



## FOCUS OF THIS ISSUE

How the Government made a lot of trouble in the process of digitalisation of electronic media

## INTERVIEW

Executive  
Director of  
Belgrade Centre  
for Euro–Atlantic  
Studies (CEAS)  
Jelena Milić

## ANALYSES

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economic  
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## EU CHALLENGES

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## IMAGE

Would an MP in Bundestag raise in protest, or would the European Commission demand an urgent meeting with the representatives of the Government of Iceland, which is a step ahead of Montenegro regarding EU integration, if this tiny republic announced its intention to grant citizenship to investors willing to bring at least half a million euros to the country, as they did in Montenegro's case?

It's very likely that Iceland would never receive such a negative reaction from the international, as well as the national public. The reason, or one of them, is that Iceland doesn't have the image of a corrupt state (cf. BBC and the New York Times), although its now defunct banks devoured fortunes of tens of thousands British and Dutch citizens.

Montenegrin Government is well aware that, to cite its Communication strategy for informing the public about EU and preparing the country for membership, it ought to "invest further efforts to improve the international image of the country".

In the absence of which a single EU member can easily find a reason to block Montenegro's further progress towards membership.

But the Government needs to remember that it can't sell a Yugo engine as Mercedes.

The sketch of a new engine model in the shape of European legislation transposed into the Montenegrin one already exists, and it only takes a bit of will for a variety of institutions to start moving.

Removing defunct bits off the Montenegrin car and letting the European media know about it would already go a long way towards improving Montenegro's international image. And would certainly bring many more healthy investments and investors who aren't into buying Montenegrin passports. **V.Ž.**

**Strategy against corruption with Maurer (5 August)** – The Government submitted the Anti-Corruption Strategy and Action Plan for the period 2010–2014 to the EU Delegation in Podgorica. These documents are of key importance for the EU accession process, and their contents have already been criticised by some non-governmental organisations and civil society.

**Opposition campaigns for candidate status (6 August)** – During the meetings with a number of representatives of EU member states Montenegrin opposition parties will argue in favour of Montenegro acquiring the candidate status, said the president of SNP **Srđan Milić** after a meeting with the UK ambassador to Montenegro **Catherine Knight-Sands**. Three opposition leaders – Milić, **Andrija Mandić** and **Nebojša Medojević** are planning working visits for this autumn to London, Paris, and perhaps other European capitals.

**10 000 euros across the border (9 August)** – Montenegro's Central Bank (CBCG) decided that from now on the residents and non-residents can take in and out of the country up to 10 000 euros in cash (also in other currencies) without reporting it to the police or the customs. Until now, the limit was 2 000. The decision came into force on 25 August. "This means further liberalisation on regulations for carrying cash and is in line with the EU directive on this matter", CBCG said.

**Montenegro called to report on economic citizenship (12 August)** – Representatives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and EU Delegation in Montenegro have exchanged information regarding economic citizenship, announced the speaker of the Delegation **Dragan Mugoša**. He said the Delegation requested a working meeting, but that it wasn't going to release any public announcements or statements, while the Government said they will harmonise each step with EU requirements. Earlier, the Government had announced that it will initiate a programme of "economic citizenship", granting businessmen whose "credibility and origin of their capital are unquestionable" a Montenegrin citizenship, after they invest at least half a million euros into Montenegro. The Government's decision was severely criticised in some EU circles.



Dragan Mugoša

**Montenegrin in a peace mission (17 August)** – Officer of the Montenegrin Army (VCG), second lieutenant **Miroslav Radojičić** is the first officer of VCG to join an EU peace mission. He was appointed for a four-month mandate in the EU peace mission "EU NAVFOR ATALANTA". He was assigned to the Greek frigate as a navigation officer.

**Everything in writing (24 August)** – At a request by the European Commission, Ministry of European Integrations will submit a report on all activities implemented in order to answer the remaining questions from the EC Questionnaire the latest by 6 September, announced the Ministry after a meeting between Minister for European Integrations **Gordana Đurović** and the head of the EU Delegation in Montenegro **Leopold Maurer**. The overview will be formatted according to the chapters of the *acquis* and will be accompanied by translations of all laws that have been adopted in the meantime.

**Remove Balkans from the list of priorities (30 August)** – There is no reason for the Balkans to remain among the top priorities of EU foreign policy, said Slovenian president **Danilo Turk**. In an interview for the Austrian press agency APA, he said that any slowdown in the accession negotiations "is mostly to be blamed on the candidate countries". According to him, EU priorities should be aimed primarily towards the EU's strategic partners, especially Russia and Eastern neighbours.

## A VIEW FROM EU

# Why are EU investors wary of Balkan countries



Western Balkan countries are struggling to attract more direct foreign investment despite big pub-

by Augustin Palokaj

lic campaigns in western media, lower taxes and other incentives.

The EU is warning the countries that the financial crisis is not the only problem. The high level of corruption, illegal state protection of some domestic tycoons and dysfunctional judiciaries are also considerable obstacles to investment.

Several EU governments and the European Commission in its annual progress reports have complained that the backlog of cases in the courts, the inability to enforce court decisions and discrimination against foreign companies in public procurement as well as corruption in the public sector are prevent-

***It is essential for investors to trust that their investment will have legal protection. This is what they expect also from the countries in Western Balkans where they invest and those countries have to do much more to meet this expectation***

ing many companies from investing in the region.

Serbia is a particular problem with many foreign investors complaining about long and slow bureaucratic procedures and the poor judiciary system. For some of them, it is practically impossible to get payment even when they have a court decision in their favour. Court proceedings in Serbia take

an average of eight years. More than 1.5 million court decisions have yet to be enforced. This is an unacceptable situation for those wanting to invest and work with free competition rules.

In the last European Commission progress report on Serbia and in some expert studies, the state of the judiciary in the country was identified as a factor that not only put into question the rule of law but also put off potential investors.

One of the big foreign investors in Serbia, the German WAZ Media Group, has indicated it intends to withdraw from the country. The Committee of Eastern European Economic Relations, an

***Western Balkan countries are struggling to attract more direct foreign investment despite big public campaigns in western media, lower taxes and other incentives. The EU is warning the countries that the financial crisis is not the only problem. The high level of corruption, illegal state protection of some domestic tycoons and dysfunctional judiciaries are also considerable obstacles to investment.***

organisation representing German business, says it regrets the planned move:

"We hope that the announced withdrawal is a warning signal and leads

to an improvement in conditions for investors."

Macedonia, meanwhile, attracted just €200 million in foreign investment in 2009, the lowest in the region. And this was despite tax incentives. There were serious problems with two investors, one from Switzerland and another from Austria.

The companies complained that

the government did not stick to its obligations. Both cases contributed to a worsening of the already bad investment climate in Macedonia. The unpredictability of the political situation in the small country is also a problem. Efforts to becoming a NATO member and starting EU accession talks are stuck.

The situation is not better in Kosovo where investigators from the EU rule of law mission, EULEX, are looking into several cases of corruption in big privatisation processes. Several big companies have withdrawn from competing in a call to build a big power plant in Kosovo.

In Croatia, the situation is better as the country is getting closer to EU

membership. Zagreb recently closed negotiations on bringing the country into line with EU rules on public procurement and opened talks in the area of competition. But EU companies can still face unnecessary informal obstacles in Croatia. Enforcing court decisions has been taking too long and problems with ownership continue to be a concern.

It is essential for investors to trust that their investment will have legal protection. This is what they expect also from the countries in Western Balkans where they invest and those countries have to do much more to meet this expectation.

***The author is a Brussels-based correspondent for Jutarnji list, Koha Ditore, and many other media***

THE GOVERNMENT WON'T MEET THE SAA DEADLINE FOR DIGITALISATION OF ELECTRONIC MEDIA

# Taxpayer's money for better looking TVCG speakers

Montenegro is only now beginning to digitalise broadcasting, although the



by Miodrag Babović

Government committed itself in the Stabilisation and Association Agreement (SAA) with EU to complete this complex and expensive task by the end of next year.

The same process is almost complete in most EU countries, as well as in the neighbouring Croatia, while on the other side, among the laggards, stand Montenegro and most countries of the Western Balkans and South Eastern Europe.

In the European Union digitalisation of the broadcasting sector is seen as part and parcel of citizens' rights, mandating that every citizen has access to basic telecommunication services at affordable prices.

Preparations for digitalisation in Montenegro started three years ago when the then Public Broadcasting Agency adopted a strategy for digitalisation. Since then, hardly anything was done about it and it is almost certain that the entire job cannot be completed by the end of the next year, which is the deadline set by the European Commission.

The countries that fail to meet

this deadline have one last additional deadline set by the International Telecommunications Union (ITU) – 2015.

Deputy minister of transport in charge of telecommunications, **Srdan Mihaljević** admits that the work cannot be completed by the end of 2011 and that the government is already counting on ITU's deadline.

"The state was trying to decide which platform to use for the process of digitalisation – DVB T, which has enough for the public TV

and its two channels plus another commercial television, or the newer DVB T2 technology, which could accommodate more channels. Representatives of the European Commission thought it was too late to change, because the tenders were already scheduled for mid-September, and insisted that we should stick to the Strategy for Digitalisation which was adopted three years ago. That means that we will almost certainly proceed with one DVB T platform", says Mihaljević

*On top of the uncertainty regarding the public funds for digitalisation another, equally serious dilemma is what will happen to private televisions. "The state should assist or at least have understanding for the other media because without its help they won't survive digitalisation", says director of the Agency for Electronic Media Abaz Džafić*



Srdan Mihaljević



Abaz Džafić

for *European Pulse*.

The other, bigger dilemma – where to find the money for digitalisation – is yet to be solved. In addition to 1.6 million coming from the EU, the Government should have provided another million from the public coffers in order to complete digitalisation of the network of transmitters owned by the Public Broadcasting Centre.

That money was not in the budget for this year, it remains to be seen whether it will appear in the next year's budget.

"In the Stabilisation and Association Agreement we committed ourselves to digitalising the broadcasting sectors by the next year. Based on this, the European Commission allocated 1.6 million euros through IPA funds for digitalisation of the network of transmitters. To cover the costs in full, the Government should have added another million euros. This year, there was no space for it in the budget, and we need to see whether we can find it next year. If the state puts the money together we could finish the bulk of work on digitalisation by the end of next year. In other words, we could digitalise some 40

transmitters covering larger cities, out of 130 in total, which mean that around 60% of Montenegrin citizens would be covered. However, if we don't find the money, it won't happen", Mihaljeviš explains.

He reminds that digitalisation became an issue in EU some ten years ago, as the growing electronic

media sector used up a lot of frequencies.

"Digitalisation frees up a lot of space in the broadcasting sector and allows it to be used by other services. In this way, the citizens get better sound and picture and new services, and the state gets new sources of income", Mihaljević adds.

On top of the uncertainty regarding the public funds for digitalisation another, equally serious dilemma is what will happen to private televisions.

"Commercial broadcasters have two options. The first is to organise themselves, by the equipment to broadcast their signal and install it on the sites of the Public Broadcasting Service. The other option is to ask the Agency for Electronic Communications to open a tender for an operator who could provide technical support and whom they would then pay for the broadcasting service. It is up to them to decide", Mihaljević said.

The countries which do not

## DIGITALISATION AS A SOCIAL QUESTION

Although the government has been saying that it feels obliged to assist certain categories of the population with meeting the costs of digitalisation, it is hard to find anybody in the government who would be willing to talk about it.

"It was estimated that around 45 000 households in Montenegro receive social assistance. They probably won't be able to afford receivers what will allow them to watch the new digital programmes on their old TVs. The costs of covering this for them will be around two million euros. There's no money for that in the Budget, and everything suggests that next year there won't be any either. That means that even if we cover all the cities with a digital signal there will still be many families unable to watch the new television", Mihaljević said.

The Government says that there's simply no money, and that this is the main reason for not adopting the law on digitalisation.

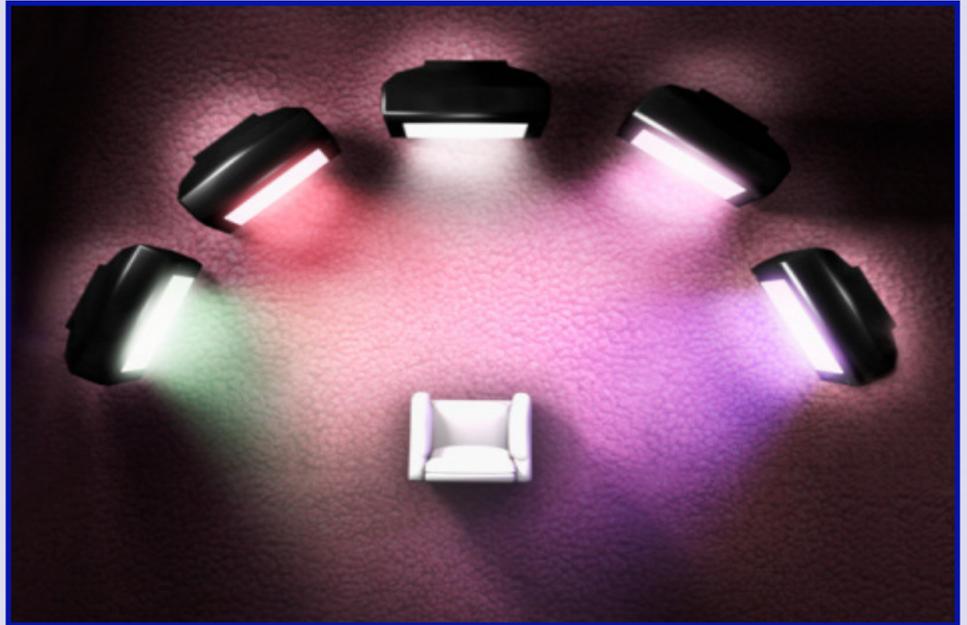
"The Croatian government supported every household in need by paying 50% of the price of the receiver. I don't know how it will go here, because there is no money for it, and there's also no money to cover the million missing from the necessary funds for the digital network, which is why the law on digitalisation has been postponed", Mihaljević explained.

Earlier, he suggested that the money for assisting the citizens in need can come from selling concessions for the freed-up frequencies.

complete digitalisation of broadcasting by 2012 will have both systems, the digital and the analogue, functioning parallel to each other in the next three years. That will be a problem for the country as well as for the regulator and for the electronic media, because the parallel functioning of the two system causes technical problems and doubles the consumption of electricity.

Mihaljević explains that the fate of private televisions cannot be, in financial terms, responsibility of the state, and points at the example of neighbouring Croatia.

"They started digitalisation with DVB T technology. This platform first provided the space for the two channels of Croatian Radio–Television (HRT). Two private televisions, Nova and RTL, paid for a place on the same platform. The primary responsibility of the state is the public service, and there is no European standard which says that the state ought to do the work for



the private media", Mihaljević said.

Regarding the choice of platforms for digitalisation director of the Agency for Electronic Media **Abaz Džafić** said that the Strategy for Digitalisation, which was drafted with assistance from experts of the Organisation for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE),

envisages digitalisation process on DBV T platform.

"Of course that doesn't mean that the country only needs those media that will find a place on the platform. The state should assist or at least have understanding for the other media because without its help they won't survive digitalisation. It doesn't have to mean financial assistance, they can be helped in other ways, for instance, by setting clear rules and procedures. Without such clear rules, nobody has the right to decide which private television can be added to the platform together with the two public channels, and which ones will have to pay for their own. It's clear that not every one of them will survive digitalisation, but it's important that as many as possible do", Džafić said.

His words partly beg the question who will be the ones to survive. It's no secret that some televisions are backed up by large businesses and the authorities, that others are only there for entertainment purposes, etc.

What will happen to those whose main work is to keep the public informed about the everyday problems seems to be a question the authorities would rather avoid.

## NOBODY ASKED THE EXPERTS

**D**uro Vučinić, president of the Board of Managers of the Association of Commercial Broadcasters says "the only way out is DVB T2 technology".

"Strategy for Digitalisation allows for introduction of DBV T2 system, which provides for twice as many programmes within the single frequency as DBV T. However, the economic situation and the EU donation of 1.6 million euros are forcing us to agree to the DBV T system. All countries have helped the citizens transfer to digital televisions, but our own says it has no money for it, nor another million to contribute towards digitalisation of the network of transmitters. This is a huge problem, and it means that 30% of the citizens won't be covered by the digital signal. If this is such a huge financial obstacle, how will we get the money for DVB T2, which is the only rational solution in the case of Montenegro, and which has been offered as an option by some decision makers. We will be stuck with the system we choose now for many years to come", warns Vučinić.

He cites the latest issue of a well known expert magazine "DVB Scene", in which a leading expert for digitalisation process in EU, Prof Dr **Ulrich Reimers**, analysing the situation in every country of the Western Balkans says that Montenegro and Serbia will opt for the T2 system, which is the only rational solution for them.

"However, he was wrong in case of Montenegro, because we went for the less rational solution. I'm afraid the "lobbyists" and not the experts for telecommunications had the final word in Montenegro's choice of a less rational solution", Vučinić warned.

QUESTIONS RAISED BY THE GOVERNMENT'S DECISION TO AWARD MONTENEGRIN CITIZENSHIP IN EXCHANGE FOR HALF A MILLION EUROS

# Suspicious red passports

It's been a while since a decision of the Government in Podgorica stirred up so much controversy and so much



by **Nedeljko Rudović**

interest from Brussels as the recent acrobatics of awarding Montenegrin passports to the foreigners who invest 500 000 euros in Montenegro.

Apart from being the most recent example of the habit of **Đukanović's** cab-

*Did the Government ever consider the possibility that what the investors are actually after is the rule of law, an open market, lower taxes and grace periods?*

inet to keep the economy floating through constant improvisations, it is also striking in its audacity. Nobody in the Government remembered that it was necessary to consult the European Commission and EU member states who, eight months ago, decided to abolish visas for the citizens of Montenegro.

Not even the municipality of Šavnik can afford such a lack of elementary political seriousness, let alone the "pro-European Government" of PM **Đukanović**.

As soon as it was announced that the Government prepared the Guidelines for Acquisition of Montenegrin Citizenship, the MFA official **Nebojša Kaluđerović** had to plunge in to save the situation and explain to the EC representatives that it's all perfectly clean and solely aimed at attracting foreign investments.

He also tried to convince them that everything will be done to prevent the members of organised crime networks and those who took part in money laundering from acquiring a citizenship of a country that aims to become an EU

member.

In addition to this, Europeans have been struck by the low amount required by the Government decision and it's probable that Brussels will later ask for periodical reports on all who acquired Montenegrin citizenship in this way. Of course, Brussels cannot ask the Government to reverse the decision, since there are no uniform EU standards in this area and every member state regulates it independently, but it wants to have a clear overview of the procedures granting Montenegrin passports which allow the holder to travel to almost all EU countries.

And after almost three weeks of uproar in the domestic and international media about the strange moves of

**Đukanović's** team, he announced that the Guidelines will not come into force until the terms of application have been agreed with EC.

Amateurism at work again. And everything was already prepared – according to the Government's decision

*Which EU citizen needs a Montenegrin passport? Or are we only counting with the dirty money from Russia and with the "investments" of runaways from the assorted Asian states who are rapidly turning Montenegro's image into that of an oasis for shady characters running away from the law?*

the investor, in addition to 500 000, must have an impeccable reputation and a proof of origin of the money. Investor's credibility will be ascertained, according to the Government's announcements, by the independent consultancies or legal offices, as well as by the Montenegrin ministries of economy and interior affairs.

Then the "New York Times" announced that "Kroll" will be one of the companies to vet the credibility and soundness of the potential new Montenegrins. This is the same company which, according to

**Felix Salmon**, a blogger of the UK news agency Reuters, had contacts with the Canadian businessman **Peter Munk**, a close friend of the Prime Minister **Đukanović**. To make the deal even shadier, Kroll is the company that helped Allen Stanford to perpetrate an 8 billion dollar Ponzi scheme, adding wind to the world economic crisis. The gist of the Ponzi schemes is that "earnings" are given to the shareholders out of their own money or out of those of another shareholder, not out of any kind of profit.

Nobody in the Government responded to this information, insisting that their economic citizenship programme has been designed by renowned consultancies from UK and Canada. The negotiations are ongoing and once they are completed the Government will make the names of these consultancies public.

The key question here is whether in order to attract investments one needs a sound business environment or a promise of a Montenegrin passport. Who needs the passport of a country where it's necessary to pay "protection money" in order to get the permission to start the

business or to stay in the business? Or did the Government ever consider the possibility that what the investors are actually after is the rule of law, an open market, lower taxes and grace periods?

And finally, which EU citizen needs a Montenegrin passport? Or are we only counting with the dirty money from Russia and with the "investments" of runaways from the assorted Asian states who are rapidly turning Montenegro's image into that of an oasis for shady characters running away from the law?

EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR OF BELGRADE CENTRE FOR EURO-ATLANTIC STUDIES  
(CEAS) JELENA MILIĆ

# We mustn't lose US support for EU enlargement policy

Executive director of Belgrade Centre for Euro-Atlantic Studies (CEAS) **Jelena Milić** said that all countries of the Western Balkans should realise that the United States of America are supporting their integration into EU, and should not lose this support. Milić isn't worried about the ever more frequent signs of cooling-off from some EU members, including the most recent one by the Slovenian president **Danilo Turk** who said the West Balkan enlargement policy shouldn't be among EU priorities.

"This is after all something that will be decided by the bigger and more powerful EU members, whose public opinion also has greater influence on decisions. And we should definitely not forget about the US. I believe that all countries of the Western Balkans should be aware of the US support for EU integrations, and make sure not to lose it" said Milić in the interview for *European Pulse*.

● **What would be the consequences of a slowdown or delay of EU enlargement for the West Balkan countries?**

Enormous. I don't think that we are properly aware of the fact that not all transition countries in the world have a chance to carry out its process until the

*Most of these countries are stuck at a stage which requires deeper examination of all non-transparent relations between politics and illegal businesses, i.e. better regulation, more liberal markets and more transparent procedures. It's this, not the boastful attitude, that shows which elites in the region are genuinely in favour of EU integrations*

very end, with support mechanisms offered by EU integration process.

Most of these countries are stuck at a stage which requires deeper examination of all non-transparent relations between politics and illegal businesses, i.e. better regulation, more liberal markets and more transparent procedures. It's this,



Jelena Milić

not the boastful attitude, that shows which elites in the region are genuinely in favour of EU integrations.

Serbia and its citizens are certainly not keeping up with the fruits of globalisation, global interrelations and interdependencies, not to mention mobility, and the pressure this creates for at least economic integration.

If we don't join EU we will remain small peripheral countries, irrelevant in terms of demographics or size of our markets, and obviously unable to integrate better with each other, in order to find at least some stronghold to respond

to the challenges of globalisation.

Russia, as the key partner and alternative to EU is a reckless fiction propagated by anti-EU forces and by an oligarchy which is against order and control. This option is completely unviable, from the geographical reasons to the fact that Russia itself lags in the democratisation

process, which is a requirement for a functional response to the challenges of globalisation.

● **How would you evaluate cooperation between West Balkan countries?**

Bearing in mind the complexity and similarity of challenges which are ahead each one of the West Balkan countries, one would expect much higher levels of cooperation than is currently the case.

Unfortunately, the Regional Cooperation Council, which was established after the Stability Pact was dismantled, did not grow into an effective coordinator of cooperation.

To make the things even more absurd, all these countries are in favour of European integrations, and they often accuse EU of being slow and indecisive with regard to their membership perspective, but they forget that regional cooperation is one of the preconditions and expectations which they are doing very little to fulfil.

There are many reasons for this: from sluggish transitional justice which also had to be imposed from the outside, instead of being an expression of our readiness to face the past, to the two giant elephants in the room which even the international community prefers to ignore – the status of Kosovo and the defunct constitution of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

In addition to this, Serbia often "punished" the countries of the region that have recognised Kosovo or became independent, like Montenegro, further undermining the potential for cooperation. I could also list the examples of the Serbian relations with the Macedonian and Montenegrin orthodox churches.

● **What could be done to improve regional cooperation?**

I just came back from a conference in Prishtina that was organised by the

## A CLEAR EU POSITION ON KOSOVO WOULD HELP SERBIA

### ● What do you think are the key problems of Serbia in terms of European integrations?

The false hopes fuelled by an elite which is simply not ready to give up on its current positions in monopolies and partitocracy, and instead rants about the "defence of Kosovo". The defence of Kosovo has become an excuse for too many non-transparent deals and double standards, but most of all for stifling the democratisation of the society, replacing it by a total partitocracy which in turn is nothing else but stripping away public resources for personal and party benefits.

Recent developments in the UN are good news, but we still have to see whether they were a result of the current situation in our budget and putting up pretences for EU or an honest, courageous step forward on the part of President Tadić.

The problems is also that the remaining five EU countries which refused to recognise Kosovo are legitimising the current behaviour of the Serbian political elite. After the decision of the International Court of Justice, which was explicitly based on Resolution 1244, they have no excuse in the international law to remain with their current position. Obviously, this is their way to pursue their own interests within EU.

A clear EU-wide position on Kosovo would be of great help to Serbia.

Unfortunately, the Serbian public also is also refusing to connect the outcomes of the recent political decisions with its situation and living conditions. They are more likely to respond to populism and false hopes than to face their own backwardness, lack of competitiveness and the like.

Rockefeller Brothers Fund, and which brought together think tanks from almost all countries of the Western Balkans, except Croatia. We discussed the key barriers to cooperation and possibilities to overcome those through joint action.

Among the more important steps is, naturally, lobbying the EU to send the questionnaires to the countries that still haven't gotten them, in order to spur them towards more intensive reforms and regional cooperation on the one hand, and on the other to make them face, through their replies and the screening process, the internal problems that are holding them back in the process of EU integrations – such as weak institutions, overpowering monopolies, lack of transparency in public expenditures as well as constitutional limitations, such as those present in Serbia and Bosnia and Herzegovina.

● **Part of the Montenegrin public believes that Serbia has more developed administrative capacities and is doing well in fighting corruption and organised crime, unlike Montenegro, and that it would be well ahead of Montenegro in**

**the integration process, if it wasn't for the lack of cooperation with the Hague. What is your opinion?**

What do you mean by cooperation with the Hague? Serbia has recently received ministers of foreign affairs of Germany and UK, the State Department contacted us through **Pahor, Tadić** even met with Catherine Ashton and not one

***The readiness to fight corruption in Serbia only goes so far, until the investigation reaches the criminals in our own ranks. I don't think this is any different in Montenegro***

of them had mentioned **Ratko Mladić** as an obstacle to Serbian European integrations. They didn't even suggest that they might consider it in deciding on the candidate status, or postpone this condition for some future stage. There was no warning, although we know that **Gotovina** was a precondition for Croatia's progress.

Everything Serbia did to strengthen its capacities in this area is a consequence of pressures from the West. The readiness to fight corruption only goes so far, until the investigation reaches the criminals in

their own ranks. I don't think this is any different in Montenegro.

And because in Serbia everybody is in fact in power, there is a selective consensus. If there was will, we wouldn't have turned the reform of the judiciary into a farce. Democratic Party would like to be the leader in EU integrations, but doesn't want to let go off its control over judiciary. These things can't go together. It's not enough to apply a misshapen law on confiscation of criminally acquired property to be the "success story" of the region.

● **Advocates of NATO in Montenegro insist that membership in the Alliance is a precondition for membership in EU. Would you agree?**

No, and I think this is a bad argument. The fact that all East European countries turned towards EU and embraced NATO as soon as they escaped from the Soviet dominance is a result of a particular historical moment. They believed NATO was a guarantee that the Soviets or Russia can never again assert their power over them.

The history of the Western Balkans is somewhat different – we never experienced such a totalitarian regime in former Yugoslavia, nor did we view NATO as a path to escape towards democracy and EU. I can't say, "unfortunately", because I think living in one of the former members of the Warsaw Pact was too high a price to pay for that, if we compare it to all the good things Yugoslavia did for this region.

The reason for advocating something like that is partly that the Western political agents, primarily those EU countries that refused to recognise Kosovo, are

uneasy when it comes to talking about the NATO intervention in 1999.

We should join the NATO because this is also a political, not only a military alliance, which responds to the challenges of the 21<sup>st</sup> century on the grounds of the common values of its members, much like the EU. We should join because these challenges are of such proportions that only the very big countries, such as China, can hope to weather them alone.

V. ŽUGIĆ

## FRENCH REVOLUTION AND NAPOLEON

# There's only one Revolution

The French Revolution (1789–1799) was a period of radical social and political upheaval in



Prepared by Miloš Vukanović

French and European history. The absolute monarchy that had ruled France for centuries collapsed in three years. French society underwent an epic transformation as aristocratic and religious privileges evaporated under a sustained assault from liberal political groups and the masses on the streets. Old ideas about hierarchy and tradition succumbed to new Enlightenment principles of citizenship and inalienable rights.

The French Revolution began in 1789 with the convocation of the Estates-General in May. The first year of the Revolution witnessed members of the Third Estate proclaiming the Tennis Court Oath in June, the assault on the Bastille in July, the passage of the Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen in August, and an epic march on Versailles that forced the royal court back to Paris in October.

The next few years were dominated by tensions between various liberal assemblies and a conservative monarchy intent on thwarting major reforms. A republic was proclaimed in September 1792 and King Louis XVI was executed the next year. External threats also played a dominant role in the development of the Revolution. The French Revolutionary Wars started in 1792 and ultimately featured spectacular French victories that facilitated the conquest of the Italian peninsula, the Low Countries, and most territories

west of the Rhine—achievements that had defied previous French governments for centuries. Internally, popular sentiments radicalized the Revolution significantly, culminating in the brutal Reign of Terror from 1793 until 1794. After the fall of Robespierre and the Jacobins, the Directory assumed control of the French state in 1795 and held power until 1799, when it was replaced by the Consulate under Napoleon Bonaparte.

Historians widely regard the Revolution as one of the most important events in human history, and the

end of the early modern period. Within France itself, the Revolution permanently crippled the power of the aristocracy and drained the wealth of the Church, although the two institutions survived despite the damage they sustained.

After the collapse of the First Empire under Napoleon in 1815, the French public lost the rights and privileges earned since the Revolution, but they remembered the participatory politics that characterized the period. Some historians argue that the French people underwent a fundamental

*In most European countries, the importation of the ideals of the French Revolution, brought about mostly through the Napoleonic wars, left a mark. The increasing prosperity and clout of the middle classes became incorporated into custom and law, and the vast new wealth built on bourgeois activities, such as commerce and industry, meant that European monarchs found it difficult to restore pre-revolutionary absolutism, and had to keep some of the reforms enacted during Napoleon's rule. Institutional legacies remain to this day*



transformation in self-identity, evidenced by the elimination of privileges and their replacement by rights as well as the growing decline in social deference that highlighted the principle of equality throughout the Revolution.

Outside France, the Revolution captured the imagination of the world. It had a profound impact on the Revolution of 1848, the Russian Revolution and its ideas were imbibed by **Mao Zedong** in his efforts at constructing a communist state in China.

The Napoleonic Wars were a series of conflicts declared against Napoleon's French Empire by opposing coalitions that ran from 1803 to 1815. As a continuation of the wars sparked by the French Revolution of 1789, they brought about unprecedented transformation of European armies. French power rose quickly, conquering most of Europe, but collapsed rapidly after France's disastrous invasion of Russia in 1812. At the peak of its power, Napoleon's empire encompassed all of today's France, the Benelux countries, Iberian and Italian Peninsula, Germany, Poland and Dalmatia. He also fought wars in Egypt and the Middle East, in the Caribbean and India. If all the resources and men the warring European powers brought from their colonies are taken into consideration, this was the first global war. The empire suffered a complete defeat after the battles of Leipzig in 1813 in



occupation of Spain weakened Spain's hold over its colonies, providing an opening for nationalist revolutions in Spanish America. As a direct result of the Napoleonic wars, the British Empire became the foremost world power for the next century.

The Napoleonic Wars brought great changes both to Europe and the Americas. Napoleon had succeeded in bringing most of Western Europe under one rule—a feat that had not been accomplished since the days of the Roman Empire, although **Charlemagne** came close to it. However, France's constant warfare with the combined forces of the other major powers of Europe for over two decades finally

*After his defeat, Napoleon deplored his unfinished dream to create a free and peaceful "European association" sharing the same principles, the same system of measurement, the same currency with different exchange rates and the same Civil Code. Although his defeat set back the idea by one-and-a-half centuries, it re-emerged after the end of the Second World War*

Waterloo in 1815, resulting in restoration of the Bourbon monarchy in France and partial abolition of the reforms brought about by the Revolution.

The wars resulted in the dissolution of the Holy Roman Empire and sowed the seeds of nascent nationalism in Germany and Italy that would lead to the two nations' consolidation later in the century. Meanwhile the Spanish Empire began to unravel as French

took its toll. By the end of the Napoleonic Wars, France no longer held the role of the dominant power in Europe, as it had since the times of Louis XIV. In its place, the United Kingdom emerged as by far the most powerful country in the world and the Royal Navy gained unquestioned naval superiority across the globe. This, coupled with Britain's large and powerful industrial economy, made it the most powerful economic force in the world.

In most European countries, the importation of the ideals of the French Revolution, brought about mostly through the Napoleonic wars, left a mark. The increasing prosperity and clout of the middle classes became incorporated into custom and law, and the vast new wealth built on bourgeois activities, such as commerce and industry, meant that European monarchs found it difficult to restore pre-revolutionary absolutism, and had to keep some of the reforms enacted during Napoleon's rule. Institutional legacies remain to this day: not only is it one of the fundamental principles of all European states, but the European Union was also based upon the respect for civic rights and the legal system founded upon this principle.

A relatively new and increasingly powerful movement became significant. Nationalism would shape the course of much of future European history; its growth spelled the beginning of some states and the end of others. The map of Europe changed dramatically in the hundred years following the Napoleonic Era, based not on fiefs and aristocracy, but on the basis of human culture, national origins, and national ideology. After the war, in order to prevent another such war, Europe was divided into states according to the balance of power theory. This meant that, in theory, no European state would become strong enough to dominate Europe in the future. This was a theory that would come into play several times throughout European history, and reach its peak during the Cold War.

Finally, in the same period another concept emerged—that of a unified Europe. After his defeat, Napoleon deplored his unfinished dream to create a free and peaceful "European association" sharing the same principles, the same system of measurement, the same currency with different exchange rates and the same Civil Code. Although his defeat set back the idea by one-and-a-half centuries, it re-emerged after the end of the Second World War.

*The author is a programme associate in Centre for Civic Education*

# Enter Sandmen

by Brano Mandić

1.

What's up with the parties that haven't made it into the parliament? Once the editor ordered me to do a research on that, like it were some political delicatessen. The article was supposed to go in an easy Sunday issue. It was summer, Blueberry Days and bungee jumping reigned supreme over the cover pages, and I felt at a loss like a man who has to milk out whatever article, give a birth to soft news, or, to put it bluntly, fill up a column in a dry season.

That was then, and now, parties that couldn't pass the puny Montenegrin census are all over the media, wailing, calling to arms and resistance. Their leaders are the centre of all camera flashes, as if they were some kind of a shadow government, with the sun of freedom just about to dispel the shades and hand them the absolute power.

How is it possible that a person who after fifteen years cannot even reach a parliamentary seat can appear

*Montenegrin public space has no filters that could protect us from their bucketfuls of amateurish vulgarity. Media analysts and stoners might be still interested in these individuals' public building, gradual polishing and construction of a public appearance, broadening of their vocabularies, events and happenings. But let us beware, for they are far from naive!*

on the cover page of a popular daily screaming that genocide is pending over the heads of Serbs in Montenegro. Which criteria, if any, accords more space to a vice president of a tiny party than is becoming of Prime Minister, for exultations over the initiative for independent Sandžak? Or, take famous Mr P. Popović, of the people's party, with new glasses, who resurges every day with some wise words regarding the unity of the opposition, as if he were at the peak of his power and not wiped out, depraved, humiliated and removed



from the political scene. Just when the citizens have decided to simplify the political circus a little and kick a few clowns out of the parliament, here they are again, riding and saddling in newspapers, littering with commonplaces, all of them scowling. I'm not a fan of the

tions are there to decide on something. Who would know better than myself how difficult it is to fill up the pages in the summer, but I think the Montenegrin papers could be a tad more attractive (if that is at all possible), if instead of confessions of the above mentioned figures they just published blank pages. A succinct political message: they're no more, dear citizens, the place is empty, do politically organise yourselves.

2.

More interesting than politicians without votes are the non-governmental organisations whose names surface for the first time in some historical moment. One civic initiative is fighting against NATO membership, but we have no idea who the members are or why they're doing it, except that they have a semi-literate leader (yes, leader!) who immediately got space to glorify the Russian arms and expound on his knowledge of Internet, i.e. reading though anti-globalist websites. Another NGO, my favourite, is active in preservation of state symbols. Their work is a real example of how to help the citizens

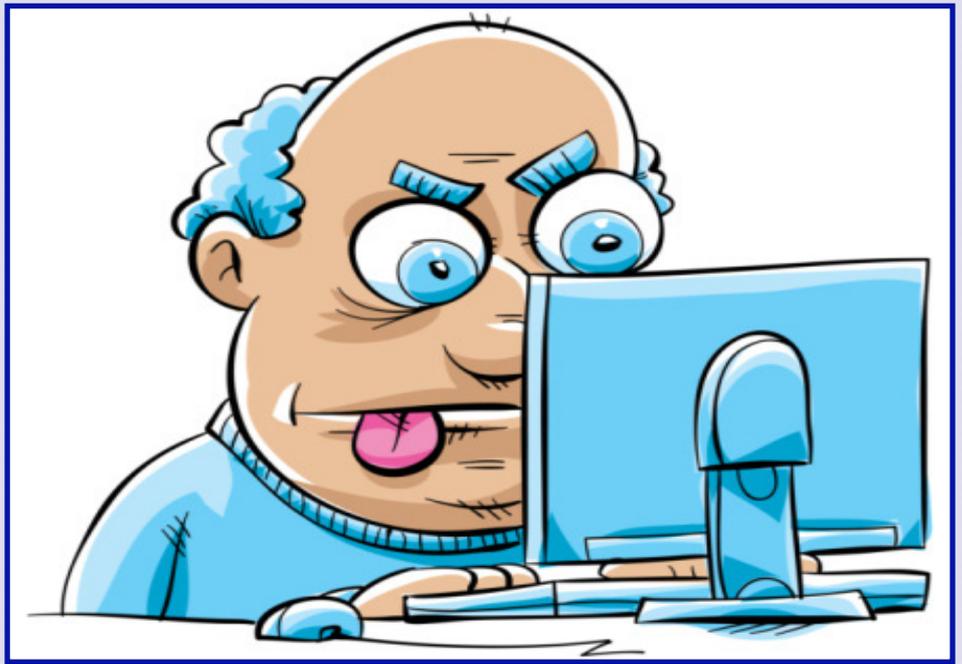
– through press releases on the flag and the coat of arms.

Then comes along one Suljević and says Sandžak is ours! – but who cares about Suljević, nobody in Montenegro knows. Hordes of ambitious blokes are marching in front of our noses and getting a chance to snap, snub, turn furious or bashful, depending on their sensibility and mission they have chosen for themselves. Montenegrin public space has no filters that could protect us from their bucketfuls of amateurish vulgarity. Media analysts and stoners might be still interested in these individuals' public building, gradual polishing and construction of a public appearance, broadening of their vocabularies, events and happenings. But let us beware, for they are far from naive. A few days ago Stanojević had cautiously appeared on the stage, defender of the Roma, also famous for having split one woman's head. Running away from the law, a brute and a bully, he raised a big issue: the death of the Roma who once tried to leave this paradise for Italy and all of them died unjustly at the hands of the ocean gods. The select few are upset

***Media sandmen have limited shelf life, but are resilient and work like pre-paid: they're occasionally resurrected and drawn in when necessary. That's why it is the duty of the media to uncover these guys first, to ridicule their petty but very dangerous games without which the situation would be much clearer for anybody to grasp***

that such a brute is slandering our country, questioning our honour, blaming the authorities, all along with the police at his heels. Crucially, however, a country could not wish for a better man to attack it, and let's not forget about that. That's why I'm paranoid to the bone: I suspect that once again the state is hand-picking its enemies. Is there a better way to shrug off a crime than to entrust the prosecution to a man who communicates with his wife through a bat?

Nobody is wondering how it was possible to smuggle out people without the police's blessing and logistics, and they're instead focusing on whose mouth the accusations are coming from. We'll defend the state against discredited critics, even if they're talking about a crime that requires the organisers to



come from the state, if there's one. That, or a few youngsters got together and decided to smuggle people, the police missed out on it and eventually everything got a little out of control, as it happens on the coast because there are crowds and it's hard to tell which boat is loaded with tobacco, which one

with Roma, and which with a Hollywood diva cheering for Montenegro.

### 3.

Not everything can be a coincidence, the cuckoo eggs always laying themselves on their own, there must be someone to at least pat our losers on the shoulder and prop them up in front of the camera. The production of pretences that there's something like a civic debate going on here has its laws, like any other process. Mostly everything begins with small game. Then comes one public debate, ten journalists and ten cameras show up, and that's how it all begins. Montenegrin media are the willing or unwilling accomplices in the creation of a new brand of sandmen. They are something for our reason to

laugh at, but their words remain in the subconscious and are spread through repetition. Eventually, we will start taking some of them seriously, like the commercials we don't trust and yet every day we see that washing powders in the hands of a young maiden taking out the most stubborn stains. Media sandmen have limited shelf life, but are resilient and work like pre-paid: they're occasionally resurrected and drawn in when necessary. That's why it is the duty of the media to uncover these guys first, to ridicule their petty but very dangerous games without which the situation would be much clearer for anybody to grasp. Typically attached to some centre of power, various extra-parliamentarians, phantom NGO rainmakers, experts at war with grammar are a plague that spreads quickly and easily. They're showing a lot of solidarity and they are not to be underestimated. Ignoramuses are banding together, helping out each other by mentioning each other, whether in a direct curse in the opinion article or through a memorandum on cooperation quoted by the news agencies. If you give them any finger but the middle one – you have them free hands. Like when you dressed the criminals into police and army uniforms and gave them guns.

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

## COMMUNICATION STRATEGY FOR INFORMING THE PUBLIC ABOUT EU AND MONTENEGRO'S PREPARATIONS FOR MEMBERSHIP 2010-2014

# Improve Montenegro's image with EU members

The Government is seriously planning to work on improving the image of Montenegro in EU member states, as the eventual membership will also depend on the support of public opinion in these countries.

Also, the Government is planning to focus on Internet as the main channel of communication to market its achievements, exchange information and promote EU at home.

These are the main pints of the new Communication strategy for informing the public about European Union and Montenegro's membership preparations for the period 2010-2014, adopted by the Government in early summer 2010.

Although the government doesn't mention it, the new strategy was adopted because the existing one dates from 2004 and was never really implemented, and in the meantime Montenegro has moved a lot closer to EU.

Among the main goals listed in the document are: offering reliable, easily accessible and sensible information; overcoming unfounded and mistaken stereotypes related to the integration process; and raising the level and quality of the public debate.

Another goal of the strategy is to emphasise the advantages of EU membership, as well as the responsibilities and duties ensuing from it.

### *Internet ought to be one of the main channels of communication in the process of EU integration*

Its task is to moderate unrealistic expectations on the part of the Montenegrin public and to raise the level of general and expert knowledge among the individuals and within the academia, business and the civil sector.

The document also warns that the "general tone" of the communication should reflect realistic optimism regarding further development of the accession process.

The Government said the communi-

cation with the public will be taking place both on the national and international levels.

On the national level, the Government decided to focus on three target groups – youth, groups sensitive to changes and multipliers.

Multipliers, i.e. the "movers" of the public opinion are those elements of the public that have substantial influence on mobilization of other groups and formulation of their attitudes, which is why they should be involved as partners in the communication strategy, states the document.

The multipliers identified by the Government are the media, MPs, political parties, trade unions, economic and pro-

### *Among the main tasks of the Communication Strategy is to moderate unrealistic expectations on the part of the Montenegrin public and to raise the level of general and expert knowledge among the individuals and within the academia, business and the civil sector*

fessional associations, educational institutions (all levels), non-governmental organisations, religious associations, public institutions, local governments and local associations.

The youth, which according to the Government includes primary and secondary school and university students are the target group which in the long run will profit the most from EU membership. "The

youth will influence participation of their families, friends, colleagues and all others in their environment. Communication activities will be aimed at the concrete needs and expectations of the young people", states the strategy.

Groups sensitive to changes are those categories of the population which are "more difficult to reach and who need more information about the reasons for joining the EU". According to the Government, these are pensioners, farm-



ers, rural populations, unemployed, employees of small and medium enterprises, managers of large economic complexes and persons with disabilities.

As for the international target groups, the Government believes that further progress towards EU integrations, especial-

ly the acquisition of the candidate status and the opening of the negotiations process will require greater support for Montenegro among the citizens of EU member states. This will require, according to the strategy, greater efforts to improve the image of the country in the international public and publicise its successes in the adoption of EU standards and values.

On the international level the Government identified two target groups – the general public in EU member states and the creators of international public opinion and decision makers.

"The latter target group consists of foreign diplomatic representations in Montenegro, EU Delegation, EU institutions and officials, representatives of international organisations in Montenegro, foreign academic institutions, international non-governmental organisations and foreign media. Trend-setters in the international public opinion and the decision makers are an important target group, because their judgements have a direct impact on the formulation of the public

## A BLITZKRIEG ON FOREIGN MEDIA

The first task the Government set to itself was to get the foreign media interested in the events in Montenegro.

"International media have a decisive impact on the development of international public opinion. The first communication-related task is to attract their interest to the events in Montenegro, bearing in mind the newsworthiness of potential information for the international public and specific interests of concrete target groups", states the Strategy.

It adds that the annual Action plans should contain separate media plans for informing the foreign media.

opinion in EU member states, as well as on the decision making process itself. Our goal in communicating with this target group is to raise awareness about the progress Montenegro made in fulfilling EU accession requirements, to build a network of EU contacts and conduct all other activities which are necessary to promote and strengthen the positions and capacities of institutions and organisations in Montenegro", states the communication strategy.

The document also emphasises that, in relation to this target group, an important role should be played by Montenegrin diplomatic missions to various EU members.

On the other hand, the general EU public is perceived as a conglomerate of different target groups.

"Having a separate communication approach to each of these individual target groups within this larger category would require deployment of significant human and material resources. It is therefore necessary to identify communication priorities and general messages. In that sense, communication activities should be developed in two directions: improving the image of the country, i.e. rising awareness on the part of the EU general public about the general civilisational, historical, cultural, economic and natural characteristics of Montenegro on the one hand, and on the other communicating about concrete areas which could be of interest to the public in certain member states" states the Strategy.

The strategy is not meant to provide detailed guidelines for Montenegrin public diplomacy or nation-branding, but it does aim to coordinate additional activities in order to create a competitive identity of the country in the international public, which it judges to be necessary for the sake of better perception of Montenegro in

the EU member states and greater support by the international public to its accession to EU.

The document also notes a public opinion poll published in February 2009 and conducted among the citizens of EU member states on the question of the most important factors for future EU enlargement. The results varied tremendously from one country to another, with the citizens of Italy, Malta and UK being most focused on the matters of immigration, while Slovenians, Estonians, Greeks and Fins worried more about stability on their borders.

The Montenegrin Government believes that Montenegro-related information for the EU public should be targeted towards freedom and democratic values, economic issues, emigration and cultural and religious issues.

***Further progress towards EU integrations, especially the acquisition of the candidate status and the opening of the negotiations process will require greater support for Montenegro among the citizens of EU member states. This will require, according to the strategy, greater efforts to improve the image of the country in the international public and publicise its successes in the adoption of EU standards and values***

Regarding communication channels, the Government favours television and radio which are "the most accessible media for the largest number of presently identified target groups".

"Besides, television and radio are the most suitable media for initiating public discussions and debates in relation to various aspects of Montenegro's accession to EU, thereby offering the opportunity to offer meaningful arguments to the citizens about the positive sides and advantages of EU membership", states the document.

According to the Strategy, the press should be used in order to offer the most complete information on the EU system

and its functioning.

It adds that the Internet ought to be one of the main communication channels in the process of accession to EU.

"This channel offers the possibilities for interactive and two-way communication which ought to be present in every phase of the implementation of this Strategy. The Internet is also a medium which allows to present all the relevant information on the process of Montenegro's accession to EU in one place. In addition to the already "traditional" internet communication channels such as web portals, presentations and e-mail, more attention should be given to the increasingly popular web 2.0 (internet communities, social networking websites, sharing platforms for video and photo materials, wikis, blogs etc), especially in communication with the youth and with the foreign public. The rapid pace of development of this area requires continuous harmonisation of the communication approach to the current developments and innovations in information and communication technologies", warns the Strategy.

The Government recommends that public events, as well as personal contacts, should also be used to promote EU.

According to the Strategy, Government's partners in communication with the citizens should be public institutions media, NGOs, business sector, academic community, local self-govern-

ments and organisations and religious communities.

"In order to bring the Strategy in line with the real needs, it is necessary for the Ministry of European Integrations to prepare every year, in cooperation with non-governmental organisations and other partners, annual action plans. These will contain, in addition to the findings of opinion polls, a detailed overview of activities, tools and templates for communication, target groups, project leaders, potential partners and the mode of financing", states the Communication strategy.

V.Ž.

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

## Unpromising silence

Montenegro is an unalienable part of Europe. But we are so far from the ideals and values represented by European Union



by Danilo Ajković

that it is about time that we seriously start worrying about it and get down to sorting out our problems and cleaning up our backyard, because nobody else will do it for us.

Although it seems we will not do it either. Too many things let to pass. We tucked ourselves into private survival tactics instead of plunging into life that demands and produces the necessary changes.

*I believe that development of a country doesn't only depend on its economy or road infrastructure, or on the survival of some factories, but primarily on education. Economy can recover, and the factories can be rebuilt, but how do we give education back to generations of student, if we destroy it now?*

Recently, during the first spring session, Montenegrin Parliament adopted more than 90 laws, among others Changes and Amendments to the Law on General Education, re-centralising educational system. For more than 120 primary and 47 secondary schools the choice of directors is again up to the ministry, instead of being the responsibility of the school boards and local communities. These are precisely the kinds of decisions that take us further away from EU, decision taken by the same people who keep telling us about European integrations and their importance.

I believe that development of a country doesn't only depend on its economy or road infrastructure, or on the survival of some factories, but primarily on education. Economy can recover, and the factories can be rebuilt, but how do we give back education to generations of student, if we destroy it now?

Apart from taking us a step backwards, this centralisation is also dubious from the standpoint of the public good. Even if the minister was the best, could we realistically

expect him to be able to choose the most suitable people for every school, people who will be able to respond to the daily needs of students and teachers in different environments. Is he more familiar with all the potential candidates in Plav or Kotor, or any other municipality of Montenegro than the teachers' collective, the students and the parents? They ought to have the right to decide on the issues important for their community. And this right, which they acquired though the previous law, shouldn't be taken away from them!

We ought to learn from the past mistakes and understand that the entire system cannot be entrusted to one man, because that makes the system vulnerable. We ought to learn from the contemporary positive examples and good practices where the citizen's don't only exercise their power once every four years in front of the ballot box, but on a daily basis, influencing a myriad of tiny issues which are of importance to their

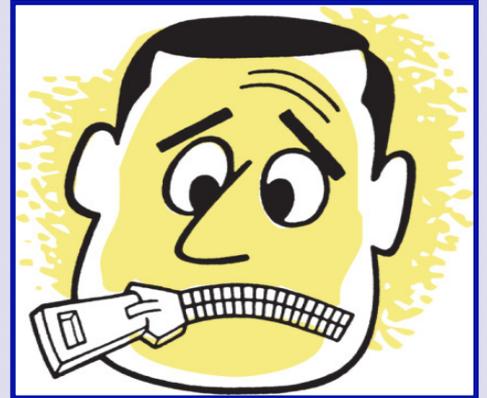
communities. We have to learn from EU, which is based on the power of institutions and active citizenship.

The law has been adopted without a breath of protest from teachers, although they are the ones who are responsible for the education of young people. And the parents?

*Between flawed laws and obedient citizens we find ourselves at a crossroads where any road we choose will be wrong and contrary to what the EU stands for*

Taking their cue from the teachers' silence, they followed the same line of thinking – that it is better for them not to meddle. The EU has no use for such citizens. Perhaps it is better for us to stay where we are, if we're fine with it and if we chose silence voluntarily.

Between flawed laws and obedient citizens we find ourselves at a crossroads where any road we choose will be wrong and contrary to what the EU stands for. I want to and I'm able to become a citizen of EU, because I want the kind of education from the primary school to university where everybody



has right to an opinion, without having to fear the consequences. Just like the secondary school students in Cetinje, who took the responsibility and fought for their rights. The right that has existed since ancient Greece: the right to decide. And they won. That's one more reason for us to join the fight.

As a member of a CCE youth group I recently visited the Gymnasium in Cetinje where we showed a few films on human rights. The director, the school psychologists and other staff were professional, friendly, and ready to help us out with anything we needed. I talked to somebody about it, and he replied: "Well, so what, it's their job". Maybe, but they are among the few who do it well.

The facts are already in the books, we don't need people to reproduce them mechanically, the society needs to hear the voice of youth, my peers, because we are the ones who stand to gain or lose the most from EU membership, we are the ones who show whether we are worthy of it. Now is the time for us to show that we can use our head for

thinking, that we are the ones who make decisions in our own environments, in our streets, and that the times when the responsibility was shifted to others have now passed.

The balance between fulfilling our duties and demanding our rights is the way to EU. That is why I want to get there. Because of myself, but also because of those who don't think that way.

*The author is a student of the Law Faculty in Podgorica and a volunteer in Centre for Civic Education*

# Less money for EU

European governments cut down the EU budget for 2011 by almost four billion euros, which is bound to slow down the EU's ambitious plan to become a global player and downsize the subsidies for agriculture and expenditure on administration.

The governments agreed the budget will be 126.5 billion euros, or 3.6 billion less than requested by the European Commission.

Next, the Budget will be discussed in the European Parliament, and the negotiations with EC, which doesn't want to give

up its requests, must be completed by October.

Seven EU members, including UK and Denmark, refused to sign the budget proposed by EC which envisaged a 2.91% increase compared to last year.

More than a half of overall cuts, or a bit less than two billion euros, is in cohesion funds – mostly assistance for the poorest EU regions. The Common Agricultural Policy (CAP), which is the largest item on EU budget, will be reduced by more than 800 billion euros, to 57.3 billion.

# Excellent grain harvest

Grain production in EU will remain stable this year compared to a five-year average, and the yield is expected to rise in spite of draughts and floods affecting many parts of Europe, EC announced.



The EC experts estimate that Spain, Lithuania, Latvia, Romania and Bulgaria will have exceptionally good harvests of wheat and barley, and only Greece and Portugal will do worse than average.

EC said these estimates were based on data collected before 10 July, and that draughts and floods affecting certain parts of Europe after this date could change the forecast.

The report doesn't contain an assessment of the success of the harvest on the prices of grain which are bound to rise as Russia, one of the world's leading exporters of grain, has been hard hit by the warmest summer in the last 130 years.

# Nepotism for a passport

Around five million citizens of Moldova, Macedonia, Serbia, Ukraine and Turkey have a chance to get an EU passport through shortened citizenship procedures offered by three EU states to the ethnic groups or minorities outside their borders, reports the Associated Press.

The analysis shows that, as a consequence of special citizenship laws implemented by Bulgaria, Romania and Hungary, around five million "outsiders" could become EU citizens, mostly people from the poorest European countries that will take many years to become EU members.

Romania and Bulgaria are already giving citizenships to the related ethnic groups of minorities living outside their borders, and Hungary is planning to do the same from January.

The number of 4.7 million of poten-

tial citizens is a sum of all Moldovans who speak Romanian, Slavs in Macedonia, Hungarians living in Serbia and Ukraine and Turks who left Bulgaria during communism. All of them are entitled to EU citizenships through preferential programmes.

In Moldova, where 2/3 of the citizens speak Romanian, around 120 000 holds Romanian passports. The government in Bucharest said that another 800 000 people out of the total population of 4 million Moldovans applied for Romanian citizenship.

Around 1.4 million Macedonians of Slavic origin is also entitled to the citizenship of Bulgaria, which maintains that Macedonians are Bulgarians who speak a different language. Budapest is planning to offer dual citizenship and passports to millions of ethnic Hungarians living outside of its borders – among them 300 000 in Serbia and around 160 000 in Ukraine.

## E-commerce disappointing

European Commission has recently initiated comprehensive consultations to find out what are the barriers to development of electronic commerce in Europe.

Ten years after the start of the implementation of the Directive on e-commerce, it still accounts for less than 2% of total income from retail trade in the EU, and the EC will try to find out what are the obstacles to its development.



## Same chargers

From the next year most mobile phones being sold in Europe will be using the same charger, announced the EC recently. It believes the universal charger will "make the consumers' lives much easier" but also constitute a substantial environmental improvement, reducing the number of unnecessary chargers.

The novelty concerns the newer generations of mobile phones which have a USB connection to computers. The agreement was supported by the leading producers such as Apple, LGE, Motorola, NEC, Nokia, RIM, Samsung, SonyEricsson, Alcatel and Texas Instruments.

## Against disasters

After the end of the summer holidays European Commission will reveal its proposal for the strengthening of EU's capacities to deal with natural disasters, announced the EC representative **Ferran Tarradellas** in mid-August.

French President **Nicolas Sarkozy** recently called on EU to assemble a rapid response force for natural disasters, after the recent floods in Pakistan and forest fires in Russia.

Tarradellas said that EC had started working on the initiative long before Sarkozy's proposal.

## CAN THE EASTERN MEMBERS FULFIL EDUCATIONAL GOALS SET BY THE EUROPEAN COMMISSION

# Brussels doesn't like empty classrooms

While some of the EU's Eastern member states are confident about achieving the bloc's 2020 education targets, others – Hungary, Bulgaria and Romania – may struggle to satisfy the European Commission's expectations, reports EurActiv.

The agreed goals in the 'Europe 2020' strategy – reducing the share of early school leavers to 10% and making sure that at least 40% of 30–34 year olds have a degree or diploma by 2020 – are EU-wide averages. National targets are to be agreed with the European Commission, meaning that lower results in certain member states can be balanced out by above-average ones in others.

Poland, the Czech Republic and Slovakia are leading the way when it comes to school dropout rates – all three are well within the EU-wide goal of 10% – although neighbouring Hungary could struggle to meet its national target of 8.4%, as proposed by the European Commission.

As for the higher education goal, the Poles have set themselves an ambitious target of 45%, while the Czechs and the Slovaks are aiming



for lower – and for them seemingly more challenging – targets of 32% and 30% respectively.

For Bulgaria and Romania, the EU's newest arrivals, reducing the proportion of early school leavers will be a difficult task. Particularly in Romania, many children leave school before finishing their education, a trend which has not been aided by the onset of the global economic crisis.

The higher degree of poverty in

those two countries, the Roma factor and the difficult rural environment – especially in Romania – appear to be holding back progress in access to education.

At its last summit in mid June the European Council committed itself to the EU education targets but explicitly stressed that national education goals and education systems are the responsibility of member states. Germany and Austria, both of which are federally-structured countries, had initially resisted the EU-wide goals owing to concerns about their federal competencies.

Poland is one of the leading member states when it comes to education statistics. Its authorities have welcomed both the 'Europe 2020' education targets and have set themselves even more ambitious national goals. Currently, just 5% of pupils in Poland do not finish secondary school – the lowest rate among the EU's 27 member states – and its education authorities are aiming to reduce it by a further half percentage point.

As for tertiary education, Poland wants to reach a higher level than the EU-wide goal, and is aiming to see 45% rather than 40% of 30–34 year olds with a degree or diploma by 2020. In 2008, 29.7% of 30–34 year old Poles held such qualifications.

However, Poland is performing less impressively in other areas of education. The share of Polish 3–5 year olds attending kindergarten stands at 60%, compared with an EU average of over 90%. Another problem is lifelong learning among adults: the EU average is 9.5%, while in Poland it is only 4.7%.

The Czech Republic is not wor-

## TROUBLESOME ROMANIA

Romania appears to be the most difficult case among the EU's Eastern countries, with the rate of early school leavers on the rise. Between 2000 and 2007, the number of early school leavers increased threefold, according to the Ministry of Education, Research, Youth and Sport.

According to the country's Institute for Statistics, in 2008 more than 436,000 children aged between three and 17 were not enrolled in any kind of education institution, be that kindergarten, school, secondary or professional school. The economic crisis, which hit Romania hard, appears to have worsened the situation.

The NGOs warn that the number of early school leavers sharply increases after the age of 13 and reaches a peak at 16–17 years. Only a quarter of children from rural areas make it to secondary school, as many of them are already working instead of studying.

ried about the EU's 2020 education targets and is confident of attaining its goals regarding both school dropouts and tertiary education.

The number of early school leavers in the country stands at just 5.6%, second only to Poland. The Czechs are thus well within the EU-wide target, although education expert **Eva Richterova** believes that the rate can be improved further with more parental support and better student performance.

Meeting the second goal – ensuring that at least 40% of 30–34 year-olds have a degree or diploma – could prove more challenging, yet the Czech Ministry of Education, Youth and Sports is confident that the national target of 32% will be achieved.

The new centre-right coalition government is planning major reform of the education system – it plans to raise teacher salaries and introduce university fees – yet the country's targets are unlikely to change.

Slovakia is a front-runner when it comes to early school leavers, but will have to double the proportion of 25–34 year olds with tertiary education qualifications to meet its agreed national target.

The rate of school dropouts in Slovakia is 6%, only slightly higher than in Poland and the Czech Republic. According to the Slovak Ministry of Education, the country "has very good results in this indicator, since graduation from secondary school has significant social value and the acquisition of at least the vocational certificate is a prerequisite of being able to get a job".

On the other hand, OECD statistics show that only 13% of 25–34 year olds in Slovakia hold a university degree, though higher education enrolment rates have significantly improved in the last few years – to just under one in three secondary school leavers. The Slovak target is 30% and the education ministry is optimistic it can be achieved.

## THE KIDS FROM "OLD" EUROPE NOT TOO KEEN ON SCHOOL EITHER

**E**ast European countries are not the only ones who are lagging behind European educational goals. In spite of major reforms taking place in France in the last five years this developed country is currently lagging behind in the aim of reducing the number of early school leavers although it is ahead of the target to increase the proportion of young people who complete tertiary education.

In 2008, 18% of French pupils left secondary school without obtaining all their qualifications. That year, ministers set the aim of reducing dropouts in schools in *banlieues* (city suburbs) by 10%, while the government passed a law in June 2010 stating that family allowances could be suspended in cases of repeated absenteeism.

However, the focus on absenteeism was seen by some as an easy option. Teachers' union views the move as "inefficient and unjust because if it was implemented, it would hit families that are already suffering hard".

Meanwhile, France is already ahead of the target to increase the share of young people with a diploma to 40% by 2020. In 2008, 42% of French 25–34 year olds held such a qualification. In the EU, only Belgium and Spain have a higher rate. According to the current national strategy, 50% of the current generation of school pupils should hold a degree by 2015.

Hungary's national education targets based on Europe 2020 will be difficult for the country to meet: while the higher education goal may be achievable, the proposed early school leavers one is "not realistic," according to the Ministry of Education.

The higher education target proposed by the European Commission for Hungary is 33.8%, which would require a significant increase from the current rate of 22.4%. Yet the Ministry of Education believes this goal can be attained – as demographic trends predict a positive effect in the coming years.

"The Ministry takes on the challenges of the EU target," an official in the office of **Rozsa Hoffmann**, state secretary for education, told EurActiv when asked about the early school leavers' target.

As for school drop-outs, the rate has stagnated in the last few years following a steady improvement since 2000. In 2009, it stood at 11.4% and the Commission has proposed 8.4% by 2020, but Hoffmann wants it to be a more modest 10%.

Bulgaria and Romania, the last

members to join the Union in 2007, both face a real challenge to reduce their numbers of early school leavers – though the latter is confident of reaching the EU's higher education target.

In Bulgaria, 93.4% of all 7–10 year-olds attended school in the academic year 2009–10. Yet the figure falls to 82.4% for children aged 11–14 and only 78.6% of all youngsters actually completed secondary school, according to research by the National Statistical Institute.

This means that currently 21.4% of young Bulgarians do remain in secondary school for the duration – more than double the EU-wide goal of 10% by 2020.

However, Bulgaria is well-placed to attain the target of increasing the proportion of young people with a degree or diploma to at least 40% by 2020. In the 2009–10 academic year, 33.1% of 19–23 year-olds attended university or specialised higher education schools, while another 4.7% attended colleges or higher level vocational training programmes.

Prepared by: **V. ŠČEPANOVIĆ**

## LAW ON THE USE OF SIGN LANGUAGE DELAYED BECAUSE OF STANDARDISATION PROCEDURES

## Hear out the deaf

## EVROPSKI REPORTER

by Irena Rašović

Establishing a quality communication with persons with damaged hearing in Montenegro won't be easy. Although Montenegro planned the Law on the sign language for 2009, in line with its commitments to EU, the goal is still far away.

Standardisation of the Montenegrin sign language is the reason for these delays.

"This law is important for the deaf. They can't do anything without it", says **Danilo Popović**, secretary of the Union of Organisations of the deaf and people with damaged hearing (SOGIN) of Montenegro.

"The law is supposed to recognise the right of the deaf people to use their mother tongue, via interpreters, and thus ease their everyday lives. The deaf are currently deprived of the

## DEAF MPS

In Europe, deafness is no more an obstacle to active participation in the social life. The deaf are attending regular educational programmes, working, receiving news, doing politics...

There are four deaf persons who are members of European parliaments: Dr **Adam Kosa**, from Hungary, was elected to the European Parliament in 2009. Apart from him, there are also **Helga Stevens** from Belgium in the Flemish parliament, **Helene Jarmer** in the Austrian and **Gergely Tapolczai** in the Hungarian parliament.

possibility to communicate and I don't see the reason for such delays", Popović said.

Snežana Mijušković, assistant minister in the Ministry of Labour and Social Assistance admits that the issue of the sign language is more complex than they originally thought, before the discussion on the Law began. "A quality solution is more important than keeping up with the deadlines", she said. "This solution must be based on our own experiences, and not those of others. This is exactly what the European community recommends when it encourages the countries to introduce their own national sign languages."

In most European countries today the sign language is equal to the spoken one, thanks to the efforts of the European Parliament which in 1988 and later in 1998 adopted the Resolution on the sign language, insisting that all member states should recognise the language of the deaf and its use. The freedom of speech and information is one of the basic human rights in every democratic society. This right has been enshrined in the international documents, especially by the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and by the European Convention on Human Rights.

Among the most important for the persons with damaged hearing are the UN Standard Rules on equal opportunities for persons with disabilities. Although these rules aren't legally binding, there is a substantial moral commitment and political dedication of the member states to apply them.

Recognition of the right to sign



language is the primary goal of the European Union of Deaf (EUD), an organisation founded in 1985 and representing the interests of the deaf on the EU level. The working group in charge of drafting the Law on the sign language in Montenegro was established in May 2009.

"Originally", says **Vesna Simović**, member of the Working Group, "the intention was to define the notion of the sign language and that of interpreter and notary, the conditions for their appointment, procedures for registration, disciplinary responsibility, the society of notaries and interpreters for the sign language and the use of the language. Later, however, it was decided that the new law should be called the Law on the use of the sign language, which means that it will only regulate the matter of its usage, while the conditions for appointment, dismissal and registration of interpreters will be regulated by another decree of the Ministry of Education".

In addition to the right to free services of interpreters for sign language, the Law defines responsibilities of the civil servants and employees of local administrations.

One of the proposals is to accord the deaf the services of interpreters

free of charge for up to 30 hours a year, i.e. 100 hours for educational purposes.

Although the plan sounds way too ambitious for Montenegro which only has a handful of notaries, SOGIN believes that the situation won't improve unless the Law comes into force.

"We can't train translators unless there is a clear procedure". However, the lack of notaries, their training and licensing aren't the only problem of the future law.

The preparations have been postponed, according to the Ministry of Labour and Social Assistance, "until the resolution of issues which are responsibility of the Ministry of Education in Science, so that the use of the sign language follows previously set standards".

Negotiations over standardisation of the Montenegrin sign language have been on for more than half a year.

"There was a lot of talk about the two new letters of the Montenegrin alphabet, the "š" and "ž", says Danilo Popović. "The deaf are a specific category. They can't hear or tell apart the sounds, and there's not need to complicate already established signs. The new sounds should be simply avoided".

"Following recommendations by



the Ministry we prepared the Handbook for the sign language for the deaf in Montenegro with around 700 words. This is an updated version of the dictionary "The Language of Hands" which has been in use with our members for decades. We introduced some characteristics of our sign language such as toponyms, some archaisms or words which mean something specific in our society. We were shocked when the deputy minister, Vesna Vučurović,, recently told us to address our request to approve the handbook to Council for General Education i.e. the Educational Bureau".

**Tamara Milić** from the Ministry of Education and Science told us that the standardisation will however be completed by the Ministry of Education.

"We are about to appoint a working group that will find the solution for the standardisation of the sign language. I'm not saying that we are unhappy with our cooperation with the Union of the Deaf, but we believe it would be even better to involve more competent people in order to arrive at the best solution", said Milić in the interview for *European Reporter*.

"We will definitely involve representatives of the Educational Bureau and those from the institution for rehabilitation of children with difficulties in hearing and speaking, which is the only such institution in Montenegro, as well as the representatives of Union of deaf and persons with damaged hearing".

Milić didn't want to comment on the current proposal of SOGIN, saying that "this is for the working group to decide".

"This time there will be no deadlines. Standardisation will be completed when the working group settles on the best possible model. Everything must be to the benefit of better communication of deaf people", she said.

## LOSING PATIENCE

**W**ill standardisation of the sign language remove all obstacles to the Law remains to be seen.

Union of the deaf and persons with damaged hearing has been running out of patience with repeated delays.

"The deaf are in many ways the most vulnerable population among the persons with disabilities in Montenegro. They are the only ones who don't receive a single euro on account of their disability. We can't believe that money is the problem in this case, especially since the law concerns around 600 persons in Montenegro who were born deaf and for whom signs are the only means of communication. That doesn't require too much money", says Danilo Popović.

Popović added that he expects cooperation and understanding from the authorities but that, unless the law is quickly adopted, the Union will be forced to request assistance from the European Parliament.



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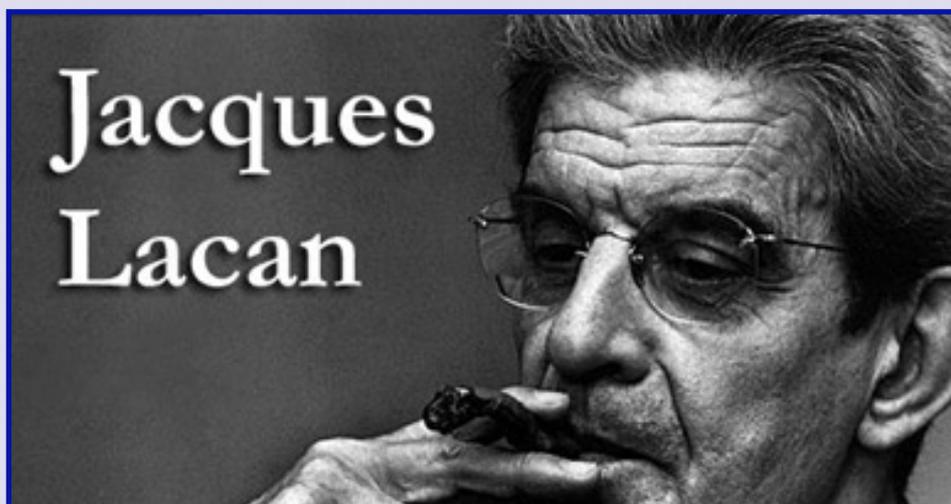
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NON-GOVERNMENTAL  
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European foundation for democracy is  
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ing for promotion and protection of univer-  
sal human rights, freedom, individual rights  
and political and social pluralism.

Foundation is founded with the aim to  
gather the individuals and organisation  
fighting for the values of democracy and  
human rights and to be some kind of coor-  
dinator of their activities.

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transparency, importance of free and  
independent judiciary and development of  
rule of law in general;
- Giving support in enhancing the activities  
of progressive forces and ideas in so called  
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Prepared by: **Petar ĐUKANOVIĆ**



Centar za građansko obrazovanje

CCE and Friedrich Ebert Stiftung publicise  
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All interested candidates may submit their application with short biography not later than **15 September 2010**, on the address:

Centre for Civic Education (for "Democracy school")  
Njegoševa 36, 81 000 Podgorica  
Tel/Fax: 020 / 665 112  
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The right to participate have the candidates whose priority is to gain new knowledge in above-mentioned fields and to contribute to the affirmation of ideas, meaning and standards of European integration in Montenegro. All candidates are welcome regardless of their age, gender, nationality, religion or personal beliefs, indicating that the priority have candidates who show high level of social activism in governmental, non-governmental, party, trade-union, commercial, scientific and cultural framework.

Expenses for the schooling are covered by organisers, with the obligation of the participants to attend at least 80% of the programme. Upon completion of the School participants receive a diploma and gain right for further professional training. Three best participants will be awarded with organised study visit to the EU institutions in Brussels.

Application with short biography should be sent not later than **24 September 2010**, on the address:

Centre for Civic Education (for "European Integration School")  
Njegoševa 36, 81 000 Podgorica  
Tel/Fax: 020 / 665 112  
E-mail: [info@cgo-cce.org](mailto:info@cgo-cce.org)  
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## FOR THIS ISSUE WE RECOMMEND:

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For more information and application, visit Master in Law and Economics Scholarships:

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For further information please contact the Erasmus Mundus Administration [mall@dpu.dk](mailto:mall@dpu.dk)

**The application deadline is 1 December 2010.**

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