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CONDITIONS

Ahead of the upcoming, important decisions by European Commission and the Council of European Union on Montenegro's membership application it seems that only one thing remains unclear – will Montenegro also get the date for the beginning of pre-accession negotiations?

A positive opinion by EC in November and the Council's awarding of the candidate status, probably in December, seem already secured.

As for the negotiations, the most realistic option is that their beginning will be conditional upon measurable achievements, probably with respect to anti-corruption and fight against organised crime, as well as reform of the judiciary.

Such a decision would be a good move on the part of EU members, also provided that certain conditions are met.

First, the deadline for the Montenegrin authorities and institutions to demonstrate concrete results should not be longer than a few months or at most half a year.

A longer period would only fuel the suspicion that the EU is waiting for Serbia to catch up with its neighbours so that they can all start the negotiations together and that, when the push comes to shove, EU isn't really interested in Montenegro's situation. This would only build on the fact that Belgrade was promised to get the Questionnaire within a month, whereas Croatia, Macedonia, Montenegro and Albania had to wait for the questions for three to four months.

Second, the conditions to be fulfilled by the Montenegrin government ought to be very precise and, finally, the Council of EU should authorise the Commission, or some other institution, to assess whether they have been fulfilled, and it certainly should not allow the member states to individually decide on this.

Such an approach would be fair. And the ball would be in Montenegro's court.

V.Ž.

EU could condition the date of negotiations (2 October) – Secretary General of the European Movement in Montenegro **Momčilo Radulović** said after an extended visit to Brussels that Montenegro will receive a positive opinion and the status of a membership candidate, but that there is "a serious inclination in EU to give Montenegrin authorities and institutions a deadline to remedy certain shortcomings before the Council decides to set the date for negotiations".

Đukanović: Candidate status is not enough (8 October) – Montenegro expects to receive the status of EU membership candidate in November, and is also hoping for a recommendation to start negotiations, said Prime Minister **Milo Đukanović** during the official visit to Slovenia. "Based on the Macedonian experience we know that the candidate status is not enough, it's only a sign of recognition of our achievements so far, while the beginning of negotiations represents an entry into a new phase of institutional relations", Đukanović said.

Montenegro in EU by 2015 (15 October) – Minister of European Integrations **Gordana Đurović** mentioned for the first time 2015 as the possible date of Montenegro's accession to EU, which is a year longer than the Government's earlier forecasts. At a commemorative event of three years since the signature of Stabilisation and Association Agreement (SAA) with EU, Đurović reminded that SAA came into force on 1 May and that through this document Montenegro committed itself to fulfilling the conditions for EU membership within five years. This, she said, means that in May 2015 Montenegro will be ready to join EU.

Tannock in Podgorica (16 October) – Permanent reporter for Montenegro in the European Parliament **Charles Tannock** visited Podgorica, where he met with public representatives and leaders of the opposition. He said it was important that every country should be judged on its own merits, and that it is good that all parties in the Montenegrin parliament are dedicated to the European road.

NCEI delegation meets Croatian colleagues (18 October) – President of the National Council for Monitoring of Croatia's pre-accession negotiations with EU **Vesna Pusić** received Montenegrin delegation of the National Council for European Integrations led by its president **Nebojša Medojević**. During the meeting the delegations talked about their bodies' role in the process of negotiations with EU.

Rompuy: We'll be fair and objective (19 October) – Sustainable progress in areas such as reform of the judiciary and fight against corruption and organised crime are key for Montenegro's progress in European integrations, said president of the European Council **Herman van Rompuy**, who recently visited Podgorica for the first time. He emphasised that he cannot anticipate EC's opinion on Montenegro's application for EU membership: "All I can promise is that we will assess Montenegrin application for membership in the EU fairly and objectively".



Opposition leaders in Brussels (21 October) – Delegations of the parliamentary opposition, including the presidents of Nova and Movement for Changes **Andrija Mandić** and **Nebojša Medojević** and deputy president of Socialist People's Party **Vasilije Lalošević** met in Brussels with the director of DG Enlargement **Pierre Mirel**. They expressed their expectation that unconditional negotiations for EU membership will begin as soon as possible.

Podgorica to wait for Belgrade? (28 October) – Podgorica might receive the candidate status relatively quickly, but the opening date for membership negotiations might have to wait for Belgrade and Skopje, said president of European Stability Initiative **Gerald Knaus**. "I can imagine that some EU members would want to wait another year to decide on the beginning of membership negotiations and see whether some other countries of the region might join in", Knaus said.

A VIEW FROM EU

The Balkan Endgame

Twenty years after the collapse of Yugoslavia and the communist regime in



by Franco Frattini

Albania, the western Balkans region is at a turning point once again. Slovenia is in the European Union, Croatia is very close to membership, and all of the region's other countries have started along the EU path. Yet there remains a danger that this positive progress can still be undermined.

Indeed, although EU integration is already bringing democracy and stability to the countries of the Balkans, it is an unfinished job, and completing that task is both vital and uncertain. The current economic crisis is leading pub-

The EU's ability to overcome "enlargement fatigue" and maintain its commitments to the region are also dependent on public support, so we must not stint in our efforts to convey to our citizens the political and economic advantages of accession of the countries of the western Balkans to the EU

lic opinion in the western Balkans to lose confidence that peace and economic growth are still within reach, creating the risk of a possible slowdown in the integration process.

As a whole, the region has made notable progress. Pro-European governments are now in place across the Balkans. The recent elections in Bosnia show that the electorate is still ethnically oriented. It is our task – with the support of the new Bosnian leadership – to redirect this approach to a genuine European mindset. Democratic reforms

are proving to be an increasingly effective cure for the instability created in the past by nationalism and ethnic strains. The key issue is to ensure that the western Balkans keeps its focus on the European agenda, which means that the EU must provide guidance and encouragement through tangible initiatives

That is why, at the EU–United States summit held in Prague last year, I proposed an eight-pronged initiative, elements of which have now been fully or partially taken up, including the Conference held in Sarajevo last June where the EU reiterated its commit-

The current economic crisis is leading public opinion in the western Balkans to lose confidence that peace and economic growth are still within reach, creating the risk of a possible slowdown in the integration process

ment to the integration process of the Balkans region as whole. New EU membership applications confirm the desire of Balkan governments to engage

seriously in internal reforms. But the road to EU membership involves painful sacrifice, so each country should be judged on its own merits. From its part, Europe is delivering as soon as the countries are adopting the necessary reforms.

The EU needs to give clear signals to public opinion across the region that meeting EU benchmarks has tangible positive effects on their lives. Serbia is emblematic of the importance of doing so, as public support there for the EU integration process has risen sharply in a

only months, from 40% to 60%, thanks in large part to the EU's decision of earlier this year to liberalize the visa regime.

The EU integration process is also proving a powerful driver for much-needed reform in Bosnia. Despite the country's worrisome political stalemate, and the seeming entrenchment, at least for the moment, of ethnic politics, the chance to grab the "low-hanging fruit" of visa liberalization did encourage the Bosnian leadership to make a serious effort at reform in a relatively short period of time.

Over the last 20 years, the goal of EU membership has proved an inval-

able asset for stabilizing, democratizing, and modernizing the western Balkans. Now it is up to leaders in the region to overcome the remaining obstacles, starting with an understanding between the governments of Belgrade and Pristina. The EU has offered to play a facilitating role: we urge both leaderships to promptly seize this opportunity, with a view to their states' further steps along the path towards the European family to which all Balkan countries naturally belong.

The EU's ability to overcome "enlargement fatigue" and maintain its commitments to the region are also dependent on public support, so we must not stint in our efforts to convey to our citizens the political and economic advantages of accession of the countries of the western Balkans to the EU.

The author is Minister of Foreign Affairs of Italy – Source: Europe's World, 2010

WHAT SHOULD MONTENEGRO DO FOR THE RIGHTS OF LGBT POPULATION AS PART OF ITS PROGRESS TOWARDS EU

Marriage is not only for heterosexuals

On its road to full membership in European Union Montenegro will at some



by Tanja Pavićević

point have to broach the question of rights of LGBT population (lesbian, gay, bisexual and transsexual), which have only recently entered the public discussion, seemingly only due to homophobic statements of the minister for human and minority rights **Ferhat Dinoša**.

Experts suggest that Montenegro will have to fully bring into force the laws on gender equality and prohibition of discrimination, whose implementation is the responsibility of the Protector of Human Rights and Freedoms (Ombudsman), and

to come up with a way to regulate same-sex marriages, which is likely to cause much polemic. The most difficult task ahead of the Montenegrin institutions, however, is the change of mindset.

Deputy Minister for human and minority rights **Sabahudin Delić** recently admitted that, when it comes to LGBT population, Montenegro is still at the beginning.

"This issue is not part of the Montenegrin discourse, neither institutionally nor politically. With regard to the situation of LGBT population, Montenegrin citizens' mindset has not budged and this will be an enormous task for the ministry, and the society overall", Delić said.

Montenegrin member of the European commission for the liberty of sexual orientation (ECSOL) and professor of European law at the

Faculty for Administrative and European Studies in Podgorica Dr **Jovan Kojičić** said the existing legal framework in Montenegro is not enough to deal with the rights of LGBT population.

"There are no programmes or strategies for sexual minorities. There are no court cases, and no track record of sanctions for the hate speech", Kojičić said in the interview for *European Pulse*.

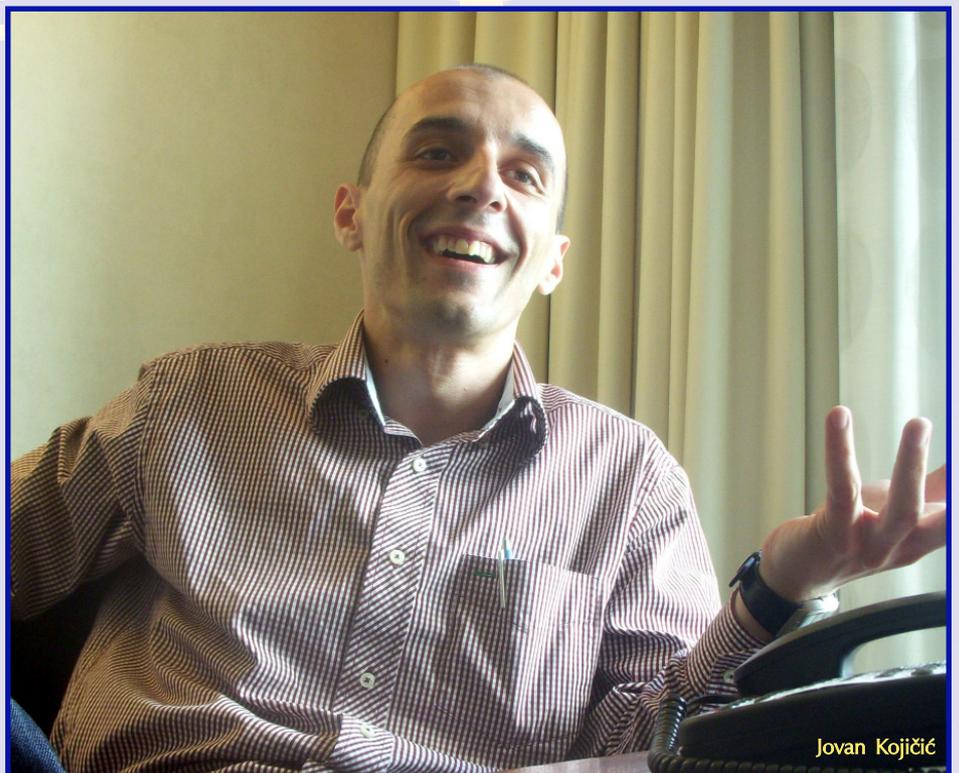
According to him, although Montenegrin Constitution proclaims equality for all and forbids discrimination on any personal grounds, there is still no law in Montenegro on registered partnerships, which would allow homosexuals to enjoy the rights ensuing from marriage or cohabitation.

"Article 12 of the Family Law of Montenegro defines cohabitation as an extended common living

EXAMPLES FROM EU

For the time being five European states (Belgium, Netherlands, Norway, Spain and Sweden) recognise same-sex marriages and equalise the rights of gay partners (including parenting) with those of heterosexual marriages.

France, UK, Italy, Czech Republic, Hungary, Portugal and Croatia recognise same-sex cohabitation, but without giving them the same rights as those of their heterosexual counterparts.



Jovan Kojičić

arrangement between a man and a woman. Regarding the right to mutual support and other property-related and legal relations, the Montenegrin law proclaims equality between marriage and cohabitation. Consequently, same-sex unions which do not have the right to a legally defined status, nor are allowed to register a same-sex partnership. They are thus placed in an inferior, legally unprotected position compared to the cohabitating arrangements between different sexes", Kojičić said.

According to him, this clearly indicates discriminatory attitudes and the existence of differential treatments of persons because of their sexual orientation.

Also, Kojičić warns, the effect of the laws currently of paper are not being felt with respect to LGBT population.

"Societal institutions and specific law enforcement bodies aren't using the available legal mechanisms to protect LGBT persons from



discrimination or violence. For instance, hate speech almost always goes "unnoticed" and unpunished and expression of negative attitudes towards sexual minorities, like in the case of Minister Dinoša, was

never a reason to hold a public figure accountable. Perpetrators of violence towards LGBT persons are rarely found and punished", Kojičić said.

According to him, Montenegro is expected to comply with the Lisbon Treaty, which requires respect for the fundamental values of EU, such as respect for human dignity, freedoms, democracy, equality, rule of law, human rights and rights of sexual minorities.

Kojičić warns that a candidate country can only join EU if it fulfils all the criteria, and that the enlargement policy depends primarily on the capacity of the state to fulfil membership obligations ensuing from the fundamental principles of EU, including the Copenhagen criteria.

"Human rights and issues such as discrimination on grounds of sexual orientation and gender identity are important areas within these criteria and are among the conditions Montenegro has to fulfil", Kojičić explains.

He adds that the Article 6 of

14 MONTHS IN PRISON FOR HATRED

Lukač-Koritnik reminds that in 2006 the Croatian Parliament discussed the draft law on registered partnerships as the proposing party thought that the Law on same-sex unions does not solve the problems of same-sex partners in practice with regard to inheritance, health protection, pensions, welfare...

"In the Committee for Gender Equality I supported this proposal, having taken into account the arguments of the proposing party and non-governmental organisations which advocated adoption of the new law. Primarily, however, I emphasised that in 2006 European Parliament adopted a Resolution on homophobia in Europe which requires all member states to adopt necessary laws to eliminate all discrimination on grounds of sexual orientation. However, the proposal was never adopted", says Lukač-Koritnik.

In spite of that, she reminds, the Croatian Parliament adopted in the same year a law on changes and amendments to the Penal Code which for the first time included definition of crime out of hatred as a criminal act, and sexual orientation figured as one of the grounds for committing a crime out of hatred.

"I supported the proposal to introduce crime out of hatred into the Penal Code because I believe this is a substantial contribution to anti-discrimination legislation in Croatia. The first person ever to be punished according to this clause was the person who, during the Pride Parade in 2007, threatened the demonstrators by throwing a Molotov cocktail. He was convicted to 14 months in prison and 14 months of obligatory psychiatric treatment", says Kukač-Koritnik.



Gordana Lukač Koritnik

the Maastricht Treaty, which incorporates the Charter on the Fundamental Rights in EU, making it legally binding, emphasises Union's commitment to the European Convention on Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms, and that Article 3 obliges the member states to "fight against social exclusion and discrimination", while Article 21 of the Charter on Fundamental Rights in EU prohibits discrimination on any grounds, explicitly including sexual orientation.

Kojičić warns that Montenegro must follow the road that the EU countries have already passed, and cites the example of Croatia which, apart from introducing the Pride Parade, regulated, also regulated the legal aspects of this issue by adopting the laws on gender equality, anti-discrimination and same-sex unions. "Montenegro should also ensure that gender-changing operations are covered by health insurance, and with regard to the Law on same-sex union, Montenegro, as a country that has

already progressed far on its way to becoming a part of EU, needs a more encompassing law, similar to the one adopted by Croatia", Kojičić said.

The Croatian public defence attorney for gender equality **Gordana Lukač Koritnik**, who heads the institution broadly similar to

Montenegro's Office for Gender Equality, but is, unlike the Montenegrin counterpart, independent from the Government and possesses more competencies, explains that the Croatian law on same-sex unions was preceded by institutionalisation of the Pride Parade in order to appease homo-

OMBUDSMAN DID NOT EVEN MENTION LGBT

Kojičić explains that mechanisms of formal social control in Montenegro are "nearly non-existent", and notes that the institution of Ombudsman has not once mentioned LGBT population in its annual report since it was founded, "let alone emphasised the problems faced by these people".

"They don't even know about these problems, and are waiting for the initiatives of non-governmental organisations. In short, the current situation is such that homosexuals are a marginalised and threatened minority, highly exposed to violence and attacks, while the responsible ministry has no data, no research on these issues, no policy, no programmes to help LGBT persons, no campaign to fight homophobia and discrimination, does not condemn hate speech in the media, etc.", Kojičić explains.

For him, the ministry ought to work on educating the population and come up with an action plan to fight homophobia in the society, and to help sensitise public officials with regard to LGBT issues.

phobia present in some parts of the society.

"In my opinion, the most problematic aspect of this is that too many people still claim as the crown argument against Pride that sexual orientation is a private matter and should not be paraded in the streets. This attitude is far removed from reality, and essentially poorly disguised homophobia. As

such, it is unacceptable", says Lukač-Koritnik for *European Pulse*. She adds that denying homosexuals the right to gather in public spaces amounts to discrimination.

"Pride parades originated from a certain need and are held precisely because they want to draw attention to discrimination and violation of rights of sexual minorities", says Lukač-Koritnik.

WHY ARE THERE NO PUBLICLY DECLARED MEMBERS OF LGBT COMMUNITY

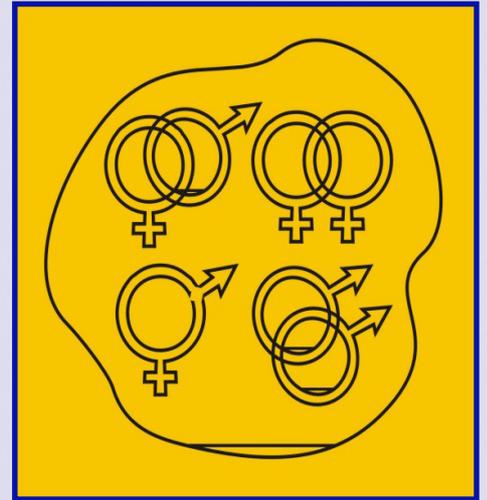
Generally, on the level of policies and Montenegrin society as a whole, nobody pays enough affirmative attention to the situation and rights of persons belonging to the LGBT population, nor are there any significant measures to create a more tolerant, safe environment for their life and work. In Montenegro there are still no individuals or groups who publicly declare themselves as members of LGBT community. In the Montenegrin society, only independent intellectuals, part of the media and NGOs are making efforts to raise awareness about the rights of sexual minorities and tolerance towards LGBT population – said in the interview for *European Pulse* researcher of human rights violations **Aleksandar Saša Zeković**.

He believes that public institutions which should be in charge of sanctioning everybody who spreads, advocates or promotes intolerance, hatred, violence or discrimination of sends public threats, regardless of whether this is done through the media, social networks or educational institutions. Those promoting the rights of LGBT persons, on the other hand, should be given full support and protection. "My impression is that certain structures in this country are interested in keeping the LGBT rights in focus primarily in order to draw public attention away from the social sphere and fuel intolerance and lack of solidarity among other social groups towards LGBT population", Zeković said.

According to him, Montenegro has dedicated much attention to the improvement of respect and protection of human and minority rights and to development of adequate institutions and mechanisms, and with some exceptions and reservations it could be said that the country possesses a solid network of laws and institutions in the area of human and minority rights and anti-discrimination.

"The main problem is implementation of these laws and the functioning of these institutions which should serve the needs of all citizens transparently and effectively", Zeković said.

He adds that the practice suggests that in order to exercise more effective protection of human rights and inclusion of all social groups, especially of LGBT persons, it is important to support implementation of constitutional solutions on human rights "systematically and without any, especially political, exceptions". "This is especially true of the recently adopted law on prohibition of discrimination. Also, there should be a law on free legal assistance, which is necessary in the countries in transition and societies with high levels of poverty".



She explains that in Croatia there are three major laws regulating the rights of sexual minorities.

"The law on anti-discrimination ensures protection and equality before law as the highest value of Croatia's institutional order, and creates prerequisites for equal opportunities and protection from discrimination, among others on grounds of sexual orientation. The law on same-sex union, on the other hand, regulates same-sex cohabitation and legal effects of the existence of such unions", she explains.

The Croatian defender for gender equality also adds that same-sex cohabitation, according to this law, is a communion of two persons of the same sex who are not in a marriage, cohabitation or other same-sex union, and which lasts a minimum of three years.

"Legal effects of the existence of a same-sex union are the right of each partner to be supported by the other and the right to acquire and manage common property, as well as the right to mutual help", explains Lukač-Koritnik.

The third important act, according to her, is the law on gender equality which forbids discrimination on grounds of sexual orientation and envisages sanctions for violations of the terms anti-discrim-

WHY THE EU WILL NOT SET A DATE FOR THE BEGINNING OF NEGOTIATIONS WITH MONTENEGRO

They don't want a reprise of Bulgaria and Romania

At one of the ever more frequent conferences on the integration of Western Balkans



by Nedeljko Rudović

into European Union, organised recently in Bratislava, the participants sent a clear message to the countries of former Yugoslavia and Albania: "We cannot afford to have weak EU members. We have learned our lessons of 2007 (accession of insufficiently prepared Bulgaria and Romania) and it will not happen again".

Coming from the mouth of a German diplomat, these words confirmed the suspicion that Berlin is leading the group of old EU members who are less than enthusiastic about further enlargement of EU. Not that Germany will stop the enlargement, but chances are that the accession procedures will be more complex and the requirements more demanding for Montenegro and other West Balkan countries than was the case with Bulgaria and Romania.

Since the Germans, who have the support of France in this matter, are unlikely to change their minds without good arguments, which should primarily consist of genuine reforms and not of simulations, Montenegrin Government could start thinking about a new approach, instead of occasionally complaining that a tougher stance will only lead to lower popular support for EU in the region and subsequently slow down reforms. It could, for instance, follow the suggestion of one of the directors of numerous DGs of the European Commission:

"Reforms are not a concession to the EU, but a service to yourselves. The Balkan countries should speed them up and thus improve their chances for membership".

In other words, get a functioning state ruled by law, with a free competitive market, sustainable economy, independent judiciary, and do not worry – nobody in EU will be against taking you in. At the meeting in Bratislava, this EC representative warned that the ball is in the Balkan states' courts, and that "they can't pretend they're reforming and have us believe them", and stress that "enlargement fatigue" can't be a pretext to abandon reforms.

On the other hand, it is undeniable that the EU will become less attractive if it reneges on its promises

should be – convincing results in the fight against crime and corruption, and a proof that Montenegrin judiciary has become immune to influence of politics and other centres of power.

In case the Government takes the task seriously and responds to recommendations from Brussels, Montenegro could receive the opening date for membership negotiations already sometime next year. All the more since EU is seeking to reward Serbia for its cooperative stance towards Kosovo and is likely to fast-track its progress towards membership. It's hard to expect that Brussels could push Serbia through and forget about Montenegro. For the time being, integration process is stalled in Macedonia and Albania, since it is rumoured that EU will prob-

If the EU members support the opening of membership negotiations with Montenegro next year, it will be a powerful signal for the other West Balkan countries, demonstrating that there's still life in the EU enlargement process. If not, it will be a very bad sign and a proof that enlargement process is in crisis

ably postpone giving candidate status to Albania. on the European perspective of the Western Balkans. To show that the promise does not exist only on paper, November could be a month of good news for Montenegro, accompanied by a list of complicated tasks.

It is already clear that EC will give a positive opinion on Montenegro's readiness to become a candidate for EU membership, with the Council of EU probably granting it the candidate status in December. Since not everything can come at once, opening of pre-accession negotiations will probably be deferred because of corruption and weak democratic reforms. Technically, the beginning of negotiations will probably become conditional upon fulfilment of precisely defined tasks within a definite timetable. The main task

ably postpone giving candidate status to Albania.

Gerald Knaus, president of European Stability Initiative (ESI) believes Montenegro will be a big test for EU: "Because right now only Montenegro is in a position to get the candidate status and the opening date for membership negotiations. Political influences could, however, lead to some delays. If the delay is not too long, this should not be a problem. If the EU members support the opening of membership negotiations with Montenegro next year, it will be a powerful signal for the other West Balkan countries, demonstrating that there's still life in the EU enlargement process. If not, it will be a very bad sign and a proof that enlargement policy is in crisis".

DEPUTY PRESIDENT OF THE EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT DELEGATION FOR COOPERATION WITH THE SOUTH-EAST EUROPEAN COUNTRIES, JELKO KACIN

If shortcomings exists, it's normal to set conditions

Deputy president of the European Parliament Delegation for cooperation with South-East European countries **Jelko Kacin** rejects the possibility that European Union could replace the "regatta principle" of enlargement with the so-called "caravan principle", where Montenegro would have to wait to start negotiations together with some other West Balkan countries.

Kacin said there was no way to tell in advance the speed with which a country will be moving towards EU and that this make is "premature" to discuss the "packaging" of the eventual enlargement.

Montenegrin officials announced that Montenegro will receive a positive Opinion from the European Commission on its membership application and that they are counting on the Council of EU granting Montenegro the candidate status, but without a set date for the beginning of negotiations. It seems almost certain



Jelko Kacin

that Albania will not get a positive opinion and that it will have to try again later next year, when, according to the European Enlargement Commissioner **Štefan Fule**, the Commission could also have ready

the opinion on Serbia's application. This opens up the possibilities for speculation that Montenegro could also have to wait until the end of next year for a starting date of negotiations, as some of the EU members prefer the "caravan principle". It should be added that Macedonia is also very unlikely to start negotiations any time soon because of the name dispute with Greece.

In the interview with *European Pulse* Kacin reminded that to date the EU has always relied on the regatta principle in its dealings with the West Balkan countries, judging every country's progress individually.

"This is also the case with Montenegro, just like with Serbia or any other country. Political elites of these countries have to decide how quickly and deeply they can imple-

EU IS NOT NEGOTIATING WITH ĐUKANOVIĆ

● A recently published analysis by London Research Centre suggests that the EU might not set the starting date for negotiations with Montenegro until the Prime Minister Milo Đukanović withdraws from politics. What do you think?

I think these are malevolent speculations. The negotiations are between the EU and the state of Montenegro, not with individuals. Besides, the new candidate for the helm of the Government of Montenegro has already been announced. I believe that such speculations, that often appear and somehow come in a spiral, are perfectly unnecessary at this moment.

ment the reforms in the next few years. This is why some countries are progressing faster, while some need more time, and this is why it is simply impossible to "pre-package" the enlargement process in advance", Kacin said.

He pointed to the case of Croatia, where there is an ongoing debate on when this country can and should finish its negotiations with the Union.

"First it was 2009, then 2010, and now everybody has become more cautious and wary and nobody wishes to risk and announce in advance the date Croatia will complete negotiations. The chapter on judiciary is very delicate, comprehensive and, as was the case with Croatia, it can happen that negotiations of certain chapters take longer, and this goes for every individual candidate country. This is why I believe "packaging" is out of the question", Kacin said.

● **Do you think it is good for Montenegro, or for any other candidate countries, if the opening date for negotiations is subject to conditions?**

I would recommend that you wait for the Opinion of the European Commission, and later for the decision of the heads of states and governments who decide whether the country will become a membership

candidate and when the negotiations will start.

Five years ago we got three candidate countries: two have started the negotiations relatively quickly, and one of them has still an outstanding

No conditions were set for the opening of negotiations with Iceland, although everybody understands that in the end, if everything goes well, the citizens of Iceland will still have to confirm the outcome in a referendum, whose results we cannot know in advance

dispute with the neighbour over the name of the country. No conditions were set for the opening of negotiations with Iceland, although everybody understands that in the end, if everything goes well, the citizens of Iceland will still have to confirm the outcome in a referendum, whose results we cannot know in advance.

● **Was there a case of conditional opening of negotiations in the last two rounds of EU enlargement?**

Take a look at the cases of Romania and Bulgaria, how many conditions they had to fulfil. It all depends on the individual country.

I cannot talk about any conditions in advance in the case of Montenegro, and I would recommend patience for another few days, by which time everything will become clearer.

● **Does that mean you wish to see the opening date for negotiations with Montenegro set without any conditions?**

It is first necessary to have the report of the European Commission

and see which are the problematic elements in it. If there are certain shortcomings, it is perfectly normal to set the deadlines by which they should be corrected.

● **Montenegrin officials expect to have the conditions and deadlines clearly defined. Do you think this is what the Commission and the Council of EU will deliver?**

I represent European Parliament as a deputy president of the delegation for cooperation with the South-East European states, including Montenegro. I would not take it upon myself to opine in advance on the report of an independent body called the European Commission. It is simply not within my scope of authority.

● **Do you think that the recently signed agreement on delivery of suspects between Serbia and Montenegro might influence the Commission's decision on Montenegro?**

I have not had a chance to see the document yet, but I should think that it is of crucial importance that the Agreement includes delivery of the persons suspected of war crimes.

The last harmonised opinion of the European Commission does not yet mention the Agreement on delivery between Serbia and Montenegro. The final deadline to include the agreement into Commission's Opinion has passed, but I still believe that the Agreement might, in the last moment, play a role in the opinion on Montenegro.

V. ŽUGIĆ

I DON'T UNDERSTAND SOME OF YOUR MPS

● **After the recent meeting of the Parliamentary Committee for Stabilisation and Association of Montenegro to EU, which you attended, there was much discussion in Montenegro about what exactly was said in Brussels. What are your views?**

The conclusions of this session were consensually adopted and there can't be any disputes about an issue for which the representatives of both government and opposition voted consensually.

I just don't understand that kind of approach. Some believe that they can change their minds, or play out the so-called battles for subsequent interpretation, but this is simply below the level of a member of the Parliament of Montenegro. It is even more so for a man who should support his country in the future on the road to and inside EU.

NATIONS, EMPERORS, MARX AND DEMOCRACIES

The long century



There are several dozen definitions of the nation, but none of them is encompassing enough to cover every nation

Prepared by Miloš Vukanović

on the planet. In principle, a nation is a group of people with a common history, culture, and language (according to some, also religion) and ethnic background, often possessing or seeking its own independent government. The development and conceptualization of nations is closely related to the development of modern industrial states and nationalist movements in Europe in the 18th and 19th centuries.

Studying the origins of European nations makes it clear that most of their population does not share the same history and culture, and that the language they speak today is an imposed standardisation from the state authorities. Most of today's European nations came into being in the times after the French Revolution of 1789, although some were formed somewhat earlier.

During the middle ages people expressed their sense of belonging through loyalty to a monarch, city or religion. Thus the inhabitants of Bavaria or Savoy said they came from these kingdoms, and only after the Renaissance started also adding that they are German or Italian because of the linguistic similarities in these areas. In the Ottoman Empire the people that have, until a few centuries ago, lived together or fought each other set themselves apart along religious lines. Poles stressed their difference from the Russians in being Catholics, unlike the Orthodox Russians.

Due to higher cultural and technological development, as well as because of earlier formation of the national space the nations in the

West of Europe formed earlier than in the East where even the elites were unable to strengthen their national sentiments and spread them to their so-nationals.

The English were forged out of a mixture of Celts, Germanic tribes of Angles, Saxons and Jutes and Scandinavian Normans. It is believed that they are the first to have developed a sense of nation: namely, the territory of the English king under whom the entire population spoke the same language and considered themselves English. The British nation has not developed properly because other nations developed alongside the English. Scots and Welsh (of Celtic origin) have their own national sentiments, and the members of all three nations will

One of the major turning points in the history of the national movements was the Revolution of 1848. Within only few months a series of social upheavals burst out across the Old Continent from Paris to Bucharest. The unrests mostly had economic reasons, but were soon taken over by nationalists and numerous peoples declared their resolutions using the unstable situation. Although the revolution soon abated, the consequences of the awakening of nationalist movements were about to change the picture of Europe

define themselves as belonging to different peoples, but will mostly refer to their state as the United Kingdom.

France had a somewhat more difficult trajectory, but managed to consolidate its borders through expulsions of the English across the Channel and of Germans to the other side of Rhone. Its people were a mixture of Romanised Gauls and Germanic Franks, and the linguistic differences were so great that an inhabitant of the south could hardly understand someone from the

north. The national foundations were laid through language standardisation across the territory of the French king.

The Spanish nation, which came together through a mixture of Iberian Romanic population, Germanic Visigoths and North-African Moors to this day bears the traces of the parallel formation of two main states Castile and Aragon (Catalonia). Scandinavian nations originated on the foundations of kingdoms that were formed already in the 12th century, and the nations of Benelux as successors of city-states which did not become part of either France or Germany. The Netherlands was created out of a joint rebellion of Protestants and Catholics against the Spanish in the 16th century, while Belgium split away from the Netherlands in the 19th century on religious grounds. Belgium itself is made up of two nations – Flemish and Walloon, both predominantly catholic, whereas the Nether-

lands, over the 400 years, developed a specific nation of its own based on linguistic specificities and Protestant religion – the Dutch. Russians constitute an alliance of various Slavic tribes, and have forged their nationalism out of strong Slavic sentiments, a standardised language and Orthodox Church in the early 19th century.

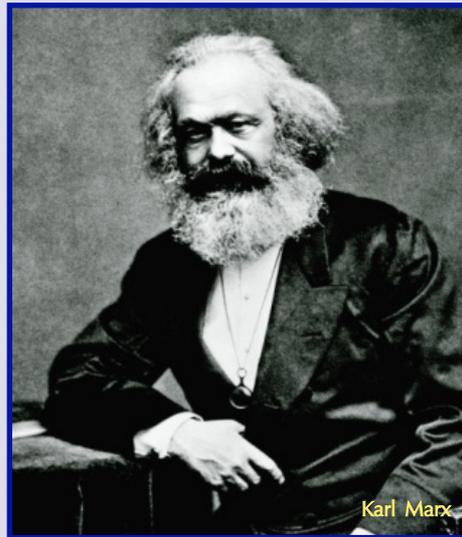
The Germanic peoples had a sense of unity – their common mythology and language maintained a link between the German states, but a unified state took very long to emerge. Dissolution of the Holy Roman Empire (which contained a lot of other peoples) as well as religious conflicts postponed the formation of the national sentiment. At the time when the need for a nation started to be felt, Germany was divided into hundreds of tiny states and two dominant states of Prussia and Austria. Linguistic standardisation and suppression of Austrian influence, and finally an alliance forged due to the war with



France led to unification in 1871 under the leadership of Bismarck's Prussia. Austria remained within its own empire and although it never denied its German language and ethnicity it continued to exist as a separate nation.

With support of the unionist forces in the Apennines, Piedmont sought to unite Italy, but bringing the North Italian city states into alliance with the Kingdom of two Sicilies in the South, the Papal State in the centre and by snatching Venice and the surroundings away from Austria. In 1870 the Kingdom of Italy was established with a common language developed from a standardised Tuscan dialect which at the time was spoken by only a few percent of the inhabitants.

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technological means among their co-nationals. In the Ottoman Empire the situation was very different. The unbearable situation forced many peoples to develop their

Most of today's European nations came into being in the times after the French Revolution of 1789

out across the Old Continent from Paris to Bucharest. The unrests mostly had economic reasons, but were soon taken over by nationalists and numerous peoples declared their resolutions using the unstable situation. Although the revolution soon abated, the consequences of the awakening of nationalist movements were about to change the picture of Europe. The most complex, dynamic and difficult national trajectories were those of the peoples in Austro-Hungarian, Ottoman and Russian Empires, within whom dozens of peoples created their national movements under the pressure of the central governments. These empires often forbade their subjects to print newspapers, lecture in schools, form their national organisations or display their symbols in order to speed up assimilation. Hungarians, the most numerous nations within the Habsburg empire, managed to claim their national rights and force Vienna to declare Austro-Hungary in 1867 only after a mass rebellion.

The Czechs, the Slovaks, the Serbs, the Croats and the Baltic peoples as well as many others developed their national movements within Austro-Hungary and Russia building on the common foundations of ethnic and linguistic specificities. The carriers of these movements were wealthy merchants, industrialists and intelligence who studied their past and tried to spread the word of national belonging through modern

national programmes in the fire of the struggle for independence. The rebellion started with Montenegrins, who were followed by Greeks, Serbs, Romanian and Bulgarians.

Nationalist wasn't the only ideology that swept through Europe in the 19th century. By 1905 all European states have declared a Constitution, gave their citizens rights and promised to fight for the national interests. Nevertheless, in spite of the right to popular vote, in many countries the emperors and powerful bourgeoisie still concentrated the power in their hands, and

By 1905 all European states have declared a Constitution, gave their citizens rights and promised to fight for the national interests. Nevertheless, in spite of the right to popular vote, in many countries the emperors and powerful bourgeoisie still concentrated the power in their hands, and in spite of parliaments and various governments, Russia and Austro-Hungary were not far from absolutism

in spite of parliaments and various governments, Russia and Austro-Hungary were not far from absolutism. In this context, a number of ideologies helped to further national consolidation.

Among the many political ideologies, there was one whose influence on the course of European and world history surpassed even the wildest dreams of its originators. Communism is a social structure where all classes have been abolished and

the property is communally owned. As a political philosophy and a social movement, it strived to establish such a society. **Karl Marx** said Communism will be the final stage of social development, to be enacted through a revolution of the proletariat. Upon the publication of the Communist Manifesto in 1848, communism spread among the workers of Western Europe. A few years after the Manifesto the first Communist conference was held in London, bringing together adherents and enthusiasts from almost all West European states. Nevertheless, Communism never became a dominant political choice in any of these states, although it did reach enormous popularity. However, it will fall on fertile ground in the imperial Russia, where social problems have been piling up for a while. Having become the official choice of a major power, communism will manage to spread in the course of the 20th century to almost one third of the globe.

With the advent of national movements and new political ideologies the already cracked governance system of European constitutional monarchies was doomed to fail for several reasons. The united Germany and Italy found the then division of power untenable, and dozens of "occupied" nations which clamoured ever more loudly for their right signed the death warrant for the empires which stifled their growth. Communism and other left-oriented political philosophies fought against social injustices imposed by the "new aristocracy" in the guise of old powers and the new rich. The reason this theatre of tensions survived until 1918 is found in the fact that in the military sense, 19th century

was a relatively peaceful century. But the 19th century will be dubbed "the long century" because of political, national and social unrests that shook Europe. Upheavals which gradually accumulated under the apparent stability and balance of powers, and which will burst onto the stage violently with the first shots fired in Sarajevo.

The author is a programme associate in Centre for Civic Education

Red carpet

by Brano Mandić

It would be great if **Angelina Jolie**, a great friend of the Montenegrin people, would decide to push her project through in spite of Bosnia and Herzegovina's efforts to stifle her creative impulse, and instead make the movie here. As we know, Ms Jolie has issues with the scenario, because the Bosnians have simply dug in, determined not to let their war be Hollywoodised to the extent that a Muslim woman should fall in love with a greasy Chetnik butcher on the silver screen. That the Chetnik is greasy and sloppy is no problem for the Serbian side, proud of their war ethics and military drill of regular shaving, guaranteed by handbooks for lower rank officers and troupes.

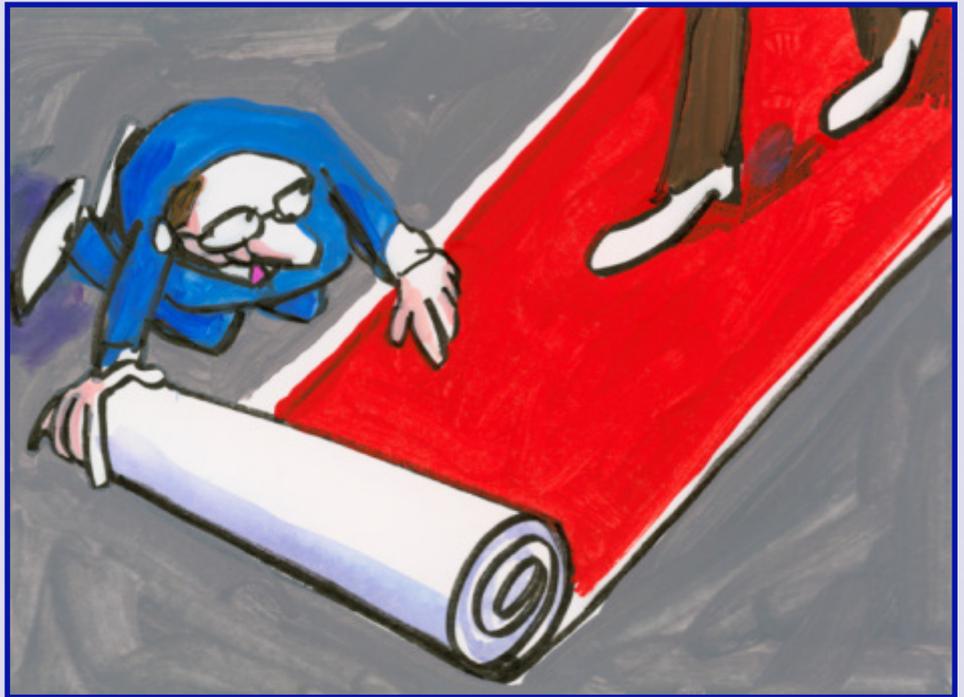
The truth is that there are no political rules in art and a war movie is not a history textbook, yet both sides have indignantly refused Madam the welcome to play with political programmes, i.e. to steal the mortgage on truth also known as recent national history.

Hollywood catharsis of the Dayton agreement happened under the blessing of the air force, that tried and tested diplomatic tool, but today there is no fighter or bomber left to support the worthy efforts of the film crew, program-

And yet, mister Žuvela came to Montenegro to comment on our internal political developments, and decided that in the early 1990s the prime minister of the country was not so much in charge, rather, his prime ministership was but an honorary title graciously bestowed on him by the Belgrade court. Upon which, brave Žuvela broached an important question: should we insist on a twenty years old truth, or rather turn to future cooperation, glossing over the responsibility of the main figures, to couch this in the language of chess (unless the Prime Minister has something against it)

matically sworn to the happy-end. Hollywood is still lacking direct logistics from Pentagon, and everybody knows that diplomacy without military is like orchestra without instruments.

And so, while Bosnia is up in arms on account of the big production, here



It's no mean feat! A volunteer defender of the ancient city of Dubrovnik comes to hang out with the Prime Minister who sent the army to his house. A scenario more courageous than the Bosnian one, and once again truth wins over fiction. Testimony to the truth of the words of Danilo Kiš, with which he defended his documentary approach: "I don't dare make up things"

we have managed, with hardly any budget, to arrive at a melodrama whose synopsis could be carved into one of the bridges of Medison county. Hands reaching for the white handkerchiefs to remove emotional secretions, and long sighs of "huuuuc..." on every corner. It's no mean feat! A volunteer defender of

documentary approach: "I don't dare make up things".

Reality surprised us once again, and the Prime Minister shoved the dilemma in the face of all critics: how dare you question reconciliation when it's not offered by a sleazy real-politician, but by a man who for four years defended his home and family at gunpoint.

A warming human story: the soldier is called **Žuvela**, he learned to swim in Montenegro, worked for "Zetatrans", loved guitar and partying until the war started. He put down the gun on the last day of the war and for a while was crazed with hatred for the East Orthodox religion. And yet, as a reasonable man, he managed to escape the vicious circle of hatred and came to lay his wounds at the altar of reconciliation of the neighbouring peoples. Grandiose! Whoever would question that is either crazy or an idiot akin to those who bombarded UNESCO's walls of ancient Ragusa.

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the ancient city of Dubrovnik comes to hang out with the Prime Minister who sent the army to his house. A scenario more courageous than the Bosnian one, and once again truth wins over fiction. Testimony to the truth of the words of **Danilo Kiš**, with which he defended his

political developments, and decided that in the early 1990s the prime minister of the country was not so much in charge, rather, his prime ministership was but an honorary title graciously bestowed on him by the Belgrade court. Upon which, brave Žuvela broached an important question: should we insist on a twenty years old truth, or rather turn to future cooperation, glossing over the responsibility of the main figures, to couch this in the language of chess (unless the Prime Minister has something against it).

Production of illusions is thus entering the final phase in the guise of a pawn willing to forget.

Let us now remember how the process of de-criminalisation of the Dubrovnik war started. First the Prime Minister went to Croatia and was not let into Dubrovnik, but had to launch his gigantesque "sorry" from Cavtat, like a balmy Cupid's arrow.

Then the president promised we'll pay for all the cows and radars we stole. Then the public television made a documentary series burying the question of political responsibility. The film was



We needed a living, real man who will come out and personally absolve the leaders. The appearance of Mr Žuvela gave the producers the missing ingredient. Those of us who still remember the war zeal of the young Prime Minister better keep quiet. The man has changed so much that even a victim is offering him friendship and companionship. If you have a problem with that, it means you're

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signed by a good director, broadcasted three hundred times and showed soldiers running around like headless chickens, drunk on some mysterious furore we still know little about, although we thoroughly condemn it. Responsibility thus became collective, we returned to the past, remembered that Montenegrins were always cattle robbers and willing to barge into others' territory. It was all beautifully directed in Zagreb and Podgorica, all that was missing was an important dramatic element, known to the plot masters as CCC (Compelling Central Character).

supporting the status quo, i.e. you want another hundred years with the citizens of Dubrovnik smashing your windshields because of your registration plates.

Interestingly, there's a role for Ms Jolie also in this story. Let's remember that a few months ago, on Stradun, in the heart of Dubrovnik, the world could witness a bizarre little installation: **Milo Đukanović** having a coffee with the famous star. All of that was, of course, just a masked ball, but in the world of media which treats entertainment and politics as twins, it was a winning shot.

Although the streets are buzzing

with sotto voce rumours that Mr Žuvela was bribed into his performance, that his visit is but a dress-up for the masses, the importance of his visit is hardly negligible, all the more since he mustered the strength to demonstrate the generosity of his forgiveness in a prime time TV show.

Money is important for good production, but the achievements of the war-mongers are nevertheless admirable. For years they have been on a gradual, calculated brainwashing campaign, creatively building up the process according to the inevitable logic of the genre. The dream of every viewer is to have the main villain show his human side and justify our secret sympathies for his wild

nature, even if he used his chainsaw on the neighbouring kids.

It's true, people love the bad guys because they know what they want. They love it even more then they cross over to the right side, because that way they absolve our prior enthusiasm when we identified ourselves with crime. This might sound too abstract, but its proof is in a banal mechanism: the number of ballot votes in Montenegro. The voters have long ceased to care who led the army on Dubrovnik and politically speaking nobody can profit from that story any more. All we now need is a miraculous appearance of the angelic face of St. Angelina above Mt. Srđe to make the whole thing into a business to match the Lady of Međugorje, and share the proceeds with the neighbours. Truth is a matter of agreement, biographies are compromises, history is a deal between the hangman and the victim. Welcome to Hollywood, dress up and take a walk on the red carpet. It's the ideal surface to cover up traces of blood. Around you are flashes, to the left the VIP lodge. Just line up for autographs and choose the hero. Montenegro has chosen long ago, a face prettier than **Brad Pitt's**.

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

PUBLIC-PRIVATE PARTNERSHIPS IN MONTENEGRO

Lobbying instead of analysis



Although cooperation between public and private sectors in the construction of infrastructural projects dates from the 18th century, it



by Jovana Marović

underwent its major global expansion and popularisation in the last decade of the 20th century. Intensive interaction between the technically more developed private sector and public authorities is also significantly directed by the lack of funds in the public budgets for capital investments.

Only in the last five years, around the globe, 300 billion dollars were invested by the private sector in the infrastructure through public-private partnerships (PPPs) and concessions. This amounts to significant infrastructural investments, even if the model is not used everywhere to the same extent, especially not in the EU members.

Namely, there are substantial differences between the number of PPP projects on the territories of "old" member states compared to the countries that joined in 2004 and 2007. The reason for this gap lays in the fact that the 15 "old" members have been part of EU much longer, and were for a longer time in a position to use EU structural funds than the countries of the former

Montenegro is not really learning from experiences of other countries: it was also absent from the founding meeting of the Network for public-private partnerships in South-East Europe in Sarajevo in 2009, and has not joined the network since. Activities of this association should lead to joint initiatives, and some of those projects could be financed by special EU funds in the future

socialist block, and accordingly need fewer infrastructural investments. Unlike theirs, the public sectors of those countries that are still in transition is undergoing a profound crisis, and it is expected that their future infrastructural investments will surpass 500 billion euro. For that purpose, the EU set aside 180 billion in its 2007-2013 budget. The EU also provides substantial financial sup-

port to the transition countries undergoing the process of EU accession, amounting to 30% of total funding required by the infrastructural project financed through public-private partnership.

Bearing in mind the success of PPP projects in the EU countries, as well as the shortage of funds for capital investments in the Montenegrin budget, the Government opted to make greater use of the PPP model in the process of privatisation and in the last two years the number of contracts to be implemented according to this model increased greatly. The basis of this choice is the fact that, in the areas where the government cannot act efficiently or is unable to allot them sufficient funding, the best solution is to "lease" them for a certain period to companies who are willing to financially support development of natural resources.

The legal framework for PPPs, although improved with the 2009 Law on Concessions, is still not in line with EU directives in this field

The Government stresses that there are legal provisions that protect national interests and prevent permanent transfer of infrastructure to private companies. By contrast, public-private partnerships produce multiple benefits for both sides. The state gets to keep the infrastructure in the long term, and the private company gets the profits. Naturally, there are also risks, inherent in the potential unprofitability of these projects for private companies, or large public losses if the private company acquires monopolies through certain segments of infrastructure.

The Government of Montenegro "opened" all sectors for PPPs, including health and education, the harbour and the railway, energy, tourism and development of attractive locations on the coast and in the north of the country. However, this area is still in the development phase, and the private-public partnerships to date have been far from the positive examples from

European countries. Also, the legal framework for PPPs, although improved with the 2009 Law on Concessions, is still not in line with EU directives in this field. The lack of harmonisation is evident in imprecise definition of concessions for public works, as well as those on limited procedure or competition dialogue.

In Montenegro, in spite of a relatively high number of implemented PPPs, access to information about the contracts is difficult, and there is an obvious need to establish a central registry that would contain all the contracts to date. Realisation of PPP projects should be transparent by definition. Enabling access to these contracts would also indirectly influence their quality. Consequently, the Government recently adopted a decision on the central registry in order to speed up its formal establishment.

Apart from limited transparency of the overall process, there is also a lack of democratic control. The public has no information on the plans for annual payments of debts related to PPPs, nor does it have access to the financial reports of the already implemented projects. There is also the problem of negligence on the part of the Commission for Concessions, the body in charge of concessions, which still has not submitted annual reports on its work for 2008 and 2009.

On the national as well as on the local level, monitoring PPPs contracts is quite difficult. Efficient monitoring should involve systematic assessment of the progress, which, in turn, depends on whether and to what extent the goals set in the contract have been implemented. In that context, deadlines and costs agreed on in the contract ought to be closely observed. In order to fulfil these requirements, bodies in charge of implementation and monitoring should provide the public with regular reports on different phases of project implementation and warn about failures and shortcomings, which is not always the case. In Montenegro, in addition to the negligence of the bodies in charge of monitoring with regard to their task to regularly and timely inform the public about the progress of

PPPs, there is also no central institution to coordinate PPPs. Positive experiences from EU and countries of the region point to the advantages of having such an institution, and institutionalisation of this body in Montenegro would facilitate coordination and control of this area, as well as establishment of a base of experts for PPPs.

The importance of Commission for Concessions, a body established to coordinate the process of granting of concessions, is undeniable, and its professionalization is therefore a priority.

Moreover, implementation of PPPs in Montenegro is also impaired by violations of legal procedures and favouritism towards certain companies, which contributes to unequal access of interested parties to the tender procedures. Failure of a number of tenders and problems arising in the relationships with certain private partners suggest that the process of choosing partners was too rash and the risks not properly assessed. It is equally common that the favourites impose the terms of contracts, which are observed even if they are blatantly against the law. Similarly, the details of certain PPP contracts include construction of infrastructure projects on locations which are not intended for these purposes according to the valid spatial plans. On the local



take the related commitments. The largest administrative challenge is to harmonise the entire legislation with EU regulations, which is, together with solid management of concessions, the reason to fully harmonise the Law on Concessions with EU directives in this area. Since this is a new law, changes should be gradual, but they are necessary.

PPPs are a relatively recent phenomenon in our society and little is known about this concept in the region. In order to acquaint the citizens with the PPPs, it is necessary to present legal regulations in this

PPPs are not an easy source for "plugging" the holes in the budget, nor a chance for overnight enrichment, and they ought to be approached with care. The choice of projects for PPPs should be a result of thorough, systematic analyses, not of lobbying and private interests

level, there is much confusion in the allocation of responsibilities for PPPs, and in some municipalities there are even "exclusive negotiators" in charge of foreign investors. All Montenegrin municipalities express a keen interest for PPP projects, but many of them had never engaged in one.

The ensuing conclusion is that there are numerous challenges facing the public sector in Montenegro with regard to the implementation of public-private partnerships, and these challenges require some concrete measures. Public-private partnership is a model that ought to have broad applicability, since the benefits can be multiple, as long as they are rationally implemented. Successful implementation of such projects requires a harmonised legal, regulatory and political framework. Stable political situation, laws in line with EU regulations and good practices in this area and their successful implementation constitute a basis for attraction of foreign investments. As Montenegro declared EU membership as its strategic goal, it ought to be able to under-

area and ensure adequate information, brochures and guidebooks. Brochures and relevant information to serve as guidelines for project implementation should be provided also for the participants in the process, i.e. the decision makers, because the biggest problem of the public sector and of the government which manages this sector is the lack of quality cadre to analyse PPP strategies. Because of the greater financial resources available to the private sector, it is also more attractive for experts. Accordingly, more attention should be paid to training programmes for administrators in the area of PPPs in order to create experts who can produce appropriate feasibility studies and projects necessary for economic development.

Lack of expertise in the area of PPPs in Montenegro is further determined by our relative isolation from initiatives and networks whose goal is to bring together experts and exchange experiences as well as to support implementation of public-private partnerships on the regional level. Montenegro is

not really learning from experiences of other countries: it was also absent from the founding meeting of the Network for public-private partnerships in South-East Europe in Sarajevo in 2009, and has not joined the network since. Activities of this association should lead to joint initiatives, and some of those projects could be financed by special EU funds in the future.

PPPs are not an easy source for "plugging" the holes in the budget, nor a chance for overnight enrichment, and they ought to be approached with care. The choice of projects for PPPs should be a result of thorough, systematic analyses, not of lobbying and private interests. Adequate risk assessments are a large determinant of the final success of the project. One of the biggest risks of PPPs is precisely in flawed risk analyses. If their conclusions underestimate the natural and social consequences of a certain project, the effects can be very negative of the entire society and the state.

PPP contracts can also impose additional, long-term costs on the budget, if the terms of payments to the private entrepreneurs are not realistically assessed. The public sector must protect its interests and avoid excessive indebtedness of the public funds and excessive earnings by the private partners. The public should also have a chance to oversee the plans of annual debt servicing for PPP projects, and the public sector should make available all financial report of the past PPPs so that prior experiences could help draft the new contracts. In this way, transparency and the level of democratic control of the process will also be increased.

The final decision on the initiation of a project is always entirely with the Government, but it must be substantiated with opinions of independent experts on the basis of feasibility studies. Participation of international financial institutions in the PPP projects guarantees fair terms for both parties. However, money should be borrowed from international institutions only for such projects where other forms of financing are not available.

The choice of PPP projects on the local level should be in line with spatial plans of individual local governments, which entails the need for quality spatial planning. Planned, coordinated activity on the development of urban spaces and city infrastructures is the main precondition for successful private public partnerships. Projects which overstep the guidelines of these plans should be an exception, not a rule.

The author is senior researcher in the Institute Alternative

WHY DO I WANT TO BE A CITIZEN OF EUROPEAN UNION

No more campaigning for a job

People ask where I'm from because of my accent, which doesn't belong to any region in particular. Saying that I'm from Berane



by Hanja Mićović

still brings out different reactions, usually negative and jeering (what would we do without the good old Montenegrin complex – megalomania?), and it always make me add a little defiantly that it was not always all that bad in the North.

Indeed, much has happened over the last 18 years. It seems it all conspired to quietly choke the upper regions to death, and it's not like the citizens didn't help out. This is why I was beyond myself with joy when my friend Igor, who has a degree in law, emigrated to Denmark in search of work. For five years he tried to find a job in Berane. Everybody promised that "there will sure be a place for one of our best students" and that "it's best to talk about it after the elections when they get "their" people out of the local government, the court, etc". He shrunk away from the first job he was offered by the party. He thought that for years of hard work and studying he deserved better than knocking on the villagers' doors and persuading old people to vote for someone. After the elections, the jobs in local institutions were usually offered to the "most perseverant campaigners". The smarter ones then invested the hard-earned money in buying diplomas, to secure their future in the years to come, and also for the sake of family's prestige, why not. Not to mention dozens of Berane's "tough guys" offering him a chance to earn a few thousand without a drop of sweat...

So Igor decided to leave. When I asked what he'll be doing in Denmark, he replied: "I don't know, but I know that there at least I have a chance... In any case, if I fail, I can always come back here to campaign". I told him: "I hope that by then it will not be a requirement for getting a job!". We both laughed.

That was four years ago. Igor is still in Denmark and has no plans for coming back. He started like everybody else, on the black market. He worked as a janitor, window-cleaner, salesman, and soon he will be starting

a job with Microsoft!

I'm also looking for a job and every time I see a job offer I feel frustrated, wondering if it's already reserved for someone. I apply anyway, because I still haven't stopped hoping that better times are coming when the employers will value hard work and experience. I never liked authority, but I guess it's a sign of growing up to realise they're necessary – but only those with a firm basis. The EU is far from perfect. An ordinary Montenegrin, tucked into the reality of myth, corruption and poverty will certainly be disappointed if you tell him that by joining the EU Montenegro won't have more money. But there will be more work to do.

The corruption, of course, exists everywhere in the world, but elsewhere it is somehow more subdued and hidden. Our problem is that we think it's a perfectly natural and normal phenomenon, which makes it more difficult to fight the so-called everyday corruption.

Montenegro should not and must not be given any slack when joining the EU. Otherwise, nothing will change... Or rather, it will – at least I won't have to ask for a work permit when I emigrate to Denmark

How do we go for operations today? Do you need to bring a cash envelope? You would like to enrol your kid into a school? Have you brought the cash envelope? Do you need to go to court? Do you have the cash envelope? Everybody wants to solve the state's problems on the highest level, but these are, realistically speaking, difficult to influence.

There is hard work ahead of us and I'm glad that it won't be done by the "diploma buyers, campaigners, dodgy pals of various mayors and presidents", used to the old methods of "getting it done", because they won't know how! We can't afford friendship or family connections to the chieftains of the system being the only qualifications for any job in Montenegro... And we certainly cannot even imagine genuine implementation of anti-cor-



ruption laws unless somebody forces us. It is, of course, a matter of choice. The current situation in Montenegro is worrying. If we restrict the notion of development to, say, competitiveness or innovation, we can do a quick comparison on a single indicator – societal investments research and development – which immediately shows us that Montenegro is doing worse today than at any point during the 20th century. Together with Serbia and Macedonia, it is the country with the lowest expenditure on research and development. Our budget allocates less than 1% for this purpose, while the EU standard is 2%, aiming at an increase to 3% in the 2010–2011 period.

It seems that, if it continues like this, Montenegro will be relying predominantly on tourism. And as such, given its natural resources, Montenegro's development will be very limited, in spite of the size of investments, because its development potential depends on the ability of its economy and

society to create new things.

What happened here? We have no serious overview of the social structure of our society. Why? You see a person with an "indecently" expensive car, whose lifestyle doesn't belong with the upper classes, but his wealth sets him "there"... From the 1990s onwards everything that happened was illegal. This society was robbed, billions have flown into single pockets whose proud owners are still in the leading positions. This structure of power has a terrible effect on the political life. Our people are poor, easily corrupted, and what remains are networks of dependent relations and patterns of behaviour we cannot budge, and it's a small wonder then that not everything is going as smoothly as we would like it to so we can get to Europe faster. The question is, is there an objective justification for this situation?

Nevertheless – perhaps not in a month, maybe not even in a year, but I am sure that sooner or later there will be time for some new, educated people to roll up their sleeves and show what they can do. Montenegro should not and must not be given any slack when joining the EU. Otherwise, nothing will change... Or rather, it will – at least I won't have to ask for a work permit when I emigrate to Denmark.

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Europe covered in forests

Forests and similar terrains cover almost 40% of the total territory of EU, while agricultural land accounts for almost a quarter of the territory, reports Eurostat. Arid and non-cultivated areas cover about one fifth, and urban areas, including railways, 4%.

In the first place according to the size of forests is Finland, with 68% of territory, followed by Sweden with 66% and Slovenia with 63%. The largest amount of territory covered by agricultural land is in Denmark, where it accounts for 48% of the territory. The second place goes to Hungary with 47%, followed by Poland with 36%, Czech Republic with 35%, Germany and Italy with 33% each and Spain and France with 30%. Arid and non-cultivated areas take up the highest per-

centage of territory in Greece (21%), Spain (14%), Portugal (11%) and UK (10%).

Netherlands (13%) and Belgium (10%), have the highest shares of urban areas, including roads and railways.



Fight for parental leave

MEPs asked the EU member states that still haven't done so to recognize the right of fathers to take paid leave for at least two weeks after the birth of the child.

Recently, MEPs have urged the member states to set the duration of paid parental leave to a minimum of twenty weeks and in principle supported parental leave for both partners.

The proposal was adopted with a slim majority, demonstrating deep divisions

around this issue. At the moment, the minimum duration of parental leave in EU is 14 months, but many countries go beyond this limit, although the conditions of payment differ from one country to another.

The next on the agenda will be difficult negotiations with the members states, many of whom, such as UK, Germany and France, have already expressed their opposition to the proposal.

Higher road taxes for trucks

EU ministers of transport arrived at a framework agreement on introduction of additional road taxes for heavy trucks taking into account their impact on pollution and noise.

Negotiations on this issue lasted two years because of huge differences between the supporters of the measure, such as France and Austria, and opponents, among

whom Italy and Spain.

The agreement will amend the current Directive on road taxes (Eurovignette).

At the moment, the road tax only goes to cover the costs of construction and maintenance of roads. From now on, the member states will be able to increase the taxes on account of ecological criteria – noise and pollution.

For the time being, these taxes are between 15 and 25 eurocents per kilometer, and can be increased by three to four cents. The governments will also have a chance to raise the tariffs by up to 175% during the rush hours and up to five hours per day.

The EU hopes that the effect of these measures will be to redirect the flow of goods into the railways and motivate transport companies to buy less polluting vehicles.



Crowded smokers

European Commission is preparing a law for 2011 which would introduce a ban on smoking in public places in all EU members, report European media.

Although partial or complete bans on smoking have been introduced in many countries, in some of them it is still easy to find a place where smokers are welcome, whether because of legal loopholes or because the laws are simply being dodged.

In Belgium, for instance, you can still smoke in bars which do not serve food, while the Greek minister of health recently admitted the defeat of the 2009 smoking ban, after the inspectorate's report which found that 80% of the bars are ignoring the ban.

Cooperation on the sea

European Commission presented the steps to improve monitoring of European seas in order to protect the maritime interests and offer more efficient solutions to problems such as accidents and oil spills.

The Commission proposed concrete measure on better exchange of information between national monitoring authorities, such as the coastal guards, submarines, police, agencies for monitoring of maritime traffic, environment, fisheries and border control. The EU members are already working on pilot cooperation projects in this area, and a more complete system of information exchange should be established by 2014.

Campaign for translators

European Commission started a campaign to motivate European universities to offer more high quality programmes for translators, who are increasingly in short supply on European markets.

Last year the EC established "European Master in Translation" (EMT) in order to ease the bottleneck in supply of translators, but so far only 34 universities joined the network. The Commission says EMT is also a guarantee of quality, because the universities that wished to become members of the network had to undergo rigorous assessment tests.

IS EUROPEAN UNION A TOLERANT, MULTICULTURAL COMMUNITY

The collapse of multiculturalism

At a recent meeting of the youth of the Christian–Democratic Union (CDU) German Chancellor **Angela Merkel** said the efforts to build a multicultural society in German had failed completely and that a flood of immigrants "has been slowing down the German economy", although the country still lacks highly skilled labour.

The directness of Merkel's words came as a surprise, as did the readiness of the officials to talk about the dominant German culture – a concept which, for obvious reasons, was a very sensitive one for Germans after World War II.

This why Merkel's words should be considered in full seriousness and with an eye to their social and geopolitical consequences in the broader context of Europe's attitude towards integration. After WWII Germany faced a huge shortage of labour because of the war's devastation and as a consequence of the economic boom of the 1950s.

To solve the problem of chronic labour shortage, Germany made a series of successful agreements first with Italy (1955), and later with Spain (1960), Greece (1960), Turkey (1961) and Yugoslavia (1968).

The response was a flood of "gast–arbeiter" (German word for guest workers). For Germany, they were the force that was to transform its society. Germans thought of them as a temporary labour force, and thus never made an effort to assimilate these migrants.

The issue was almost never a subject of political discussions. In the meantime, the presence of foreign workers enabled millions of Germans during the 1960s to move from the ranks of unqualified to highly qualified workers (the so-called "white collar" occupations).

The economic slow–down of 1966 and the recession following the oil shock of 1973 dramatically transformed the situation in Germany, which did not need the unqualified immigrants any more. In 1973 Germany called a

For Europeans, multiculturalism was not the liberal, humanist respect towards other cultures it pretended to be. It was a way to face the reality of many migrants being invited to work on the old continent. That you were French, Polish or Greek meant not only that you speak their languages or accept their value, but also that your parents were also that, as well as their parents.

"Anwerbestopp", cessation of employment of foreign workers.

But this did not solve the problem. Many of the guest workers already in Germany wanted to bring in their families. As many Italians, Spaniards and Portuguese, whose countries underwent economic expansion at the time, chose to return home, Turks became the

largest ethnic group of immigrants in Germany.

Germans did not really want the immigrants to become part of the nation, but the authorities wanted to ensure that, if they were already to stay, the immigrants should at least be loyal to the state. In the second half of the 1980s the solution was found in multiculturalism.

Multiculturalism is a liberal, humanist concept which offered migrants a good bargain – keep your culture, but pledge loyalty to the German state. This meant the

presence of a large number of foreigners who do not speak German and as a rule do not share the German and European values.

The European view of the nation is profoundly different from the American one. For most of its history, the USA thought of itself as a nation of immigrants. Everybody could become American, if they only accepted the language and the dominant culture of the nation. Citizenship and nationality were legal terms.

For Europeans, multiculturalism was not the liberal, humanist respect towards other cultures it pretended to be. It was a way to face the reality of many migrants being invited to work on the old continent. That you were



THE INTOLERANCE OF THE TOLERANT

The entry of the Sweden Democrats into the Swedish parliament after the elections of 19 September means that Europe's last "bastion of tolerance" has fallen. When radical-right parties were making significant electoral gains elsewhere in the 1980s and 1990s, voters in the traditional liberal countries of northern Europe – such as Denmark, the Netherlands and Sweden – were resistant to their claims. Now the first two are among the most accommodating of intolerance: the Danish People's Party of **Pia Kjaersgaard** has been a solid supporter of right-wing minority governments in Denmark since 2001, while the PVV (Party for Freedom) of **Geert Wilders** has begun playing a similar role in the Netherlands.

But is it really the case that the former "bastions of tolerance" have become as intolerant (or even more so) than other European countries; and, if so, why did it take them so long?

A closer look at the results of research into European citizens' attitudes suggests a more complex and interesting picture. Most such surveys show Denmark, the Netherlands and Sweden still to be among the most tolerant countries in Europe. A Eurobarometer poll found that an average of 14% of people across the EU were classified as intolerant – more than in the Netherlands (11%) and Sweden (9%), though in Denmark the figure was 20%.

They also continue to be most in favour of gay rights and gender equality. Against this, there is some evidence that Denmark and the Netherlands at least do stand out on the measure of negative attitudes towards Muslims. A Pew survey of May 2005 rated the Dutch as among the most anti-Muslim.

These findings indicate that the "former" bastions of tolerance in fact are still tolerant – just not toward Muslims. Moreover, in this particular intolerance toward a religious group they outdo generally less tolerant other European countries. Why?

On the one hand, after decades of secularisation and retreat of religion in Europe, Islam is a rapidly growing religion that threatens the secular consensus by bringing religious issues back onto the public agenda. Second, (orthodox) Islam – and vocal Muslims – openly challenge local beliefs on gender equality and gay rights, which are regarded as fundamental aspects of liberal democracy in these countries. Hence, it is the tolerant liberal democrats who oppose the intolerant Muslims.

The implication is that the recent rise of anti-Islam sentiment in northern Europe is proof neither of the end of tolerance in Europe nor the Europeanisation of ethnic nationalism. It is instead an outpouring of the intolerance of the tolerant, long (self-)censored by a political culture of anti-nationalism and conformity.

Cas MUDDE

French, Polish or Greek meant not only that you speak their languages or accept their value, but also that your parents were also that, as well as their parents.

For all 65 years after World War II German leaders avoided the issues such as loyalty to the dominant German culture. Today, simply put, Germany is returning to history.

After the Greek and other eco-

conomic crises, dedication to a united Europe was severely shaken.

Angela Merkel's warning that multiculturalism can turn into a national disaster could set into motion other processes that can have profound consequences not only on Germany and Europe, but also on the global balance of powers

This forces Germany to think about its position outside of its relations with Europe. Merkel clearly said that Germany needs 400 000

experts. Given first of all its demographic problems, Germany needs desperately workers of various professions who are not Muslims and do not live in this country. If Germany cannot import workers, for social reasons, it can export factories, call centres, IT support...

In the not-so-far East Russia is also facing a demographic crisis, but has reserves of the labour force because its economy relies almost entirely on exploitation of natural resources.

Germany already depends on Russia for its energy. If it comes to depend on it for its workers, while Russia becomes dependent on German investments, the map of Europe could be reshuffled once again, the European history could start again, with renewed speed.

Merkel's words are extremely important, on two levels. Firstly, she said aloud what many leaders already know, which is that multiculturalism can turn into a national disaster. Secondly, having said that, she set into motion other processes that could have profound consequences not only on Germany and Europe, but also on the global balance of powers. At the moment, it is not clear what she intends to do with it. It could strengthen the popularity of her ruling coalition, which is currently plummeting. On the other hand, the process, once started, is hard to control or manage properly, because the whole of Europe is now facing a struggle between cul-

tures within its borders.

Dragan ŠTAVLJANIN
Source: Radio Free Europe

MONTENEGRO'S IMPLEMENTATION OF ANIMAL WELFARE PROTECTION LAW, HARMONISED WITH EUROPEAN STANDARDS

Still "slaughtering at home"

EVROPSKI REPORTER

by Bojana Brajović

While the Society for Animal Protection warns that we have a good law on the protection of animal welfare, but no adequate infrastructure, which makes it impossible to implement, the Veterinary Authority disagrees.

The traditional pig slaughter, which in Montenegro starts in late November, ought to be adjusted to EU standards. The current law aims, among other to change the custom according to which the pigs are slaughtered in the courtyards of village households, in unhygienic conditions. Among the main purposes of the law, as well as of related EU laws, is a

WITHOUT STRESS

Chief veterinary of the company "Mesopromet" from Bijelo Polje **Bekim Hadžalić** says their slaughterhouse has been cleared by the Veterinary Authority and that animals are slaughtered in accordance with EU standards.

"Our slaughterhouse has every possible paper and permit, and we are using the most modern equipment. There are several ways to stun the pigs, all approved by EU. One of them involves low-voltage electricity of 220 to 400 volts, administered through electric tongs or forks. It can also be administered through pneumatic electrodes for heart and head", Hadžalić explains.

According to him, "before slaughter the pig needs to be completely rested and must not be disturbed", and should not eat anything 24 hours before slaughter.

more humane treatment of animals.

Although the law has been adopted more than three years ago, there is no trace of supporting legal acts. The Veterinary Authority claims they are about to be implemented, but the Society for Animal Protection believes the law was made as "window dressing" to wave in front of EU authorities, and not necessarily for domestic consumption.

"The first step towards implementation of the law is education, so that people understand what it's about. This way, the law remains a good framework that still needs to be shaped. Concretely, in husbandry there are certain standards of feeding, breeding, transport, slaughter, distribution and sacrifice of animals. We can't just tell the people "do it this way", if there are no prerequisites for that", says **Svetlana Manojlović** from the Society for Animal Protection in Podgorica. She believes much time will pass before the law becomes implementable.

However, **Jelena Vračar** from the Veterinary Authority disagrees: "Montenegro has adequate foundations for the implementation of EU standards for the protection of animals in food production, sometimes higher than those of EU. Partly this is because of a traditionally good approach of our farmers to the animals, and partly because of the fact that there are very few animals per household, which allows the owners to dedicate full attention to every individual animal".

The main problem, according to the Society, is that those who adopt the law ought to know also how to interpret it for the people. Parallel to this there should be a public education campaign, because if the people do not understand what the law demands of the, they will not implement it.

"People are still slaughtering animals in their backyards, on open fields...and that's all still tolerated. There should be one place where the animals are sacrificed – in some countries there are even two



slaughterhouses dedicated to this, and we have none", complains Manojlović.

"The animals taken to these slaughterhouses come without stress. They are stunned by experts, they lose consciousness, and are then sacrificed. Here people slaughter the animals instantly, they can just feel that they will be slaughtered. They are full of stress hormones, and all we get is an unhealthy product", she explains.

Manojlović regrets such an attitude towards animals, claiming that "Given the nature in this country, Montenegro could be producing healthy food if animals were taken care of properly".

Society for the Protection of Animals says that "nobody wants to punish animals. This is about indifference, not neglect".

The Veterinary Authority says there are fines, both financial and prison, for torture and killing of animals. Asked why are there no fines for the people who do not obey the law regarding treatment of animals, Vračar says that there are "procedures currently pursued against four perpetrators. However, the complaints filed with veterinary inspections are mostly against unknown perpetrators and without proofs".

According to the Law on the protection of animal welfare, slaughter without stunning is forbidden, together with abandon and inflicting pain during training. Hunters and fishermen are not allowed to use live animals as bait. It is also forbidden to enhance animal's growth with hormones, or to remove its vocal chords, and these are only some of the clauses of Montenegrin law on the protection of animal welfare.

Transatlantic cooperation

French delegation of the Marshall Memorial Fund organised on 29 and 30 October in Paris a commemoration of the tenth anniversary of its work, accompanied by a meeting with its partners and coordinators in Europe.

During the meeting the participants analysed the activities conducted so far on development of trans-Atlantic relations through exchange programmes

between Europe and USA, as well as the novelties in the organisational structure of the Memorial Fund, which is based in Washington. **Daliborka Uljarević**, executive director of Centre for Civic Education, participated in the meeting as a representative of the partner organisation CCE and coordinator of the MMF programmes for Montenegro.

Reconciliation for stabilisation

European council on tolerance and reconciliation, Bertelsmann Stiftung and Robert Bosch Stiftung organised on 24 and 25 October in Dubrovnik a conference "Towards reconciliation – experiences, techniques and opportunities for Europe", which brought together large numbers of decision-makers and experts in this field both from the region and from EU, USA and Israel. Through a series of panels and sessions participants of various profiles had a chance to present their vision of the problem, from the heads of states to activists of non-governmental organisations and journalists.

The discussion centred on the issues of memory culture, reconciliation and the role of political elites, relation between reconciliation and justice, challenges to reconciliation and peace in today's societies, techniques of reconciliation, and the future of reconciliation in the region.

From Montenegro, the participants were **Filip Vujanović**, president of Montenegro, **Nebojša Medojević**, president of the National Council for European Integrations, **Koča Pavlović**, member of the Parliament and author of the film "War for Peace" and **Daliborka Uljarević**, executive director of CCE.

New policies

Between 29 September and 5 October 2010, in Sarajevo, Helsinki Human Rights Committee from Bosnia and Herzegovina, JEF from Norway and Youth against EU from Norway, together youth groups participating in the Regional programme "Human Rights Education and Active Citizenship in the Western Balkans" organised a forum "Political development in post-conflict societies". The forum brought together 22 participants from BiH, Serbia, Montenegro, Croatia, Macedonia, Kosovo and Norway, who had a chance to learn about the background of the conflict in BiH, the role of the international community during and after the conflict, as well as about the EU demands regarding peaceful conflict resolution, and the ways in which individuals can influence policies, through activism and civil society. As part of the workshop, the participants

organised a street action on the streets of Sarajevo, attended a training for monitoring elections, a lecture on the subject of electoral campaigns and their impact on the outcome and society and on election monitoring by international observers. Furthermore, the participants had a chance to visit Srebrenica, the Memorial Centre in Potočari and talk to the representatives of the NGO "Mothers of Srebrenica" and the Memorial Centre and meet colleagues from youth organisations from Srebrenica and Bratunac.

At the end of the Forum the participants discussed the national and international role of youth organisations and the ways in which the young people can contribute to the strengthening of democracy. The forum closed with a discussion of plans for future cooperation between these organisations. On behalf of the CCE youth group, **Milica Milonjić**, CCE programme associate, participated in the Forum.

NON-GOVERNMENTAL ORGANISATIONS IN EUROPEAN UNION



European foundation for democracy

European foundation for democracy is non-partisan and nonprofit organisation based in Brussels. The organisation is striving for promotion and protection of universal 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 coordinator of their activities.

Foundation is based in Brussels, the core of European political life but in the same time linked too many likeminded individuals and CSOs from Middle East, Eastern Europe, Central Asia and America.

The main activities of the organisation are:

- Promotion of universal human rights, freedom of conscience, individual freedoms and social and political pluralism;
- Giving support in raising awareness on the significance of gender equality, human rights, accountability and objectivity of media, government accountability and 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 „closed societies" aimed at supporting them to reach the level of development similar to the modern European societies;
- Conducting of numerous researches on political and social phenomena and processes closely connected to the issues which are in the focus of organisation's activities.

Foundation has developed cooperation with European institutions and numerous civil society organisations from all around the world.

Very important aspect of the organisation activities is work on supporting the reforms in the countries of radical Islamic regimes where the human rights are seriously endangered.

Currently the Foundation supports the campaign for liberation of Syrian human rights activist **Kemal Labwani**, who is sentenced to 12 years of jail with accusation to be a spy and close collaborator of European and American individuals and institutions fighting for human rights. Labwani is one of the most prominent activists for liberation of Syria from authoritarian regime who has isolated Syria from the rest of the world not just in the since of lack of respect for human rights but also in respect of all other aspects of social development and progress.

More information on the Foundation could be found on web site: www.european-democracy.org

Prepared by: **Petar ĐUKANOVIĆ**

Training on human resource management

Montenegrin office for Technical Assistance to Civil Society Organisations (TACSO) organised on 22 and 23 October in Kolašin the first module of a training programme titled "Management of human resources in civil society organisations".

During the training the participants had a chance to learn about the concept of human resource management and the

importance of having developed procedures and strategies for dealing with employees, how are the most valuable resource of an organisation, adapted to the needs of the CSO.

One of the elements of training concerned the process of employee recruitment and selection, (in) direct costs and benefits ensuing from decisions in the employment process. Other

aspects of the training included performance-based assessment procedures, motivation and reward systems, as well as the procedures for assessing needs and plans for development of the employee's capacities.

Petar Đukanović, programme coordinator and **Snežana Kaluđerović**, legal advisor, participated in the training on behalf of CCE.

Experiences of cooperation on the road to EU

Kosovo Civil Society Foundation (KCSF), with support of the Kosovo Foundation for Open Society (KFOS) and European Balkan Trust, organised on 21 October in Pristina a conference titled "Cooperation between civil society and governments in the process of European integrations". The conference was introduced by **Venera Harullahu**, executive director of KCSF, **Luan Shllaku**, executive director of KFOS and **Besim Beqaj**,

Minister of European Integrations in the Government of Kosovo. KCSF representatives presented their analysis of the current state of affairs in the form of a policy study, while **Sašo Klekovski**, executive director of the Macedonian centre for international cooperation (MCIC), **Igor Vidačak**, head of the Office for Cooperation with NGOs in the Government of Croatia and **Daliborka Uljarević**, executive director of Centre for Civic

Education, shared experiences of other countries in the region.

What would you change?

At the Department of Law of the University of Montenegro, Erste Foundation held an information session about the award fund for social integration "What would you change?". The session was opened by the head of the European Union Delegation to Montenegro **Leopold Maurer**, who emphasised that there are four groups in Montenegro who are particularly exposed to challenges and problems – persons with special needs, the Roma, internally displaced persons and members of LGBT population.

Other speakers at the information session were ambassador of the Republic of Austria **Martin Pammer**, executive director of Human Rights Action **Tea Gorjanc-Prelević**, researcher of human rights' violations **Aleksandar Saša Zeković** and executive director of the Association of Youth with Disabilities **Milan Saranović**. Erste Foundation was introduced by **Filip Radunović**, programme coordinator.

Erste Foundation's competition for the best ideas is open until 30 November 2010, and the award fund is 610 000 euros.

Danilo Ajković, CCE programme associate, participated in the session on behalf of the Centre for Civic Education.

Public procurement in focus

On 18 October in Podgorica Institute Alternative (IA) organised a round table about the law on public procurement, bringing together representatives of the non-governmental sector, representatives of the relevant public authorities as well as independent institutions.

Milica Popović, representative of IA, said that the most important problem was the lack of control over implementation of the public procurement programmes. "Lack of transparency of control is especially acute after the contracts have been awarded, especially with regard to additional works, where there are extensive opportunities for corruption, Popović said.

She explained that the law regulates the procedures up to conclusion of the contract and does not contain mechanisms to ensure that the contract complies with the requirements of the call for tender, nor does it specify procedures for subsequent amendments to the original contract.

MP of the Socialist People's Party (SNP) **Aleksandar Damjanović** said that

since the law came into force around 2 billion EUR was spent through public procurement procedures in over 20 000 contracts, without counting low-value procurement.

Head of Directorate for Public Procurement **Mersad Mujović** said the new law on public procurement will bring further improvements in this area, and that the existing law is already a huge leap ahead compared to the previous one. "Nevertheless, a number of articles allow for ambiguities", conceded Mujović.

During the discussion the participants agree that it was necessary to improve the existing legal framework in order to ensure an effective, transparent system of control over expenditures, and to institute regulations that establish legal responsibility for in public procurement. Only in 2009, public procurement procedures amounted to 433 million EUR of Montenegrin taxpayers' money.

Snežana Kaluđerović, CCE legal advisor and **Danilo Ajković**, programme associate, participated in the round table on behalf of CCE.

FOR THIS ISSUE WE RECOMMEND:

THE EUROPEAN MASTERS IN SPORT AND EXERCISE PSYCHOLOGY PROGRAMME (EMSEP)

The European Masters in Sport and Exercise Psychology programme (EMSEP) is a joint programme organised by four leading European universities in the field: the University of Jyväskylä, Finland; the University of Leipzig, Germany; the University of Thessaly, Greece, and Lund University, Sweden. The two-year full-time EMSEP programme is taught completely in English and it offers education opportunities for students of all nationalities. EMSEP provides you with high-quality teaching in a truly international environment, study abroad period, valuable hands-on experience through internship, networking with fellow students and experts, and a double degree. The EMSEP consortium offers scholarships for both European and non-European students. The scholarships are funded by the European Commission and will be awarded to the best students on a competitive basis.

Admission requirements: previous studies – Bachelor's degree with good grades in Sport Sciences, Psychology, Social Psychology or other relevant field; proof of English language proficiency; proven interest in the field of sport and exercise psychology; basic knowledge of research methodology.

Deadline for applications 10 January 2011. More on programme and application steps on <http://www.jyu.fi/sport/emsep>

THE ERASMUS MUNDUS MASTER COURSE IN ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT AND GROWTH

The Erasmus Mundus Master Course in Economic Development and Growth – MEDEG is a full-time masters programme organized by a consortium including three top-class European Universities: Universidad Carlos III Madrid – Spain (coordinating insti-

tution), University of Warwick – United Kingdom and University of Lund – Sweden. MEDEG lasts 2 academic years, includes 120 ECTS (60 ECTS/year), and consists of 14 or 16 course modules (depending on the two different mobility schemes available) delivered through a combination of lectures, classes, tutorials and essay writing with individual supervisors. Another key component of the programme are a 8.000-word research dissertations to be written at the end of the first year and a 15.000-word dissertation to be written at the end of the second year, on subjects chosen by students in consultation with supervisors.

Students are mandatorily required to study in two different universities of the consortium. In each university, they have to remain for one year and complete 60 ECTS.

First deadline: 30th of November 2010 for students from Third Countries

Second deadline: 15 of January 2011 for students from European countries

Students who apply only for admission to the Master and do not want to apply to Erasmus Mundus scholarships, can apply at any time before 30th of June, 2011.

Submissions should be sent to the following address:

medeg2011@ceaes.uc3m.es and more on programme could be found on http://www.uc3m.es/portal/page/portal/post-graduate_studies/masters/Master_in_Economic_Development_and_Growth

INTERNATIONAL PHD PROGRAM

The International PhD Program Transnational, funded by the DAAD, will begin in the summer term 2011 in the Faculty of the Social Sciences at the Goethe University Frankfurt am Main. The program offers a structured, 3-year period of research at a high academic level to graduates in all areas of the social sciences while at the same time accelerating the time it takes to complete the PhD thesis. PhD candidates will profit from special counseling, academic supervision, and funding opportunities; from participation in the "Forum Transnational" with international vis-



iting scholars; as well as from methods and theory workshops tailored to the needs of the participants. In addition, they will receive support in applying for scholarships and in career planning. Special funding is available for research periods abroad and networking with other PhD candidates in independent doctoral working groups (DocAGs).

In terms of content, the IPP Transnational's profile combines three areas of research in a transnational perspective:

1. Challenges and innovations of democracy
2. Transformations of the gender order
3. Biosciences and society

Working languages are German and English. Graduates of the social sciences both from Germany and abroad can apply who have an above-average university degree (MA, first state examination, Magister, diploma, or the like) and a sound knowledge of English. In addition to the usual application documents (copy of the diploma, CV), applicants must submit a five-page PhD proposal, in either German or English, in line with the IPP Transnational's research design. Furthermore, the application shall include a brief letter of motivation and two references. More detailed information on the profile of the IPP Transnational is available on the program's Web site at www.gesellschaftswissenschaften.uni-frankfurt.de/ipp_transnational. Further information about the application can be obtained from Dr. Sybille Kuster, IPC Social Sciences, Goethe University Frankfurt am Main, tel.: +49-69-798-23433.

Deadline: 1 December, 2010

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

The publisher is Centre for Civic Education.

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

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EIC Bulletin – European pulse can be downloaded at the www.cgo-ccce.org