unlike the report by Mr Avanesov, the UN study according to which Balkans is one of the key transit routes of heroin with a growing number of addicts went unnoticed in Montenegro*

even in our towns one can feel the intimacy of a market hustle, hear the harmonious rhythm of cobblestones that covered the promenade towards Trebjesa park. The good thing is that now a BMW or a Mercedes can comfortably run along the same route, with pneumatics intimately pressed against the road, which is exactly the point of having a promenade.

The same happened some ten

shoes and pick out their way barefoot, hanging off the shoulders of their partners like they lost their skis on the top of a bobsled track.

## Solidarity

When going for a club concert, I usually go a little earlier to grab a place at the bar. There's nothing like leaning against the corner and looking at the musicians fiddling with their

which is still an economic elixir compared to the earnings of an average taxi-driver, and a loyal guardian of social peace in Montenegro.

Recently minister **Roćen** announced that our country is among the few that will fulfil the millennium goals by 2015, and I remembered the empty mug and prayed that all dear people should remain healthy, i.e. stay clear of bars and hospitals.

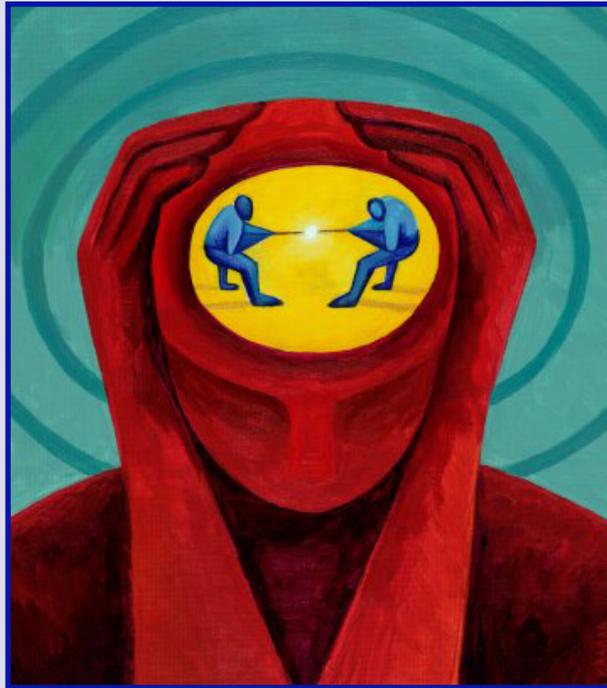
### Questionnaire

There's a major uproar against the head of UN in Podgorica **Alexander Avanesov** who complained that he's bored of living in a city with no culture or an Indian restaurant.

The proud townspeople could not digest the bad fruit mentioned by Avanesov and dirty toilets that bother his lordly behind. "The City of Exciting Bridges", as well as SDP youth sprang to defence of their homeland against the attack by one pretentious diplomat. Because he said that he's living in a province, Avanesov was already accused of homosexuality in some Internet forums. Which is by no means a provincial thing to do. It's the power and anger of a small town which runs the show while the "gays" of Podgorica meet secretly in parks and hold hands well outside the reach of the pompous lampions on Njegoseva street.

The controversial UN questionnaire nonetheless revealed what we'll try to hide in the other Questionnaire destined for Brussels. That a cultured person here lives like a dog hunted down by a dogcatcher, or like a homosexual who knows that on every step he might encounter the baseball bat of sobriety.

Unlike the report by Mr Avanesov, the UN study according to which Balkans is one of the key transit routes of heroin with a growing number of addicts went unnoticed in Montenegro.



### Boycott

In the midst of a diarrheic opposition offensive regarding boycott, there is a new video clip online showing one former journalist, now a sworn enemy of mafocracy, sighing like a horny teenager girl in an interview with PM **MĐ** (which are the ini-

*The idyll collapsed in Kosovo where some alleged peasants called to mutiny in Peć and asked Montenegro for a thousand acres of our Montenegrin land, because they think it's theirs, and we replied that we're not going to politicise the issue, but we're not giving a span of what we inherited from our grandfathers' grandfather*

tials by which the president of our government goes in the reports of the regional press, as if he were a minor who robbed a newspaper stand).

The wonderful video recording in which this radical oppositionists wishes the PM **MĐ** a happy birthday with tears in his eyes is just another reason for the citizens to vote in the same party for another 37 elections, staying the stable political course by which we are famous.

The strongest opposition party (SNP) invented a new strategy, so far unheard of in political history: to organise boycott, without asking the citizens to join in. Thus spoke even the **Jesus of Nazareth**, that everybody

should find their own political way. "Boycott in Kotor". "Maybe". "No boycott in Cetinje". "Boycott in Mojkovac!". "Partial boycott". "Boycott to death". "Fuck boycott!". "In Mojkovac!"... That's how the martyrs debating it these days sound like. To make you sick with so many stupidities in one place.

### Border

The idyll collapsed in Kosovo where some alleged peasants called to mutiny in Peć and asked Montenegro for a thousand acres of our Montenegrin land, because they think it's theirs, and we responded that we're not going to politicise the issue, but we're

not giving a span of what we inherited from our grandfathers' grandfather.

I noticed the word span is hardly ever used any more, except in border disputes. And that's the only intelligent observation I have on the issue of borders. In the next weeks we'll have a chance to witness diplomatic exchange

of fire between two banana republics which are alike in many things, including size and shape. I think of Kosovo and Montenegro and I can't get serious when I see these two entities who find it necessary to fight over land. Still, the participants will likely enjoy the inter-party grumbling between government and opposition, always easily inspired by the Kosovo themes. It's been a while since we felt a stronger wave of patriotism, not since the referendum, and it's a great opportunity to have some fun. Don't worry kids, everything will be OK.

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

## INSPECTORATES AND THE CONTROL OF IMPLEMENTATION OF THE LAWS

# In need of a regulatory and administrative guillotine

Whose responsibility is it in Montenegro to control implementation of the laws?

Formally

by Stevo Muk



speaking, it is clear-cut: the Law on public administration prescribes that "responsibilities of public administration" are, among other, "implementing laws and other regulations and conducting administrative control".

Administrative control includes inspections. Inspections are "conducted through direct access to institutions and legal persons, municipal bodies, Capital City, Royal Capital and the Republic, other institutions and citizens in order to assess their compliance with the law, other regulations and general acts and through recourse to legal and other measures and actions in order to align the situation they encountered with the

## *Fighting corruption in inspectorates must be one of the priorities of the overall fight against corruption in public institutions*

law".

The responsibilities of inspectorates are defined by the general law on inspectorates, as well as by specific laws on individual areas.

However, too often it happens that inspectorates declare that they aren't responsible for a given issue, and the responsibility is shifted from one inspectorate to another, in violation of the rights and duties of inspection agencies.

Although the practice of dodging

responsibility is widespread, recently one case revealed fully the extent of this malpractice. About a year ago the media reported on the case of severe devastation of nature in the region of Boka Bay, in a small coastal settlement of Lipci, where 4 200 m<sup>2</sup> of the maritime surface was drained. Before the eyes of the entire Montenegrin and international public the ministries and their inspectorates could not agree for entire four months whose responsibility this should be. Finally, the police halted construction, the prosecutor raised charges against a few individuals, and in September 2009 the Basic Court in Kotor convicted four persons based on these charges. Among conditionally convicted are one inspector

## *Too often it happens that inspectorates declare that they aren't responsible for a given issue, and the responsibility is shifted from one inspectorate to another, in violation of the rights and duties of inspection agencies*

of the wager management inspectorate and one employee of the company managing the coastal estate. The question remains, how come that not a single public institution, nor a single inspectorate found it necessary to react for

months and prevent devastation.

Similar smaller cases that followed the case of Lipci demonstrate that hardly anything had changed in the meantime, i.e. that the legal framework and practice are such as to allow relevant bodies to avoid responsibility.

Institute Alternative researched the case of Lipci in the last few months focusing especially on the responsibilities of inspectorates and arrived at the conclusion pointing at a series of systemic

failures and unsystematic application of the laws in practice. A large number of inspectorates demonstrated lack of responsibility and professionalism in acting upon their legally prescribed duties. Not only have they too easily declared their lack of competence in the matter, they also failed to apply entirely unambiguous clauses of the Law on Inspectorates which allows inspectors to prescribe sanctions or request police assistance. The same applies to the police which allowed the construction to continue for a long period in spite of their being not only against the law but also dangerous for third persons, especially those using the nearby road. Finally, however, the police turned out to be the

only state organ willing and capable of interrupting illegal construction. Political support for professional and responsible conduct on the part of other inspectorates was mostly lacking, especially if we have in mind the size and importance of the case, and the ministers of responsible ministries as well as the Government more generally remained unresponsive.

The lack of will on the part of the Government or several ministries to insist of thorough implementation of the measures and responsibilities prescribed by law on inspectorates, i.e. specific laws and regulations dealing with individual inspectorates, and especially documents dealing with joint inspections only illustrates the above claim. Specifically, the Government failed to consult the Regulation on Joint Inspections which requires constitution of inspection teams.

Disciplinary and ethical procedures against public employees, as far as we are aware, were not raised. Thus the entire responsibility for the said case was transferred to the courts and criminal procedures, which should not and must not be the only way to establish responsibility in this case, nor in the general practice of inspectorates and civil servants.

On the other hand, there is a lack of an adequate system that would serve to attract, keep, train and reward inspectors. Reports on the work of inspectorates are insufficient to adequately monitor and identify problems inside inspectorates. They are not available on the web pages of the ministries, they are not published monthly or quarterly and their press reports are rare at best. There is no mechanism that would ensure implementation of the law in the case where one, more or all inspectorates decide that they are not responsible.

Thus a citizen (or another entity) who wants to report a case has to do his or her own research to identify the relevant body in the system of state and local administrations. Such legal framework and practice discourage the citizens from reporting illegal deeds and from cooperating with public authorities in order to protect public interests and contribute to the rule of law.

In the meantime, the Law on changes and amendments to the Law on Inspectorates is in the Parliament, and

***There is the need for a mechanism for effective exchange and distribution of information between inspectorates. A coordination body on the level of chief inspectors that would conduct information exchange and joint planning of activities once a month could be a step towards better cooperation and greater efficiency***

the draft was prepared by the Ministry of Interior Affairs and Public Policy. According to the Institute Alternative, the report contains a number of controversial solutions, aside from the fact that such a document required a prior analysis and public debate.

Nonetheless, it is obvious that problems with the functioning of inspectorates are numerous and to some extent also recognised by public administration.



Improvements in this area should be sought in the implementation of a set of measures that would render the work of inspectorates effective and open to public scrutiny. First of all, by defining clearly the area and content of responsibility of each inspectorate, and avoiding overlaps.

Analysis of the responsibilities of each inspectorate must be urgently con-

***A system geared to attract, retain, train and reward inspectors should be developed in order to secure professional, qualified and adequately motivated staff for inspection duties***

ducted, and changes and amendments to the law on inspectorates formulated on the basis of this study in order to ensure that the duties of each inspectorate are fully outlined, clearly stated and complementary to each other.

Administrative and regulatory guillo-

tine is urgently needed in Montenegro.

This step would also liberate the legal system from excessive regulation.

Fighting corruption in inspectorates must be one of the priorities of the overall fight against corruption in public institutions. In that sense, the next Action plan for implementation of the Programme for Fighting Corruption and Organised Crime ought to be expanded by a set of measures that would estab-

lish a system of greater responsibility and transparency of these bodies.

A system geared to attract, retain, train and reward inspectors should be developed in order to secure professional, qualified and adequately motivated staff for inspection duties.

There should be a clear mechanism of establishing responsibilities that would monitor the ethical codex of public employees. There is also the need for a sustainable mechanism for allocating responsibilities to individual inspectorate. Ministry of Interior Affairs and Public Administration should play an important role in this area.

For the citizens and other interested parties, there should be a central telephone service to provide information on the responsibilities of individual inspectorates. Raising awareness among the citizens and inspectors about the possibilities of communication and cooperation through better information about the

work of inspectorates can be an important contribution to the quality of implementation of the laws.

There is also the need for a mechanism for effective exchange and distribution of information between inspectorates. A coordination body on the level of chief inspectors that would conduct information exchange and joint planning of activities once a month could be a step towards better cooperation and effectiveness.

Critical areas should get "early alarm" teams that would consist of representatives of inspectorates, local non-governmental organisations and media. In this way, a mechanism would be developed for exchange of information and timely responses to incidents, events and processes that undermine implementation of the laws.

***The author is the president of the Board of Directors of the Institute Alternative (IA)***

## WHY DO I WANT TO BE A CITIZEN OF EUROPEAN UNION

# My Europe is real



Travelling abroad without visas, better living standards, greater protection of human rights, more democracy, a stable and enviable position in

by Ana Novaković

the international community... so many times a day I hear the same, cliché slogans by which our heralds of the European spring are prodding the national awareness that Europe is the only possible future. Well, many thanks for that enlightenment!

Fortunately some of us (hopefully more numerous by the day) are looking at some other sources of information and knowledge about the European way of life, so we also know a bit about that Europe, in spite of their educational efforts.

Fortunately, even our parents, in their youth, travelled quite a bit around that Europe and since we were little they taught us European traditions and opened for us some other, European horizons.

Fortunately, there is also extra-institutional education which for the last few years offers a comprehensive, high level approach to the topic of European Union, while the whole of the University of the country whose representatives are bursting with Europeanism has only one programme with a somewhat more detailed study of this issue.

Fortunately, but to our misfortune, because it also means that we can see very clearly how much the Government has done so far and how much effort will still have to be invested before we can become part of the European Union. I'm starting to think that it might have been so much easier to just nod at the daily odes to Government's achievements and believe that EU is within reach.

Applause for the formalities! – submitted application for the candidate status, completed Questionnaire...

But what with the protection of human rights, with the freedom of expression, independence of the media, nepotism and other

anomalies which are weighing down our society?

Should the high level of corruption and organised crime recommend us to the member states?

Without any intention to spread pessimism, I'm only emphasising the key elements of our European road, but these things must be dealt with by the Government which is in such a hurry to get to Europe. I'm not sure they have a very clear picture of the complexity of this process.

But the European Union has another, to me a more important dimension! It is the European spirit, which you must feel whenever you find yourself in one of the member states, and which shines from apparently mundane things. This is why my Europe is completely different from the one offered by our officials. Those who are leading us to Brussels have never shown us that side of the medal, much brighter and more important than a few thousand answers to the Questionnaire. Should we believe that they know all this, but have no time to get closer to the citizens and explain to them all that Europe is?

This is Europe where you get with the spirit, and not by the official date for the start of negotiations. This Europe does not consist solely of a few buildings in Brussels. Europe whose citizen I want to be can be felt on the streets of European capitals, in conversations with the "ordinary" citizens of these countries, in the shops where you know what seasonal sales are and where people are not worried about politics, nationalism doesn't exist, there's free speech and freedom of movement. This



is the Europe with which we citizens are "negotiating" and not only the Government. And when we say we want this EU, this is when the formal process should begin.

Here, however, everything is upside down – those who are supposed to live in that Europe are only sporadically taught about it. Had the process been properly directed, the citizens wouldn't be fearing that in the EU they might lose their identity and the Montenegrin people would know that we can also contribute to the diversity of a unified Europe. It's not really like we have nothing to offer apart from the cheese and ham from Njeguši. Only as an integral part of EU can Montenegrin citizens proudly show off with our own, centuries old and cherished values and habits. How can we show all that if we're not on the same address?!

In very concrete and illustrative terms – I want to show up at an international conference where, when I say that I come from Montenegro everyone will know which country I'm talking about. Where I won't have to summon a suite of famous people – from **Tito** to **Milošević** – for them to figure it out and to geographically and mentally put me in the box of "that region of many wars".

We should also not be recognised abroad by the fact that we haven't changed the government for twenty years – they should know that there is one, geographically small country, but with a beautiful combination of the stones and the sea, with a cheerful people and active civil society, ready to change their reality within European parameters.

Only a profound understanding of the European way of life by the citizens and their support for this process can be a good foundation for genuine membership in EU. All the formally fulfilled commitments will be lost on us if the citizens do not have a clear picture of their future. I am sure that the EU is also wary of making the same mistake as it did in the 2007 enlargement.

This is not how I want to become a citizen of European Union, nor is mere membership, without genuine, deep changes, enough to motivate me.

*The author is executive director of the Centre for Development of Non-Governmental Organisations (CDNGO). She attended VIII generation of European Integration School*

# High wages not enough

United Kingdom and Ireland are the two countries in Europe with lowest living standards, while the quality of life is the best in France, shows the quality of life index for EU countries, calculated on annual basis by *uSwitch.com*.

*uSwitch.com* analysts evaluate the quality of life of Europeans based on 17 criteria, including income, taxes, prices of basic products, electricity prices and other utilities. They also take into account such factors as the number of sunny days, holidays and days off, retirement age and the length of the work week. According to

these, UK has the lowest quality of life in spite of having the highest per capita income in Europe – 35.73 thousand pounds per year, which is ten thousand above the European average.

According to the media, the reasons for such low ranking are fewer opportunities for rest, as the number of days off is among the lowest in Europe, while the prices of food and fuel are the highest. At the same time, UK spends the least on health and education. While an average European retires at the age of 62, Britons work on average six months longer.

# Media a national issue



European Parliament rejected the proposal of a resolution demanding adoption of a European law on pluralism and media concentration.

The proposal urged the European Commission to draft a directive on media pluralism and prevention of ownership concentration in the media.

The resolution, drafted by a group of liberal MEPs, received an equal number of votes for and against – 338, with while eight MEPs abstained.

This outcome was welcomed by the largest group in the European Parliament – European People's Party, (EPP) which believes that this is a national issue to be tackled by the member states, and not by the European Union.

This was the second time in October that the European Parliament debated media freedom. At the 8 October session the MEPs clashed over freedom of the media in Italy. Socialist and liberal MEPs insist that this issue should be dealt with by an EU law, while the right warns that the EU should not be used to fight national battles.

Advocates of the idea to limit media concentration on the European level point out that dangers to media pluralism are not only present in Italy, but are widespread in Europe, especially with regard to the most powerful media – television.

# Slovenians the biggest polyglots

In Slovenia 72% of the people aged between 25 and 64 speak two or more languages, while 75% of Hungarians in the same age group only communicates in their mother tongue, shows Eurostat data.

Next to Hungarians, the least fluent in foreign languages are Portuguese, Spaniards, Bulgarians and Greeks, among whom around one half of the population aged between 25 and 64 does not speak any language but their own. Countries

with the highest proportion of polyglots are UK (65%), Cyprus, Austria, Greece and Sweden.

English is the most widespread foreign language in 2/3 of the EU member states. In Bulgaria, Poland and three Baltic republics Russian is the main foreign language, while in the UK and Ireland it is French.

In EU highschools English, French and German are most studied languages.

## Work is bad

Most Europeans believe that work is a cause of ill health, shows the public opinion poll conducted by the European Agency for Safety and Health at Work.

Asked to what extent they believe ill health is caused by jobs people have, 28% respondents across Europe answered "a great deal", and another 47% "to some extent", shows the poll. The same study notes that only 15% answered that work is "not really" a cause of ill health, 6% "not at all", while another 4% is unsure.

The highest proportion of those who believe that their jobs are at least to some extent detrimental to their health if found in Lithuania (91%), while fewest such responses were recorded in Malta, although still a significant 61%.

## Commission indefinite

The current European Commission will remain in office after the end of its current mandate and continue to carry out "current affairs", because of the uncertainty surrounding the Lisbon Treaty. The mandate of the current EC expires on October 31. Their term will be extended, however, because the Lisbon Treaty envisages changes in the organisation of the Commission. If adopted, each member state will keep its representative in Brussels, otherwise the size of the Commission will be reduced.



## Crazy about EU

More than 90% of the citizens of Macedonia supports European integration of this country, shows the poll of the US International Republican Institute (IRI). "Support for NATO membership among Macedonian citizens stands at 94%, and 96% for EU", announced the director of IRI office in Skopje **John Cavanaugh**.

## DEBATES ON DIGITALISATION OF EUROPE'S BOOK HERITAGE

# Fortune on the net

The EU has been busy scanning books and documents to improve citizens' access to culture and history, but its efforts have been overshadowed by Google's commercial push to digitalise Europe's book heritage.

In autumn 2008, the EU launched its own Internet library, 'Europeana', giving access to hundreds of thousands of books, many of which are rare or out-of-print altogether. Paintings, music, maps, manuscripts and newspapers were also put online.

The portal, which hosts some two million 'digitalised objects' from all 27 member states contributed by around 1,000 cultural institutions, initially collapsed amid massive interest and millions of hits, but it has functioned normally since December 2008.

Moreover on 16 October 2009, the European Commission launched another digital library, the 'EU Bookshop'. The new website hosts an electronic library containing 12 million scanned pages from over 110,000 historical EU publications.

The site, which users can access

*The EU has been busy scanning books and documents to improve citizens' access to culture and history, but its efforts have been overshadowed by Google's commercial push to digitalise Europe's book heritage*

for free, features all publications edited by the EU's Publications Office on behalf of the European institutions, agencies and other associated bodies since 1952.

Digitalisation projects are being pursued by the private sector too. For example, Google Book Search allows users to view books or extracts of millions of books online after having conducted a keyword-based search. Seven million titles were covered by the service as of April 2009, and the

database is expected to continue to grow as time goes by.

Books digitalised by the service include titles available in the public domain, copyrighted material reproduced with the permission of the rights holder, and out-of-print works. In spite of this, and in spite of a variety of Google's security measures to protect copyrighted material (by limiting the number viewable pages, protection against copying, printing etc.), some EU countries are worried and have asked the European Commission to investigate the economic implications of Google Books amid fears that it will harm the European publishing industry.

The European Commission has welcomed Google's plans to digitalise the world's heritage of books, but concerns abound about the project's potential to give the US giant a monopoly over access to digitalised works, copyright, data protection and censorship control.

Some member states, including France and Germany, have expressed fears that Google Books does not

adequately respect European law on the protection of authors' rights.

Google expressed willingness to engage in "constructive dialogue" with European copyright holders and points out that an agreement would not only provide citizens with access to millions of books, but would simultaneously create a new market for authors, who could register their works online and benefit from the digital sales.

The operation should not harm



the existing market of digital books, since it involves only books that are "not commercially available," argues Google. In other words, an in-print book on sale in a highstreet bookshop will not be available on Google Books.

The US giant has committed itself to digitalising only books which are not printed anymore, "de facto creating a new market" for works which otherwise would have been left in unaccessible libraries, returning no financial gain to their authors.

"Digitalisation of book heritage is a win-win-win situation for all parties involved: authors would have a wider opportunity to showcase their work, Google would have access to a substantially wider selection of books and users would have more access to a broader spectrum of works", says Google's director of book partnerships in Europe, **Santiago de la Mora**.

Although of little commercial value, out-of-print and orphan books represent 90% of European libraries' collections and the largest proportion of global works. It is a potentially enormous market which, if brought to

the surface, could return enormous profits.

On the other hand, European publishers, authors and booksellers largely agree that this would have potentially devastating effects on some of the current business models. "Google would become the world's de facto digital bookseller," warned **Fran Dubruille** of the European Booksellers' Federation, which represents 20,000 EU booksellers.

Authors fear that Google will be able to impose whatever prices it

of an English-language book published in Europe finds its way to a US library, Google could scan it even if the rights haven't been sold for the US market, possibly harming the publisher's own opportunities to sell those rights in future," argues **Angela Mills-Wade** of the European Publishers Council.

In the meantime, Brussels called on member states to make more of an effort to digitalise books – in spite of all efforts to date, only 5% of all digital books are available in the

of European rules that encourage the digitalisation of books," she said at a recent conference in Brussels. "More than 90% of books in Europe's national libraries are no longer commercially available, because they are either out of print or orphan works", she said.

"The creation of a Europe-wide public registry for such works could stimulate private investment in digitalisation, while ensuring that authors get fair remuneration also in the digital world. This would also help to end the present, rather ideological debate about Google Books. I do understand the fears of many publishers and libraries facing the market power of Google. But I also share the frustrations of many Internet companies which would like to offer interesting business models in this field, but cannot do so because of the fragmented regulatory system in Europe," Reding added.

Behind the issue within the Commission on how to deal with Google Books looms a much deeper quarrel over who will deal with copyright issues in the next EU executive.

Currently such responsibility sits in the internal market portfolio, but a likely reshuffle of competencies within the Commission could put it in the hands of a stronger information society commissioner, a role coveted by Reding

However, France is fiercely fighting for the internal market portfolio, which currently also includes the hot dossier of financial services. The strength of the French cultural industry, which France's President **Nicolas Sarkozy** has defended on many occasions, is another good reason for Paris to fight for the internal market file.

The destiny of the Google Books project is thus clearly linked to the identity of the new commissioner. Reding has shown support for it, but a French commissioner would obviously be less keen on the idea.

V.Ž.-V.Š.

### *The European Commission has welcomed Google's plans to digitalise the world's heritage of books, but concerns abound about the project's potential to give the US giant a monopoly over access to digitalised works, copyright, data protection and censorship control*

wants. Google insists that its project concerns only "not commercially available books", but **Owen Atkinson** of the British Authors' Collecting Society claims things are not that simple.

"Databases with in-print books are not regularly updated," he warned, addign that his society checked around 30,000 books digitalised by Google and found that 10% were in-print.

Moreover, books are in- and out-of-print according to demand and especially when they are written in minority languages. The fact that a certain book is not in print in any given moment at a given market does not mean it will never be: "If a copy

recently-established and free-to-access EU library Europeana.

Almost half of these come from France, while other countries with massive libraries, such as Italy, Greece, the UK or Spain, lag far behind in this process. To speed up inclusion, EU Information Society Commissioner **Viviane Reding** is welcoming public-private partnerships and showing a very positive stance towards initiatives pursued by US giant Google.

Reding, who looks poised to be re-appointed for a second consecutive mandate in her current role, underlined the need to modernise EU copyright rules on libraries.

"We should create a modern set

## EU REGULATIONS AT HAND

On 16 October, at the 61<sup>st</sup> Bookfair in Frankfurt the European Union has officially launched its 'EU Bookshop' which contains all documents published by EU, including treaties, analyses and reports of all European organs since 1952.

For this purpose, EU spent 2.5 million euros to scan almost 110 000 publications or 12 million pages.

EU Multilingualism Commissioner **Leonard Orban** said at the launch that "with the digital library, we have total transparency" of EU legislative and cultural publications, adding: "No-one can complain now of problems consulting legislative texts and associated documents."

"The millions of pages now accessible to everyone in the 23 official languages demonstrate the continued commitment of the European Union to preserving and encouraging the history of the Union in its linguistic diversity."

## WHAT IS WRITTEN IN THE MONTENEGRO 2009 PROGRESS REPORT

# EU concerned about freedom of expression

On 14 October European Commission presented its annual Progress Report on Montenegro



by Petar Đukanović

which warns that Montenegrin authorities ought to invest greater effort to cure the problems already emphasised in the previous years' reports: corruption, organised crime, money laundering and lack of administrative capacities.

Like in the earlier reports, the Commission praised Montenegrin authorities for their adoption of new laws, strategies and action plans, but warned that the lack of implementation or limited implementation of these documents still remains a problem.

Compared to the previous report,

the Commission was somewhat harsher with regard to the freedom of expression issues and more sensitive in understanding the position of the civil society in Montenegro.

Brussels notes some progress in investigation of attacks and violence against journalists, but warns that "freedom of expression is still cause for concern". It also worries about "intimidating" statements by state officials on the role of media and NGOs, and considers the fines imposed by courts in defamation cases "disproportionate".

Progress Reports on Montenegro are compiled since 2006 and they contain a short summary of the relation between Montenegro and EU analysis of the political situation with regard to the level of development of democracy, rule of law, human and minority rights and regional cooperation, as well as an overview of the economic situation and assessment of the capacities and achievements of the country in fulfilling European standards by harmonising its laws and policies with *acquis commu-*

*nautarie* in line with priorities of the European partnership and Stabilisation and Association Agreement.

The report covers the period from October 2008 to the middle of September 2009. Progress is measured on the basis of decisions taken, legislation adopted and measures implemented.

The report is based on information gathered by the Commission, in cooperation with the government, EU Member States, European Parliament reports, as well as international and non-governmental organisations.

The report notes "certain improvements" in fighting corruption, notably legislative progress on drafting anti-corruption measures, and especially the adoption of the new Criminal Procedure Code in July 2009 as well as the Law on Prevention of Conflicts of Interest in Performing Public Functions, the Law on Internal Financial Control and the Law on Financing the Election Campaigns for the President, Mayors and Presidents of Municipalities.

The resources of the Directorate for Anti-Corruption Initiatives (DACI) have been strengthened and its co-operation with the police has been enhanced, states the Report. There is also some progress in terms of strengthening the capacities of the special prosecutor's office for fighting organised crime, corruption, terrorism and war crimes. According to the report, the specialised high court units for organised crime and corruption have also been reinforced, and anti-corruption training is available to the police, border police, customs officers, prosecutors and judges.

However, the Commission reminds that Montenegro's national legislation is not yet fully aligned with the international anti-corruption instruments ratified by Montenegro, such as GRECO recommendations. It also emphasizes that while anti-corruption action plans on the level of local administration have been adopted by eleven out of 21 municipalities implementation has

## HOW ECOLOGICAL IS THE STATE

European Commission finds that "moderate advancement" has been made towards harmonisation of the relevant environmental legislation with *acquis*.

It adds that in the area of air quality, considerable work is under way, but little tangible progress has been achieved.

With a reminder a Law on Water Management was adopted, the Report warns that in spite of some progress, the degree of alignment to the Drinking Water Directive remains very low. "Alignment with European standards needs to be improved substantially. Further efforts are required to improve implementation and enforcement of existing legislation", notes Brussels.

The Report warns that financial and administrative problems have halted implementation of the Law on Waste Management from November 2008.

According to the Commission, there is some progress in the field of nature protection, as with the Nature Protection Law which established the legal framework for Natura 2000, and a number of international conventions ratified in the meantime.

"A decision on establishment of the Nature Protection Institute was adopted. Further awareness-raising efforts are needed in this field. Inspection measures and sanctions have not yet been adopted. The level of alignment has improved, but implementation and enforcement remain challenges", states the Report.

begun only in two.

The Report states that Montenegro still lacks strong and independent supervisory authorities to control the financing of political parties, public procurement, spatial planning and privatisation. "A supervising authority to monitor and ensure compliance with the Law on the Financing of Political Parties and the Law on the Financing of Election Campaigns for the President, Mayors and Presidents of Municipalities of Montenegro is yet to be established. As a result, political parties' compliance with the law is only supervised in relation to allocations provided by the state budget. Private donations remain uncontrolled, due to the absence of a supervising authority", states the Commission document.

Institutions in charge of fighting corruption are still suffering from the lack of administrative capacities, both as regards staff and technical support. "Cooperation and coordination between these institutions needs to be strengthened", warns the Commission.

According to the Report, more verdicts are being passed in corruption cases, but their number is still very low.



"Overall, good progress has been made on strengthening the strategic, legislative and administrative framework. However, corruption remains prevalent in many areas and continues to be a particularly serious problem. The commitment of the authorities has not yet been backed by consistent implementation of anti-corruption legislation. While there is a positive trend, investigation

capacities and co-ordination of law-enforcement agencies remain weak. There is insufficient supervision in the areas of financing of political parties and conflict of interests. A solid track record of convictions in corruption cases remains to be established, particularly in cases of high-level corruption", says the Commission Report.

The Report acknowledges the effort which Montenegrin authorities have exerted in preventing money laundering, but recommends further action in this field. The Commission welcomed the adoption of the Law on the Prevention of Money-Laundering and Terrorist Financing, adopted in December 2008. It adds that, in relation to money laundering, more control needs to be exercised over funds invested in real estate. "Only a small, though increasing number of money-laundering cases were forwarded to the prosecution service by the police. Over the period covered by this report there was no conviction on money-laundering", notes the Commission.

In relation to fight against organised crime, EC finds that the lack of capacities of the police and prosecution stands as a barrier to effective eradication of organised crime.

"The inefficiencies in prosecution, trial and sentencing of organised crime in Montenegro remain a serious cause for concern", concludes the Report.

## LACK OF WORKING SPACE AND DEPUTY DIRECTORS

Overall, some progress can be reported in the area of statistics, notes the Commission, emphasising that administrative capacity remains weak and the legislative framework needs to be further improved and completed. Substantial efforts remain necessary in all areas in order to improve compliance with EU standards, recommends the section of the Report dealing with statistics.

In the last year's Report MONSTAT was the rated as the worst performing institution by the Commission. This year, the report notes that the Government has adopted a development strategy for statistics for 2009–2012.

"The new strategy gives MONSTAT the coordinating role for developing a statistical system in compliance with the European Statistics Code of Practice. However, an action plan and financial resources for implementing the strategy are still not available. The Statistical Law needs to be revised to match the objectives of the strategy. Administrative and technical capacities are insufficient. There is a lack of office space and trained staff", warns the Report.

Its authors note that the positions for assistant director of MONSTAT have remained vacant for the whole year, but that some progress was made in the area of population statistics and agricultural census.

"The pilot population and housing census has been successfully completed", reports the Commission, and rates as positive MONSTAT's preparations for the 2010 agricultural census.

## Civic courage against bad habits



Uljarević, Damjanović, Vujović, Stoiljković, Rudović

of corruption which is strongly present in the region, in spite of all other differences between the countries. "Endemic corruption" – a label used by the international organisations in their reports and resolutions thus becomes a cultural marker which weighs down the process of European integrations.

The panel tried to draw attention to the fact that corruption is emphasised as an important issue in Montenegro since the very beginnings of its communication with European institutions, and as the process advances the need for concrete actions that would address this

Centre for Civic Education (CCE) in cooperation with Friedrich Ebert Foundation organised on 26 October 2009 a panel discussion titled "Endemic Corruption" as a cultural difference of the Balkans.

Speakers at the panel were: **Aleksandar Damjanović**, president of the Committee for Economy, Finance and Budget of the Parliament of Montenegro and member of the National Commission for Fight against Corruption and Organised Crime of the Government of Montenegro; Dr **Zoran Stoiljković**, member of the Council of Anti-Corruption Agency of the Republic of Serbia; **Zlatko Vujović**, president of the Centre for Monitoring and member of the National Commission for Fight against Corruption and Organised Crime of the Government of Montenegro and **Nedeljko Rudović**, editor of the politics section of the daily *Vijesti*. Discussion was moderated by **Daliborka Uljarević**, executive director of CCE.

The goal of the panel was to analyse the sources of the phenomenon and development

issue and thus bring us closer to the club of the 27 states becomes ever more acute.

In their introductory presentations the panellists tried to answer some of the key questions regarding this phenomenon, each from their own professional standpoint: Are we ready to accept this pejorative and essentialist definition of a cultural difference of this Balkan cross-road we are living on? Are we all individually and necessarily inspired by the same "spirit of the place"? Whose excuse is "endemic corruption"? Is it exclusively our own specificity? Who insists on preservation of this non-endangered species and whose responsibility is it to eradicate it? What is the Government doing, and what the civil sector? What are others' experiences?

Participants concluded that there is clearly a lack of political will and that independent anti-corruption institutions are just making their first steps, but that ever more frequent examples of civic courage and responsibility in fighting corruption are encouraging.

## Cooperation in European affairs



From the signing Memorandum of Understanding

On 15 October in Podgorica Ministry of European Integrations signed a Memorandum of Understanding with 14 non-governmental organisations, based on the key principles of partnership, transparency, responsibility, exchange of information and independence of non-governmental organisations, in the areas of importance for the reforms which are necessary for the implementation of SAA: strengthening of the administrative capacities for legal harmonisation with acquis com-

munautaire; implementation of the Communication strategy for informing the public about the process of Montenegro's accession to EU; preparations for pre-accession funds; development of economic and social cohesion and preservation of the natural and cultural heritage; environmental protection and sustainable development through numerous activities and precise mechanisms of cooperation. CCE is also among the signatories of the Memorandum.

NON-GOVERNMENTAL  
ORGANISATIONS IN  
EUROPEAN UNION

EAS

EUROPEAN  
ADVISORY SERVICE

EAS was established in 1992 in Brussels with the goal of providing expert and scientifically based approach to solving regulatory issues in food and nutrition policy. Today EAS brings together group of specialists ranging from lawyers and political scientists to biologists, bioengineers and nutritionists, who approach from a variety of viewpoints the production of food, quality control and final distribution.

Over the past decade the evolution of EAS has to a large extent followed that of European and international food regulation and policy building a wide network with a strong basis in science.

EAS works with trade associations, food producing companies and government bodies dealing with food issues, as well as with numerous international institutions. A broad network of experts who work for EAS ensures delivery of fast and accurate information expert advice and solutions for a wide range of problems which their clients are facing.

EAS is Brussels' leading advisory company specialising in European and international regulation on food and nutritional products. Its services include:

- Guidance on national notification and registration procedures
- Impact analysis of upcoming food and nutrition policy issues
- Management of trade associations in the nutritional product sector
- Strategic planning for the changing regulatory environment
- Tailored training sessions for companies and regulatory authorities

EAS is also an active publisher, focusing on legal solutions and regulations, as well as on handbooks for implementation of sometimes very complex EU regulations.

EAS publishes a monthly "EAS free monthly European regulatory briefing", with most recent information on the development of food regulation in Europe and beyond.

More information on EAS can be found at: [www.eas.eu](http://www.eas.eu).

Prepared by: **Petar ĐUKANOVIĆ**

## European Friday

In cooperation with the Parliament of Montenegro CCE began realisation of the project "European Friday", within which two panels were organised so far, on 2 and 16 October.

The first panel was titled "Montenegro on the road to EU: our neighbours, lessons learned" featuring presentations by the ambassador of the Republic of Croatia **Petar Turčinović**, ambassador of Bosnia and Herzegovina **Branimir Jukić** and ambassador of the Republic of Serbia, **Zoran Lutovac**. They presented the experiences and practice of their countries on their road to EU. **Daliborka Uljarević**, executive director of CCE

moderated the discussion.

The second panel, titled "Experiences of Slovakia in the process of European Integrations and recommendations for Montenegro", hosted **Mihal Spevak**, project manager in the Employers' Association of Montenegro, who presented, from the point of view of a journalist and a Slovak diplomat, the stages of Slovak rapprochement with EU, as well as his understanding of Montenegro's position and the possibilities for learning from the Slovak experience. The moderator was **Violeta Marniku** CCE programme associate.

Panels were attended by participants of various professional and educational profiles, from representatives of the Government via NGO activists to university students and participants of CCE schools.

## Linking up on the regional and European level

Conference "Linking up the triangle of civil society, national governments and European Commission" was organised in Zadar on 19 and 20 October 2009. Among the participants were the representatives of Montenegrin civil sector: **Daliborka Uljarević**, executive director of CCE, **Zlatko Vujović**, president of CEMI, **Momčilo Radulović** from the European Movement in Montenegro and **Ana Novaković**, executive director of CDNGO.

The conference was organised by the European Action for Civic Service (ECAS) from

Brussels, National Association for Development of Civil Society from Croatia and IMPACT. The goal of the meeting was to strengthen cooperation and partnership among civil society actors, EU, and national governments through analysis of the impact of the ongoing dialogues in the region, consequences of the financial crisis for the NGO sectors, institutional responses to the financial and structural challenges, as well as of the EC programmes in the region and the upcoming visa liberalisation for a number of West Balkan countries.

## On religion as a challenge for the Western Balkans

From 11 to 17 October in Sarajevo Centre for Religious Research of Belgrade Open School and International Multi-Religious Intercultural Centre "Together" organised a regional school "Balkan's Religions: Meetings and Permeations"

Participants of the School were representatives of NGOs, political parties, media and religious organisations from all countries of the region. The School gathered a great number of

renowned experts in various areas who shared their knowledge with the participants, thus contributing to stabilisation of the otherwise turbulent inter-religious relations. Through numerous panel discussions, participants had a chance to express their own views and experiences with topics in this area.

**Mirela Rebronja**, CCE programme associate successfully attended the School.

## Others' experiences in integration

International Centre for Democratic Transition from Budapest with support of the Visegrad Fund organised between 28 and 30 October in Kiev a conference "Transferring the Experiences of the Visegrad Cooperation to the Western Balkans and GUAM countries". The conference explored different aspects of cooperation between the three regions, and focused on the issues of secu-

urity and trust between the Balkan states as well as between them and their East European neighbours, with presentation of the achievements of the Visegrad and GUAM groups to date. The conclusions offered concrete proposals for cross-border cooperation with an emphasis on security challenges. **Daliborka Uljarević**, CCE executive director, participated at the conference.

## A different view of regional issues

Seminar titled "Kosovo and the concept of organised integrity: challenges and prospects", was held between 8 and 10 October in Albania, organised by the prestigious Aspen Institute. Participants in this expert meeting were representatives of governments, civil society, universities and media from the US, Germany, Albania,

Serbia, Kosovo, Macedonia and Montenegro, and the conference was accompanied by special meetings with the high officials of Albania and Tirana, as well as with the German and US diplomats in Tirana. **Daliborka Uljarević**, executive director of CCE, represented Montenegro at this meeting.

## New young leaders

On 17 October CCE awarded diplomas to the successful participants in the V and VI generation of Youth Leadership School, which in the last two months gathered students from several high schools in Podgorica as well as from Cetinje Gymnasium.

Students were involved in a series of thematic workshops exploring issues of that motivate and develop social activism in young people. The School organised visits to the Ombudsman's office and IN Television, where they could learn about the functioning of these institutions as well as about the content of their key activities.

## Consultations with women's groups for RECOM

On behalf of KOREKOM, Anima –Centre for Women's and Peace Education and CCE organised on 23 October in Podgorica consultations with women activists of non-governmental organisations, politicians, journalists and scientists on the Initiative for establishment of REKOM. Consultations were attended by a number of guest from the region who presented their experiences from the war, as an introduction to the reasons for establishment of REKOM, its possible mandate and structure of the Commission, as well as recommendations for the next steps of the process leading to establishment of REKOM.

## Education must be autonomous

Montenegrin independent weekly Monitor, in cooperation with the Embassy of the Republic of Germany organised on 20 October a round table with the topic "Autonomy of education and European integrations", with the goal of analysing the causes and development of corruption in higher education. The event was opened by the Ambassador of the Republic of Germany H.E. **Peter Platte**. The participants were Dr **Radenko Pejović**, president of the Montenegrin Council for Higher education, Dr **Srbijanka Turajlić**, UNESCO expert and professor at the University of Belgrade and Dr **Sonja Bjeletić**, dean of the Faculty for European and Administrative Studies.

**Snežana Kaluđerović**, legal advisor in Centre for Civic Education presented CCE's views of this issue which CCE had followed closely as part of its programmes.

## FOR THIS ISSUE WE RECOMMEND:

## BEYOND COLD WAR LINEARITIES: ENTANGLED HISTORIES AND INTERACTIVE IDEAS

Deadline: 15 October 2009

The anniversary of 1989 regime change brought about a wide range of discussions about Communist legacies and Cold War impact on the transitions in the Eastern European countries.

We invite proposals related to social sciences and humanities to evaluate the current state of area studies, Cold War history and media theories in order to enhance not just a meta-critical view about Cold War and Communism, but also to spur national historiographies to analytically appropriate their past forged by international policies and still made obscure by a plethora of undigested documents. In order to enhance the formation of truly critical and inter-cultural frameworks on teaching and conducting research on recent history, we also invite contributions with courses aiming at providing systematic introduction to the study of totalitarian societies by combining post-totalitarian theoretical frameworks with local narratives pertaining to social and oral history. By bringing together the history of ideas, psychohistory, symbolic interactionism, social history and media anthropology, the conference seeks in this way to concretely aggregate an interdisciplinary framework for the study of a period characterized by complex intellectual mobility, the intricate interplay of fantasies about the "Other", different societal accommodations, generational changes and conceptual imbrications between East-European traditions and Western cultural and political models. The conference is organized by OSA Archivum in cooperation with CEU History (Karl Hall and Ioana Toma) and IRES (Irina Papkov) Departments, CEU CRC and International Alternative Culture

Center (Olga Zaslavskaya). It will be held in 4–6 December 2009 in Budapest and is designed to prepare an edited volume. Paper givers will be asked to present first drafts of their book chapters for precirculation among participants and for intensive discussion at the conference. Limited fellowship funds might be available for non-EU participants. Please contact Olga Zaslavskaya [zaslavsk@ceu.hu](mailto:zaslavsk@ceu.hu). Interested scholars should submit: (1) title and one-page abstract of their paper; (2) CV and list of publications; (3) institutional affiliation or place of residence.

## UNIVERSITY OF CAMBRIDGE

Decisions on admission to the University are made purely on academic merit, the availability of space on a course, and / or the availability of an appropriate supervisor. You may apply to be considered for as many courses as you wish, but you must provide a full set (including copies) of supporting documents for EACH course you apply for. You will also be charged a non-refundable application fee for each course. Deadline for applications is two months before the start of the first term of the course (31 July, 31 October and 31 January for starts in October, January and April respectively). More information on [www.admin.cam.ac.uk/offices/gradstud/current/continuing/](http://www.admin.cam.ac.uk/offices/gradstud/current/continuing/)

## EMARO MASTERS PROGRAMME

The Erasmus Mundus programme supports high-quality European Masters Courses, by providing attractive grants for students having excellent academic results from around the world to engage in post-graduate study at EMARO institutions. For 2010–2011 academic year, EMARO Masters programme will have about 8 Erasmus Mundus scholarships for non-EU students who did not had a stay in an



EU-country for more than one year over the last five years (called category A students). Owing to the limited number of grants a student who is not ranked among the top 10% of his class has small chance to be selected. The selected student, will receive a grant of totally 24 000€ per year. The application to an Erasmus Mundus scholarship is done through the classical student's application procedure of EMARO. Please note that the number of applications by third country students must be limited to three Erasmus Mundus Masters Courses maximum. In the eventual case that a student applies to more than three EM Courses he/she will be excluded from the selection for an Erasmus Mundus Scholarship. A proposal to Erasmus Mundus programme in Brussels must be sent on January 2010 and consists of a main list and a waiting list. At most two students from the same country can be selected in the main list. The final decision about the scholarships will be sent to students as soon as we receive it from Brussels (end of February). If some students withdraw from the main list, the best students from the waiting list will be upgraded to the main list and will be notified immediately. The application for Erasmus Mundus Grants for the academic year 2010–2011 will be opened from 15 October 2009 till 15 December 2009. More information on <http://scholarship.bursa-lowongan.com/erasmus-mundus-scholarship-20092010/>

**EIC Bulletin – European pulse is electronic magazine established within EIC programme, with the support of the Friedrich Ebert Stiftung.**

**The publisher is Centre for Civic Education.**

**EIC Bulletin – European pulse is registered with the Ministry for Culture and Media as item No. 578**

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