

# European pulse

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## FOCUS OF THIS ISSUE

### EU to begin negotiations with Montenegro with the most difficult chapter

#### interview

Dean of FDES, Prof Dr Đorđije Blažić

#### analysis

Why are Paris and Berlin reluctant  
to give green light to Podgorica

#### region

No science in the Balkans

Foreword: **An error of judgement**

Vladan Žugić

On 12 October, European Commission recommended the EU to begin membership negotiations with Montenegro. Just 10 months ago, few had really believed that the Government and the public institutions will fulfil EC's strict requirements, which makes the success even greater. However, the initial euphoria was dampened by contradictory signals and speculations that some EU members, such as Germany, France or Netherlands, do not really wish to give Montenegro a green light at the December summit of the heads of states and governments. From the point of view of pro-European forces in Montenegro, that would be a very bad decision. So far the EU has often rewarded the Montenegrin authorities with no good reason, as repeatedly pointed out by the civil sector, media and opposition. Right now, the EU should know that Montenegro absolutely needs to keep the momentum of its progress towards EU, because, for the first time since it set off on this road, there are some signs of visible changes. The decision of some of its members to block Montenegro, if only until June 2012, would be a big danger for the fragile process of democratic reforms. In the last few months, the EU has been told to put its own house in order first. This should also include a spring clean of its backyard which is caught in the net of criminals, tycoons and politicians dangerous to the stability of the Western Balkans. In expectation of the Council of EU meeting, Montenegrin authorities can only still bring some big fish to justice, as a proof of their commitment to continue towards EU. If the ruling elites and institutions in Montenegro decide to renounce their donors and brothers in arms for the sake of EU, inevitably leading to a shake-up of the ruling parties, then perhaps Sarkozy will also be willing to drop a few Eurosceptic votes in the upcoming elections in France.

**Calendar**

04. oktobar **Progress, but concern about "Vijesti" and corruption** / At its third meeting in Brussels Parliamentary Committee for Stabilisation and Association, which consists of the MPs of the European Parliament and Parliament of Montenegro welcomed "good progress" Montenegro has made in fulfilling EC's seven conditions. The Joint Declaration, however, also expresses concerns about the "inability of law enforcement bodies to prevent attacks on the daily "Vijesti" as well as about "widespread corruption in many areas".
12. oktobar **Commission recommends beginning the negotiations** / European Commission recommended the EU to begin negotiations with Montenegro. The exact date for the beginning of accession negotiations should be set by the prime ministers and the heads of states and governments at the meeting of the European Council in December. At the same time, the Commission revealed a new strategy based on which the first chapters to be opened will be 23 and 24, concerning human rights, rule of law and fight against corruption and organised crime, which are usually considered to be the most difficult ones.
24. oktobar **No date for negotiations in December?** / Prime Minister **Igor Lukšić** said that, due to EU's economic problems, it was possible that the enlargement agenda and Montenegro's date for negotiations will not be discussed at the December meeting of the European Council. Parallel to this, there are speculations that Germany and France do not think it is time to give Montenegro the date.
27. oktobar **France said the main tasks are done** / French Minister of Foreign Affairs **Alain Juppé** said he believes that Montenegro could begin EU membership negotiations next year. "The main tasks have been done and I believe that in 2012 we can begin negotiations with Montenegro", said Juppé after a meeting with his Montenegrin counterpart **Milan Roćen** in Paris.
27. oktobar **Germany asks for urgent action** / Head of the parliamentary group of German CSU, **Stephan Mayer**, said that Germany expects Montenegro to offer a concrete proof of political will and professional readiness of the police and judiciary to live up to European standards, the latest by mid-November when Bundestag will consider EC's recommendation, said the leaders of the opposition **Nebojša Medojević** (PzP), **Andrija Mandić** (Nova), and **Predrag Bulatović** (SNP) after their visit to Berlin.

## An important year for enlargement



Štefan Fule

This was another important year for enlargement. Croatia completed its accession negotiations. We have seen good progress on reforms in a number of other countries in the region. Furthermore, the last indictees of the International Criminal Tribunal to the former Yugoslavia were transferred to The Hague. Regrettably, not every development has been positive. Relations between Belgrade and Pristina have continued to be strained, but we now expect the talks between Belgrade and Pristina to resume. And the situation between Turkey and Cyprus is yet another reminder of the potential for problems in the region. The transformation that is underway in the enlargement countries is built on the same foundations, on which our Union is constructed. This means first of all strengthening the rule of law and public administration reform. Many countries have made progress, but this is a long term project and will require further work in the years to come. To underpin this work, I announce today that we are proposing a new approach to Judiciary and Fundamental Rights and to Justice and Home Affairs. We intend to tackle these issues early in the accession process, opening the relevant chapters on the basis of action plans adopted by governments and these chapters will be among the very last ones to be closed. We will report regularly on implementation, on meeting the milestones in the action plans and on the development of track records. If needed we will propose corrective measures.

The second pillar is to ensure freedom of expression in the media. There can be no real transformation without freedom of expression. The importance that the Commission and the European Parliament attach to this issue was demonstrated by the Commission's "Speak Up!" conference in May 2011. Conference conclusions setting out our concerns were sent to all Prime Ministers of enlargement countries. We expect to see concrete steps: notably to review and revise legislation concerning the media and to better protect journalists and prosecutors.



Third, enhancing regional cooperation and reconciliation in the Western Balkans is one of the cornerstones of the stabilisation and association process: from energy and the environment to refugees and war crimes. We encourage our partners to tackle bilateral issues as early in the enlargement process as possible - these should not act to hinder the accession process. Finally, we aim to ensure that the candidates are achieving sustainable economic recovery, embracing Europe 2020 and extending energy and transport networks. In most enlargement countries, economic recovery is underway. The challenge now is to ensure economic growth and job creation for the economic prosperity of the countries but also for the European Union as a whole. Enlargement is a powerful, credible policy, a policy which has the transformative potential to reform the countries to which it applies in the way that would serve both their interests and those of EU. The transformative power of the enlargement process of the European Union can be seen most obviously in Croatia. Today, Croatia is very different to the country that applied for accession to the European Union a decade ago. It is my pleasure to witness that the transformative impact of the enlargement process is also being seen in other countries.

*The author is European Enlargement Commissioner (excerpts from the speech to the European Parliament on the Progress Reports for West Balkan countries)*

Why is EC's recommendation to begin negotiations with Montenegro starting from the most difficult chapters on the rule of law

## Nobody is beyond the reach of an independent judiciary



Tina Radulović

European Union has a new strategy for negotiations with the prospective members from the Western Balkans – the biggest problems will be the first to be tackled in the course of negotiations. According to the experts on European integrations, by opening the Chapters 23 (Judiciary and Fundamental Rights) and 24 (Justice, Freedom and Security) at the very beginning of the process, Montenegro will in time get over the biggest hurdle of the small countries – independence of judiciary bodies. It is thus to be expected that in time the citizens of Montenegro will come to worry less about who is backing whom, why one gets sentenced why another isn't even a subject of investigation, in spite of involvement in corruption or organised crime.

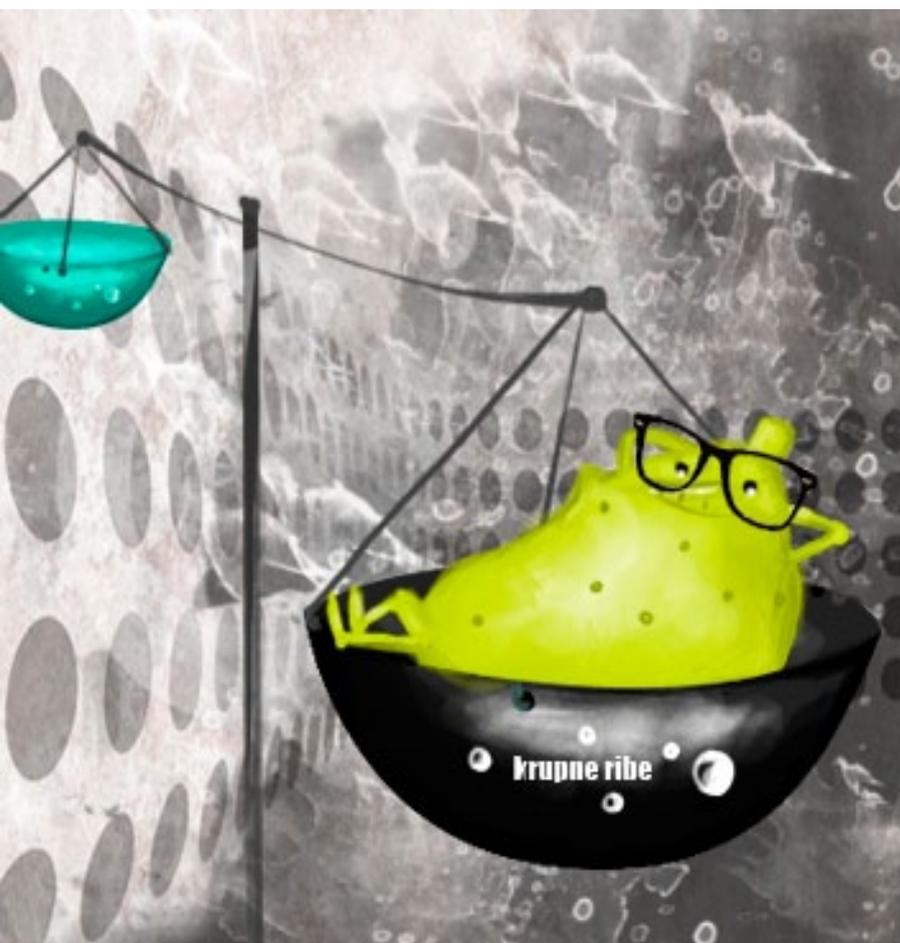
Montenegrin authorities have long suffered reprimands because of these issues, but the EU also learned a few lessons from the last two enlargements. Vice president of the European Parliament Delegation for cooperation with South East European countries, Slovenian MP **Jelko Kacin** says the Enlargement Commissioner **Štefan Füle** had already warned Podgorica that, following Commission's experience with Croatia, it had already decided to open the most difficult chapters at the very beginning "in order to give enough time to develop institutions necessary for the reforms in certain areas".

"We are talking about the judiciary, prosecution, basic human rights. This is the new strategy of EU, to avoid crowding the difficult issues towards the very end, when everybody is in hurry, when they are hoping for quick accession and are failing to meet the deadlines, so that after accession we still have to monitor an EU member state. The strategy is to open these difficult chapters at the very beginning, so that from the start the Commission can weigh in to improve the situation", Kacin explained.

### Time to swallow big frogs

Recalling the stance of the late prime minister of Serbia Zoran Đinđić – "if you have to swallow a frog, don't look at it much, just swallow, and if you have to swallow several, go for the biggest one first" – Uljarević said that this kind of approach was never in vogue among the Montenegrin politicians. "It is only thanks to the process of European integrations that our decision-makers are considering these uncomfortable subjects. All that is still not decisive and effective enough. Without the pressure of integrations, in a country where there is no notion of accountability of those in power to the citizens, things would have been much worse", Uljarević said.





Asked whether the opening of chapters related to corruption and organised crime will lead to new demands on the part of EU – official or not – to bring to justice those who broke the law in the highest ranks of the government, Kacin said:

“Without it, no country can hope to progress, and Montenegro is no exception. When the judiciary is that strong, nobody is beyond its reach”.

According to him, one should look at this challenge from the standpoint of Montenegrin citizens.

“The discussion of such issues is a common occurrence in small countries, where everybody knows everybody, and everybody is part of some social network, who is behind whom, why are some people convicted and some not

even indicted. I believe that opening these chapters at the very beginning will be very useful for Montenegro's progress to EU, and on the other hand it strengthens the citizens' trust in institutions”, Kacin said.

He is optimistic about Montenegro's prospects in this regard. “I am saying this because in the small countries, once the breakthrough is made, the domino effect is very visible and operational”. Kacin added that Montenegro today deserves the trust of the heads of EU states and governments, who should confirm the date for the beginning of negotiations at their summit on 9 December. “After that, all is up to the Montenegrin authorities and institutions”.

State secretary for European integrations in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and European Integrations **Slavica Milačić** believes that the rule of law is fundamental to democracy, and a precondition for sustainable economic development and progress of every society, including Montenegrin.

“This process requires time and continuous efforts to build a system that ensures effective and consistent law enforcement, protection of the basic and minority rights, effective fight against corruption and organised crime. Moreover, the work does not end with a membership in EU, because the process must be made sustainable and lead to genuine changes for the better and tangible results”, Milačić said.

She reminds that in order to promote measures for eradication and sanctioning of corruption the European Commission adopted a regular reporting mechanism in June this year to assess the level of corruption in EU members and institutions.

“Starting with the most difficult chapters will make the negotiations easier. It gives us enough time to achieve the necessary results, especially with regard to law enforcement and policies



related to the rule of law. It also eliminates the risk that failure to conclude the negotiations on chapters related to judiciary, justice, freedom and security could slow down the overall accession process”, Milačić said.

However, director of the Centre for Civic Education (CCE) **Daliborka Uljarević** warns that the judiciary and police are swarming with corruption and that there is little initiative to investigate and even less to process organised crime cases.

This, according to her, is a serious threat to the general stability of the society, to the building of democratic institutions and the rule of law.

### The whole society should negotiate

Kacin believes that the negotiating team, in addition to the Government representatives, should include the opposition and the civil sector. “The civil sector must be part of it, in an advisory role, wherever possible – depending on their individual capacities and expertise. This will also reveal the real capacities of many civil society organisations”, Uljarević said. Milačić promised that all social actors will be part of the negotiations process: “The Government believes that all structures of the society must be part of the process. The Government cannot join the EU on its own, or with the parliament and a few other institutions – the whole Montenegrin society must be ready”.

Uljarević expects that the opening of these chapters will speed up the reform process, but also “create a lot of difficulties, because it contradicts many partial interests of the criminal/political/business structures, which are bound to attempt to stall the process”.

Therefore, according to Uljarević, “the ability of all involved representatives of the state and other interested parties that will take part in the negotiations process to overcome these attempts at obstruction will be an indicator of their professionalism and readiness of the administration to lead us successfully through the process until the final accession to EU”.

In short, if this first task is taken seriously and receives our full commitment, the next steps will be easier, and our credibility in negotiations will be strengthened”, she said.

Why Paris and Berlin are reluctant to give the EU a green light at the summit in December to begin negotiations with Montenegro

# Eurosceptics ride again



Nedeljko Rudović

After the euphoria sparked by the recommendation of the European Commission to begin membership negotiations with Montenegro, we got a cold shower. Everything indicates that the heads of the states and governments will not heed the Commission's opinion at the Summit in December, and that Podgorica will probably have to wait until June 2012. If the negotiations are approved at the summer meeting, they can only effectively begin some time in late 2013, which inspires fears that the process of Montenegro's fashioning after the values of western democracies could come to a halt, exactly at the moment when it is essential that it should continue with even greater intensity. Montenegro made a big jump after it received the seven conditions from EC last fall. Although the results of the fight against organised crime and corruption are questionable, these conditions helped a change in the Montenegrin political culture, where independent media and critical non-governmental organisations came to be seen as partners to the Government, not as enemies of the state. And just when it turned out that this was not at all to the liking of the former prime minister and the current head of the ruling party Milo Đukanović, who preferred the previous configuration, Brussels takes a break, giving Đukanović a wide space for manoeuvre. Political calculations of the most powerful EU members could cost Montenegro dearly. It is no secret that France is opposed to the beginning of negotiations with Montenegro, as part of the game with the Germans who are blocking Serbia's candidacy. Since the EC's recommendation for the beginning of membership negotiations, Paris and Berlin have already signalled their desire to skip Podgorica when the cards are dealt at the next EU Summit in December. The reasons for the probable delay of negotiations with Montenegro are partly linked to Serbia's progress, partly to the worries of the upcoming presidential elections in France in April and early May. Although Montenegro is tiny and it's ridiculous to even think that it could be a threat to someone, some French voters are simply allergic to the word "enlargement", and Nicolas



Sarkozy prefers not to upset them. Since there is general agreement that Montenegro did a great job on its seven tasks, Paris would perhaps yield on this one if Germany wasn't so opposed to Serbia's bid, and the two files became connected in the process. Paris would like to give at least the candidate status to Belgrade – if not, they seem to suggest, than it's better if nobody gets anything. Formally, Paris believes that Podgorica didn't really show enough will to guarantee the rule of law. "The beginning of the negotiations should be assessed in light of the assessment of the implementation of the required reforms, especially with regard to the rule of law and the judicial system and fight against organised crime and corruption" reads the official message on the website of the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs. In the meantime, Đukanović keeps on signalling the Government of Igor Lukšić not to rush too much down the European road. "We should approach the EU as a country without an inferiority complex: for that, we need the capacity to govern our own future. We believed that Montenegro should not be governed from Belgrade, and the same goes for other addresses, regardless of their location", said Đukanović in one of his latest statements for the public. This is just another in a series of insinuations that he could mobilise forces against EU membership. Without support from the European capitals, the advocates of the rapprochement with EU as a precondition for Montenegro's transformation into an accountable state and a prosperous economy will not have the strength to oppose him.

Đorđije Blažić, Dean of the Faculty of Administrative and European Studies on Brussels' demands to reform judiciary

## The best qualification for a judge here is loyalty

Corruption and organised crime are the biggest problem of the Montenegrins society, and it's a small wonder that Montenegro will begin its accession negotiations with Chapter 23 on the rule of law, says Dr Đorđije Blažić, Dean of the Faculty of Administrative and European Studies. In the interview for European Pulse he explained that the European Commission (EC) recognised that the Balkan countries did not progress much towards the rule of law, and that therefore all countries which are to begin membership negotiations after Croatia have to start with the most difficult chapter. According to Blažić, there is no independent judiciary in Montenegro, and he warned that any number of new laws won't change this fact. "The reason EC changed its approach to negotiations and decided to begin with Chapters 23 and 24 are obvious. Evidently, EC also realised that Montenegro's main problems are the rule of law, corruption and organised crime, and I also think these constitute 70% of all problems and obstacles to Montenegro's development", Blažić said.

» *Recently the discussion on the Draft amendments to the Constitution in matters concerning the judiciary came to conclusion. What do you think is the best and most appropriate solution for Montenegro with regard to the appointment procedures to the Judicial and Prosecutors' councils, and for President of the Supreme Court?*

Postoje različita rješenja u izboru sudskih i There are different options for the appointment of judges and prosecutors to these councils. However, in a society which is fundamentally run by partitocracy no system can ensure independence of judiciary, because the whole system of appointments relies on the people and their criteria in decision-making. If the criterium is party loyalty, which is glaringly obvious, every institutional arrangement is vulnerable and subject to abuse and stalemates.

» *What is the way to avoid this?*

Formally and systemically, I believe that we need a wider control of appointments of judges,



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presidents of courts and prosecutors, although in a political environment where the most important criteria are party loyalty and obedience, instead of competence and professionalism, that approach also has its dangers. This is perfectly compatible with principles of the division of power and mutual checks and balances. Nevertheless, parliamentary control of appointments in a system with 81 MPs and 2/3 majority requirement will be a better guarantee of independence and professionalism of the courts than a dozen of members of a judicial or prosecutors' council – which, in their turn, will be appointed

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**» You said before that Montenegro will reach a point in European integrations where we can expect a breakdown in our society. What exactly do you mean?**

Once we reach a certain level, they will demand that we go further, and that's where we can expect a breakdown, or a breakthrough. Otherwise, we will have to remain on that level. One of our political leaders (Milo Đukanović) said a while ago that Montenegro will make no sacrifices. What is this supposed to mean? You can speak about sacrifices in personal terms, not on behalf of the state. The rule of law is Montenegro's biggest problem. When we get to the level where the laws are the same for me, for the citizens, for the presidents of the Government, Parliament, or the State, we can call ourselves a serious country.

like all other officials. In addition, there should be clear criteria for appointment, specified by the Constitution or the Law on Courts, in order to minimise party influence.

**» Isn't there a possibility for political stalemate if the government and the opposition cannot agree on a candidate under the 2/3 majority requirement?**

Leaving the Parliament out of the appointment procedures for judges and prosecutors is contrary to the system of the division of powers, because it does not allow for the control of the judiciary. This is systemically unacceptable and creates the problem of the security of citizens and a question whether the judiciary will not find itself above the executive and legislative powers, which is a systemic danger to balanced democracy.

**» What do you think of the proposal to revise appointments for all judges?**

I am not in favour of wholesale revision, because legally that is a very controversial act. However, there should definitely be more demand for accountability of the judges and prosecutors and possibilities to dismiss the judges and prosecutors who fail to deliver on the expected working standards and professional approach to their responsibilities.

V.Ž.

**Only experts should negotiate with Brussels**

**» There are growing speculations about the composition of the Montenegrin negotiating team. Do you think that the ruling circles will again promote their loyal cadre, like in some other cases?**

The Montenegrin team for the negotiations with EU should consist of the most prominent experts, not of party apparatchiks. This is not a power game, it is a vital national interest. The negotiating team should consist of experts from various areas, and only marginally from "state-party employees". The team should bring together civil sector, professionals from public institutions, university professors, experts from all negotiating areas. Again, this is not a power game, it is the national interest of all well-intended citizens.

**» What, according to you, is the optimum number of members for the negotiating team?**

That should be decided after analysing all stages of negotiations and the achievements in the integration process so far. It means that for all areas of negotiations we should know the structure and the professional profile of the team, and then find the right individuals. Taking from the experience of other countries, the team should be between 300 to 350 people. The general framework and requirements for team members should be made public in advance, so that the public can give suggestions, because every profession knows very well who are its best representatives. The element of democracy and transparency is extremely important in this phase for Montenegro and its citizens. That's the only way to ensure the competence of the team and support from the public. Apart from that, the main negotiator should be a very competent person, well recognised by the public and international institutions and with impeccable reputation.

Western Balkans is no place for science

## You get what you pay for

Two Balkan scientists, **Miroslav Radman** and **Anita Kriško**, found a way to prevent damages to the tissue that lead to the death of cells in human organisms or excessive growth, characteristic for development of cancer cells. The product is a dietary supplement which fulfils three primary tasks ahead of any alternative: protects DNA, proteins and lipids from oxidation and prevents premature aging of the cells, and by the same token the development of disease.

On average, EU member states invested around 3% of their GDP into science during 2010. By contrast, the countries of the former SFRY invest some 0.5%. It should be said that the former country used to spend more than 6% of its GDP per year on science, in addition to another 11% spent on scientific achievements in military industry.

This piece of news alone would be enough to remind us that the Balkan region always gave important names to the world of science, but also to ask how much are the West Balkan states investing in their science now, what are their links to the world, and to each other. Apart from that, science would have been the first or one of the first chapters to be negotiated with EU, like it was the case with Croatia or Island, if the European Commission didn't change its strategy and decided that the future aspirants will have to start with the rule of law and fight against corruption and organised crime.

Lately, **Croatia's** spending on science had been falling, and is now only 0.6% of GDP. Croatian scientists stress that all of their international successes and participation in international projects are a result of individual efforts, not by the state support or strategy. "It is hard to be a



scientist in Croatia. It is hard because of the infrastructure which lags behind the West European research centres. It is hard because of the low wages, meagre opportunities and the way in which science is financed and pursued in Croatia", says **Marko Pavić** from the Network of Young Scientists of Croatia who is working on a PhD in oceanography at the Department of Mathematics and Natural Sciences of the University of Zagreb, in cooperation with his peers at the Institute for Oceanography in Southampton. Croatia, says Pavić, participates in a lot of international projects, but not because of the system or the country itself, but because of individual efforts. "It is absurd that the state, when it finances a project, never comes back to ask about its fate", he says. Pavić cannot even think of the last time the results of a scientific research were implemented in practice.

Until recently, **Serbia** had a strategy that was meant to turn it into a country of science and knowledge. On the other hand, only 0.3% of the GDP is spent on scientific research. Lim-

ited sources of financing are a huge obstacle for the development of science and research. Recently, the researcher of the Research station “Petnica” had to face this problem with full force, has the director of this institution, **Vigor Majić**. “We are currently in a very difficult situation. The Ministry of Education did not put a single cent on our account this year, although it is almost the end of the year, and we had signed the last contract a few months ago. Such neglect and irresponsibility in public administration are perhaps the biggest of our problems”. The attitude of the state towards science is best illustrated by the fact that a year ago, after 60 years of existence, the Ministry of Science was abolished and merged with the Ministry of Education. Between 2007 and 2010 Serbian scientists published some 15 026 research papers.

**BiH** has no ministry in charge of science on the federal level, no development strategy, not enough capacity for scientific research, and nobody in charge of development of scientific disciplines. It is all up to enthusiasm of a handful of people because, according to very rough estimates, this activity only receives some five million euros. In short, if science is by definition organised human activity, in BiH it effectively doesn't exist. “We have no basis for science in BiH, or in the Federation, or in the cantons, because science is governed on the cantonal level. the problem is too little money”, says Dr **Dejan Milošević**, professor of theoretical physics at the Department of Mathematics and Natural Sciences in Sarajevo. “I don't usually bet, but I could bet my right hand that if this country actually invested in science and some of its segments, which are extremely attractive and important for BiH, it would see the benefits of it very quickly. Such investments wouldn't be as large as people expect: the scientist in Bosnia and Herzegovina are used to getting big achievements out of modest grants and investments”, says Professor **Damir Marjanović**. Economic analyst **Igor Gavran** says that higher education institutions, which should be the

core of scientific research, are often unable to maintain the most basic equipment. “There are no new investments. At the same time, every shire has new private universities which are far from quality and serve to mass-produce diplomas, while the real knowledge receives very little attention. Our best experts, who are trained for the most demanding jobs abroad, if they wish to come back to BiH, have nowhere to work, because they are train in technologies we have never seen. They are simply forced to stay abroad”, Gavran said.

After several decades of complete neglect of science, **Montenegro** got a new Ministry of Science with the current Government, which initiated a number of activities. Observers however remark that spending 0.5% of GDP on science is at best irresponsible, and in fact detrimental. Minister of Science **Sanja Vlahović** says that international and regional cooperation is among the top priorities, and that it has led to very intensive exchange, on two levels: bilaterally, with the countries of the region, as well as USA and China, and multilaterally, where local researchers have an opportunity to access the large EU-funded programmes, such as FP7, Kost and Eureka. “Our strategic goal is to bring together science and life, i.e. science and business to act as an engine of many processes”, Vlahović said, adding that it is important to motivate the private sector to support scientific research, but also to motivate scientists to cater to the business needs, as a functioning link between the two will result in greater societal development.

*Source Radio Free Europe*

# Heading West



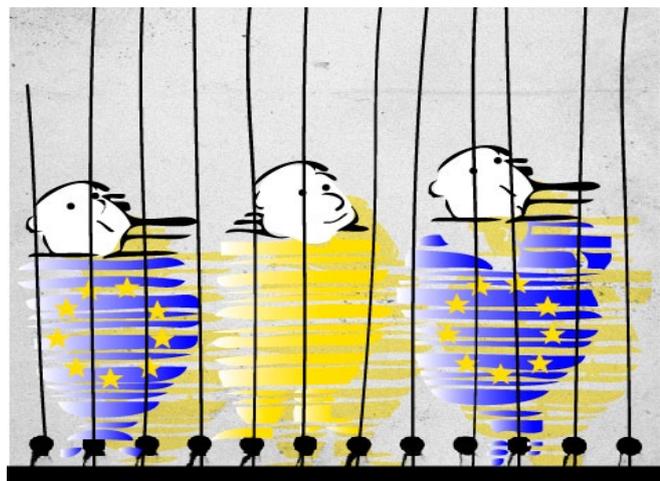
Brano Mandić

It might have been the ulcer of pan-Slavism, or some inter-stellar Russophilia that made my homeland always look down on the West from vertiginous heights of indignation. Already as a child I have scorned their work habits and stinginess when shopping for food. I listened to the stories of Slovenians having little creative spirit and equally little heroism, an excellent butt of jokes when nothing else came to mind. Italians simply seemed unserious. “Lichtenstein” didn’t sound bad at all. There were a few more statelets but we swooped past them in ever sports competition, and the Spirit of the Nation never stopped to reflect on their miserable existence. Twenty years later, empirics caught onto this

So far the Father of the Nation would speak with measure, so that his words are worth equally in Brussels and in Mojkovac. This time, he is sending both some negative stuff, inappropriate to an economically ruined statelet which is begging the grown-ups to take it into their company.

healthy ideological basis. You watch clumsy notaries from Brussels who speak worse English than you do, wear white socks with sandals and pore over their booklets while waiting for their fish in a restaurant on Mareza. It’s not much of a show, you don’t need to be the king of cool too feel superior. All these Belgians, Austro-Hungarians, Luxembourgers and others have been discarded by the collective mind of my people as groups attached to clogs, collaboration with the Axis, and up to their necks in falling birth rates and paedophilia. While, on the other hand, my people is a people of thick blood and quick temper, relaxed in our historical delusions from which we milk pure poetry and a slight inclination toward creative chaos. And yet, when the chaos turned into massacre, we got the first ideological signs of odes to the West, to the very “little” West, not represented by the USA, our old ally, or by Germany, the respectable enemy. From the side and insincerely, but gradually, there was the idea that maybe we also belong

there, perhaps once, ten years from now, but enough to live at least some of our lives in an orderly state. The boredom of the West gripped the imagination of ordinary citizens, provided they are sober and aren’t giving a speech at some wedding or funeral. In short, we started to think of Slovenians as brothers one could learn from. The Netherlands impressed us with a certain jail, not quite to our liking, but at least nobody ever escaped from there. Norwegian money started dripping in, reminding us that the lessons from “Swedish communism” perhaps aren’t to be thrown out of the window. The politicians plunged into high-pitch propaganda and you barely had time to say “trout prepared in old Brandenburg style” – 80% of the citizens said they support membership in European Union, the guarantor of stability in the region.

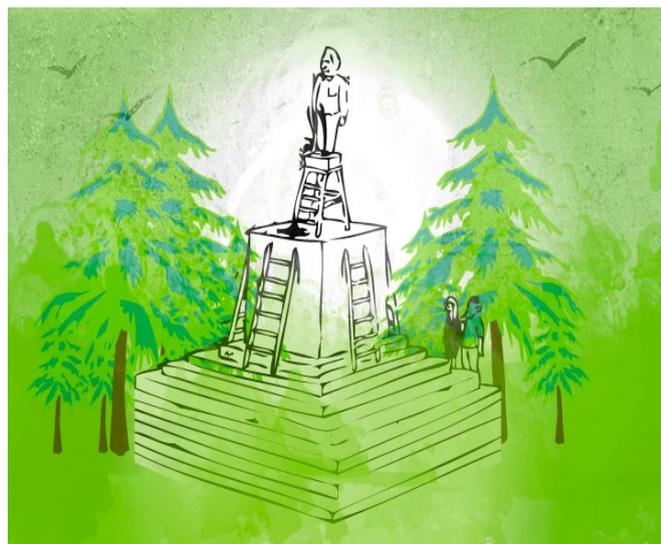


And just when we picked up the speed on the new track, here comes the Eurozone mess. The money’s up. Even there, there is no money! And we just wanted to get a little closer to the post-colonial coffers and revive our memories of normal living standards. A huge blunder for an already flawed vision. Accordingly, in the latest opinion poll the number of those reaching out to EU dropped significantly. At the same time, the Father of the Nation stirred up a new tune: “Europe is not a goal in itself”, “We won’t pander to anybody” etc. All we’re missing is a reference to illiterate cartographers... Everything else is there – the moustached Minister of Foreign Affairs, who looks like he fell off a

horse in some Babel's story, the Father of the Nation, broad-chested and dignified, just like Peter the Great. We started to doubt the European Union before we even began negotiations. And the young Prime Minister choose this auspicious moment to tell us that we might not get the date for negotiations in December, because EU has other priorities. In other words, they're in trouble and we should understand them, after all we are the world champions in getting into similar troubles... On top of everything else, we lost Gadaffi, a massacre rather than a kill. Another mask fell: so these are our friends, that's the kind of revolution they want, where people get butchered on the camera, and they applaud it as democracy! Followed internet comments on the evil white man whom we despise, we the cotton pickers, blues-singers and broad Slavic souls. It's sad to see how thin was the founda-

One thing is sure, European legal norms are no friend to many Montenegrin politician and businessman, and some of them would eagerly welcome a bit of counter-wind. There's our basis for a nice little campaign against EU. That option is always open. We're not Slovenians, blast it!

tion of Montenegrins' support for EU, and the things are conspiring to erode even this thin basis, which is cleverly used by the Father of the Nation in his new edition speeches. What's that supposed to be, is his new rhetoric part of another political master plan or mere teasing, I'm really not able to tell. So far the Father of the Nation would speak with measure, so that his words are worth equally in Brussels and in Mojkovac. This time, he is sending both some negative stuff, inappropriate to an economically ruined statelet which is begging the grown-ups to take it into their company. A few years ago I lamented on these same pages about the lack of Euroscepticism in Montenegro, healthy scepticism needed to move the discussion forward, refresh the idea through opposition, complete the Hegelian triad, so that the final result is indeed some reasonable synthesis. It is true that every propaganda, even the European one, has



its limits, and that one abstraction cannot be forever packaged into the same wrappers and still remain attractive. It is thus normal to raise a few voices against the Promised Land, even from the healthy distance of irony, a sensible suggestion on any medicine: shake the bottle before downing it. A few university professors got into that groove and we could hear, without fanfare, what a free individual can hold against the big Brussels machinery. But when dodgy objections cropped up on party gatherings, which are mainly populated by obedient simpletons ready to memorise the words of the Leader – things became dangerous. Because the opposition to the European idea isn't coming from an intellectual's sofa, under the hat of some thinker and associate professor, but as a political slogan (pass it on!) that we're not going to pander to anybody, dammit! In the coming days we will be watching more carefully the mediocre cadre of our party corps, to see how they understood the words of the Leader. They'll be the test case and the answer to the question: are we changing the political course? The elections are just around the corner, let us listen to the slogans. The slogans are important and meaningful, especially in societies where they constitute most of the political discourse. One thing is sure, European legal norms are no friend to many Montenegrin politicians and businessman, and some of them would eagerly welcome a bit of counter-wind. There's our basis for a nice little campaign against EU. That option is always open. We're not Slovenians, blast it!

Euro-debates are just what the EU needs – if there is still time

## Democracy as a prey of transnational markets

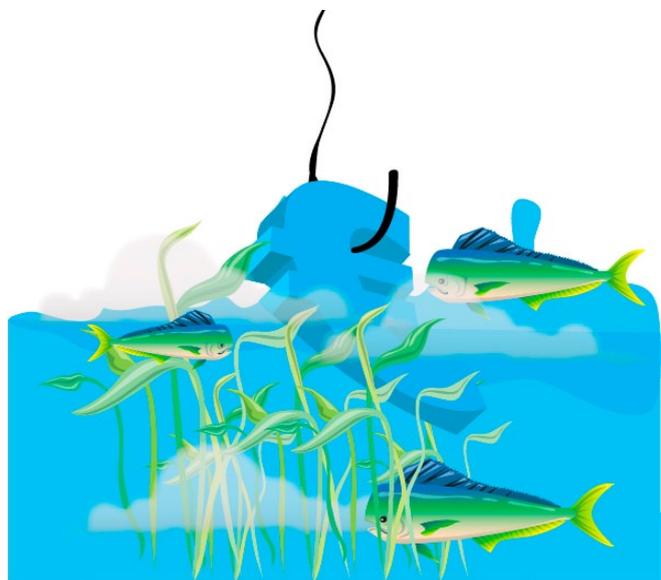


Timothy Garton Ash

The author is a professor of European Studies at Oxford University

A big deal has been done in Brussels. Salvation is again proclaimed. But how long will it last? In the next days and months, the future of the eurozone will be decided by the verdict of financial markets on these complex measures, which are all that the conflicting national politics of different European countries will allow their governments to agree on. Country after country, parliament after parliament, is raising its voice and saying: thus far and no farther. But what the one nation insists upon the other cannot abide: Germany's 'must' is Greece's 'can't'; Nicolas Sarkozy's 'essential' is Angela Merkel's 'impossible'; Slovakia's red line is Spain's indispensable minimum. And every day, this cacophony of national democracies is prey to the transnational superpower of markets. I recently watched two fascinating parliamentary debates on Europe: one in the British House of Commons, another in the German Bundestag. At first glance, the contrast was great: the varnished wood and green leather of the opposing benches in the Westminster parliament against the cool, modern greys and blues of the segmented, hemisphere-style plenary chamber of the Bundestag; the old-fashioned pin-striped suits, paunches and plummy sub-Churchillian tones of Tory Eurosceptics against the almost colour-coded light greys and blues of German parliamentarians, delivering their characteristic, long Lego-like phrases. Yet underneath, both had a common theme: democracy. The German Social Democrat and former foreign minister **Frank-Walter Steinmeier** called Merkel's treatment of the German parliament over the Euro issue 'shameless'. Speaker after speaker, including the parliamentary Leader of the Greens, rose to insist - sometimes hitting the grey and blue lectern for emphasis - that every new financial commitment Germany makes to save the eurozone must be debated and agreed 'here, in the German Bundestag'. Do I hear a plummy 'hear, hear!' from the British Conservative backbenches? In both places, it's absolutely clear

What the one nation insists upon the other cannot abide: Germany's 'must' is Greece's 'can't'; Nicolas Sarkozy's 'essential' is Angela Merkel's 'impossible'; Slovakia's red line is Spain's indispensable minimum. And every day, this cacophony of national democracies is prey to the transnational superpower of markets



that democratic authority for European decisions comes from national parliaments, not the European one. And in both places, behind the insistence on the rights of the national parliament one hears the drumbeat of popular dissatisfaction, as articulated and magnified through the media - but also in opinion polls, in MP's constituency conversations, in pub, café and corner Kneipe, not to mention the tent village in front of St Paul's cathedral and the protest-hardened square before the Greek parliament. All these national publics are demanding to be heard. The trouble is that what they want to say is hard, if not impossible, to reconcile with the demands of other European peoples. Take Merkel's speech, for example. After belatedly acknowledging that the sacrifices of people in Greece should command Germans' respect, she

I am not saying that these searching democratic national debates about Europe are a bad thing. Quite the reverse; they are long overdue. In Germany, doubts and questions about the euro were swept under the carpet of political correctness for far too long. Britain direly needs a referendum on its relationship to the EU - and it should have it as soon as there is a proper yes/no question to put on the ballot paper.

went on to say that helping to solve Greece's problems will require not just 'strict conditions' but also 'a permanent oversight (Überwachung) in Greece'. Think for a moment how that German word sounds in Greek ears, with Greek memories. Then she categorically ruled out the European Central Bank becoming the eurozone's lender of last resort, a kind of Euro-Fed. Loud applause followed in the Bundestag, but she had just dismissed out of hand the main direction in which France wants the eurozone solution to go - and the one move that might still convince the markets that Europe can cope with its members' problems. Marching briskly on, she insisted that a satisfactory solution will require a change to the EU treaties. And such a treaty change should not take another decade; after all, had not the treaties for German unification been done and dusted in a matter of months? But Angela's dream is the biggest nightmare of **David Cameron**, whose own party is pressuring him to hold a referendum on Britain's position in the EU. His government is firmly committed to holding one if there is a treaty change. Worse yet, Germany's iron lady added that the German government supports a financial transaction tax - something that would not please the Conservative party's principal funders in the City of London. Does that leave any other European partners to be rubbed up the wrong way, just in order to convince your own German voters to do the half of what is needed? Ah yes, it would be necessary to take tough, intrusive measures to deal with countries that permanently infringe the eurozone's stability and growth pact ... 'and Greece is not the biggest'. There's one for you, caro **Silvio (Berlusconi)**. And this is only one speech of one national politician in one country - albeit the most

important. One could do the same exercise with speeches of Portuguese, Italian, French or British leaders. I am not saying that these searching democratic national debates about Europe are a bad thing. Quite the reverse; they are long overdue. In Germany, doubts and questions about the euro were swept under the carpet of political correctness for far too long. Britain direly needs a referendum on its relationship to the EU - and it should have it as soon as there is a proper yes/no question to put on the ballot paper. The Tory backbenchers' idea of the referendum is a recipe for confusion: if you ask people to decide between 'status quo or renegotiate our relationship', the answer would almost certainly be 'renegotiate'. So the sensible thing would be to see if the eurozone collapses or is saved, what kind of closer economic and political integration of eurozone countries results if it is saved, and what powers other EU members are prepared to repatriate to Britain if Cameron asks them. Then have a straight yes or no on the resulting package, probably some time in 2013 or 2014. Not only do I think these national democratic debates are a good thing in themselves; I also believe that, given time, the case for a sustainable continuation of today's EU would win the argument. Although triggered by scepticism - €-scepticism in Germany, a broader euroscepticism in Britain - both these parliamentary debates actually produced some vigorous articulation of the underlying case for 'Europe'. We should not be afraid of open debate. Bring it on. The catch is in the 'given time'. Ten years ago, we still had that time. If this were just a matter of national parliaments and plebiscites, we would still have that time. But it isn't and we don't. The markets could pull the rug on the euro tomorrow. We gather bond traders have already pulled back from Spanish, Italian and even French government bonds. A final irony is that they are doing so partly in order to protect the financial interests of European pension funds: that is to say, the long-term retirement benefits Of some of the very same people who, in another capacity, as national voters, have been making it so difficult to arrive at a solution that would impress the markets. Answers, anyone?

## Freedom worth waiting for



Milica Dragojević

The author is an associate of Institute Alternative and a student of X Generation of European Integrations School.

As a student of European Studies at the Department of Political Science in Podgorica I am often asked this question – by friends, family, or simply people who don't know much about it and have little idea about European Union. In fact, EU is a black box for most citizens of Montenegro, something they hear about every day, something that is the ultimate goal of Montenegrin politics – and yet, there are few who explain, in simple terms, what this means for the ordinary citizens. When I try to give a reasonable answer to this question, I say the first words that come to my mind: freedom, competition, work, reconciliation, home. By freedom I mean, among other, the four freedoms that will once be available to us as citizens of EU: freedom of movement of workers, goods, capital and services. The first means the opportunity to work in any EU member under equal conditions. We will be able to work in Germany, Italy, Slovakia, Cyprus, just like in Montenegro. Free movement of goods means that the products we import from EU will be cheaper and more abundant, because we will be part of the EU market and will not have to bear additional costs of tariffs, transport... the same goes for capital and services – everywhere in EU people have the same access. That is indeed the main idea of EU – a space without borders. The only downside is that we will still have to wait for these freedoms. There is still the whole process of negotiations, then accession, and the question is whether, as part of the notorious Balkans, we will immediately gain access to these freedoms. The East European countries already had to face a seven-year ban on employment because of the fear of the “Polish plumber”, i.e. excessive migration of the workforce from these countries to old EU members, although their fear already turned out to have no real basis. To these advantages I would also add competition, which forces us to work. This competitive spirit which inspires prosperity and enriches our minds, as well as our wallets. EU is not the strongest economy in the world, we know that, but it motivates people to

work on its becoming one. When I speak about reconciliation I think of that conception of EU which, in addition to economic growth, is so urgently needed in these parts. Reconciliation is the basis of EU – just recall the situation in Europe after World War II and the fear on the part of France and other countries of Germany's power and growth. How many divisions ran through Europe and how hard it was to imagine these countries as they are today – the pillars of EU. The question is: can this happen in Balkans? Of course it could happen. This is the mechanism that made the whole Europe rise again from the ashes, why can't we, “simple” people of the Balkans, do the same? Finally, Europe isn't as perfect as I make it to be, but it is a home of so many nations. We are currently somewhere in the dark corridors of this home, as bad children who got told off by their parents. EU isn't a promised land, but it unites. Not everyone in EU loves their neighbours, and they are not all brothers, but it's enough to know that there was no war in EU since the World War II. It isn't all bright and beautiful, we will have to do a lot to get where we would like to be, and do it on our own. Europe won't do it instead of us – they will show us the way, based on their experience, which we have to learn to follow, based on our own.



### 15 pupils per teacher

In the European Union the student/teacher ratio in primary education varies widely from one member to another, but the average in 2009 was 15 pupils per teacher, according to the latest research on trends in education in EU over the last decade, conducted by Eurobarometer. In 2009, the number of students per teacher in EU varied between an average of 10 in Malta, Lithuania, Denmark and Poland, to nearly 20 students per teacher in France and UK. On average, 29% of teachers in EU are older than 50, with the proportions much higher in Germany (49%), Sweden (48%) and Italy (45%). Countries with the fewest number of teachers above 50 are Cyprus (3%), Poland (13%) and Slovenia (18%). Across the 27 EU members, women made up the bulk of the elementary-school level teaching cadre in 2009 – 86%. In the Czech Republic, Slovenia, Lithuania and Hungary, this percentage is as high as 95%. Only in Denmark (69%), Spain and Luxembourg (74%) the proportion of women teachers is below three quarters. The start of elementary education varies among the EU members, and can be between 4 and 7 years of age, and it usually lasts 5 to 6 years.

### Think about taxis

The state of taxi services in Europe is alarming, according to a research conducted in 22 big European cities. Most complaints refer to the behaviour of the drivers – incomplete receipts, non-acceptance of credit cards, disregard for speed limits and high prices due to roundabout routes. The worst ranked city in the research was Ljubljana, which failed to get a passing grade in all categories. The best was Barcelona, graded “good”, similar to Berlin, Köln, Lisboa, Milan, Munich and Paris. In Barcelona, the meters are always on, the charges are fair, drivers accept credit cards, are orderly, forthcoming and helpful, and the information about the vehicle

is marked clearly. Barcelona still failed to get the highest, “very good” grade, because the drivers do not speak English, and the inspectors were twice taken to the wrong place. The worst drive was recorded in Rome: the driver got lost twice, extending the route by 60%. The price of the meter was increased from 50 euro, as it should have been, to 62.9 euro, and the driver asked for 69 euro. There was no air conditioning in the car, the engine was too loud, the window was broken, and the interior of the car was strewn with used tissue paper.

### Fairly satisfied

According to the latest Eurobarometer on social trends in EU, its citizens still have a negative opinion on the general situation in their countries, but they feel that the economy is getting better. According to the poll, EU citizens are fairly satisfied with their lives. On the scale from 10, for the highest degree of satisfaction, to -10, for high level of dissatisfaction, the financial situation of households received the highest grade in Sweden, with average grade 5, followed by Denmark (4.7) and Luxembourg (4.6). The situation of households was evaluated most negatively in Hungary (-2.5). The results show that the Europeans are least satisfied with the treatment of inequality and poverty in their countries (2.5). Only in Luxembourg did the citizens grade their government’s efforts to fight inequality positively, while those in Latvia, Romania, Greece and Lithuania voiced extreme dissatisfaction (-5 or worse). As for public administration, Europeans are fairly dissatisfied on average (-1.4). Luxembourg got the highest grade for administration (2.4), while the worst performers are Greece (-5.9), Romania (-5.8), Latvia (-4.9), Ireland (-3.8) and Portugal (-3.4).

Results of the opinion poll conducted as part of the project “Europe in my town”, implemented by CCE in cooperation with CEMI and CI

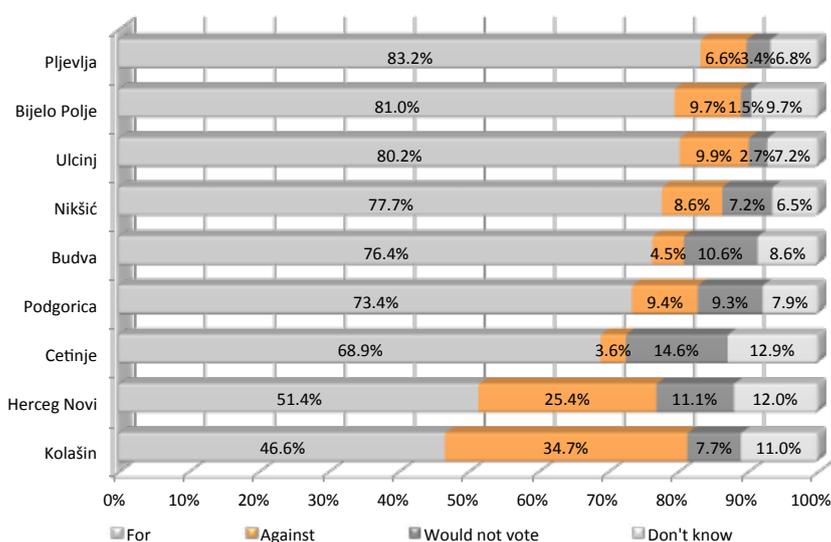
## Pljevlja rooting for EU, euroscepticism in Kolašin

If there were a referendum on Montenegro's membership in the EU this summer, some 7 in 10 citizens would vote for our country joining the EU, which is a fairly high percentage, comparatively speaking. The remaining opinions are split evenly between “against”, “undecided, not sure” and “would not vote”. These are the results of a public opinion poll conducted by Centre for Civic Education (CCE) in cooperation with the Monitoring Centre (CEMI) and Civic Initiative (CI), with financial support of the EU Delegation to Montenegro. The poll was conducted on a sample of 3 621 citizens in nine Montenegrin municipalities: Bijelo Polje, Budva, Cetinje, Herceg Novi, Kolašin, Nikšić, Pljevlja, Podgorica and Ulcinj. Montenegro's membership in the EU garnered the most support in Pljevlja (83.2%), Bijelo Polje (81%) and Ulcinj (80.2%). Unlike the citizens of other seven municipalities where the membership in EU is a matter of overwhelming majority consensus, only around half of the citizens support European integrations in Herceg Novi (51.4%) and, especially, Kolašin (46.6%). Also, a third of Kolašin's citizens (34.7%) and a quarter of those in Herceg Novi (25.4%) are explicitly against Montenegro's membership in EU. For all respondents, EU primarily means better living standards and more generous social benefits. On the other hand, the percentage of those afraid of the negative repercussions of EU membership is in single

digits – more porous borders, a rise in crime rates, wasteful administration, bureaucracy, higher unemployment or the loss of national identity.

As for other positive values of membership, there are strong priorities which differ from one municipality to another: peace (Cetinje, Ulcinj, Podgorica), economic growth and prosperity and better living standards (Nikšić, Kolašin, Herceg Novi), democracy (Bijelo Polje) or better international image (Podgorica). As for the citizen's own immediate environment – municipality, few of the citizens expect any negative effects from EU integration. The only partial exception in this regard is the fear among the citizens of Herceg Novi of rising crime rates. Not unexpectedly, better than average benefits from development of tourism are expected in coastal municipalities: Herceg Novi, Ulcinj, Budva, as well as Kolašin. Like with personal expectations, respondents from Nikšić and Bijelo Polje are particularly keen on higher standards and economic growth.

Among the possible obstacles to Montenegro's membership in EU the respondents mostly chose widespread corruption and crime, insufficiently prepared national administration, as well as the complex conditions and rules of EU. All other options on offer: incapable politicians, lack of support among some EU members, lack of respect for human rights, as well as the unpreparedness of the citizens themselves are judged as important, but only supplementary factors that might slow down the country in its progress towards European integration. The opinion poll also showed that half of the citizens would like to know more about EU, one third believes they already know enough, while one fifth is either not sure or not interested. The respondents identified three groups of sources according to their appropriateness as channels of information about EU. The first group of most desirable, and at the same time most widespread, is the TV and, an encouraging fact from the standpoint of IT-education, Internet. In Cetinje, Internet almost equals TV as the most desirable source of information. It is in-



interesting to note that, unlike in Cetinje, where Internet is a widespread and highly desirable source of information, in Nikšić the “classical” source – TV – is way ahead. Newspapers, journals, public discussions and the radio belong to the group of supplementary, corrective sources of information on EU integration. Workplace, municipal meetings or the school are not the places where the citizens expect, nor particularly wish to get information about EU integration. The extent to which the educational system is not perceived as a source of information about EU is particularly worrying. The ranking of the appropriate sources of information on EU in general is entirely in line with the ranking of the appropriate sources of information on Montenegro's integration into EU. Regardless of significant variation among the respondents from the 9 municipalities, in general it can be said that the citizens of Montenegro are mainly interested in EU's economic dimension: they are interested in learning about employment policies, as well as about socially and environmentally sustainable development – social, educational, health and environmental policies. The existing “information deficit” and the lack of knowledge on Montenegro's current status in the process of EU integration is best illustrated by the finding that one in six respondents believes that Montenegro has no particular status in rela-

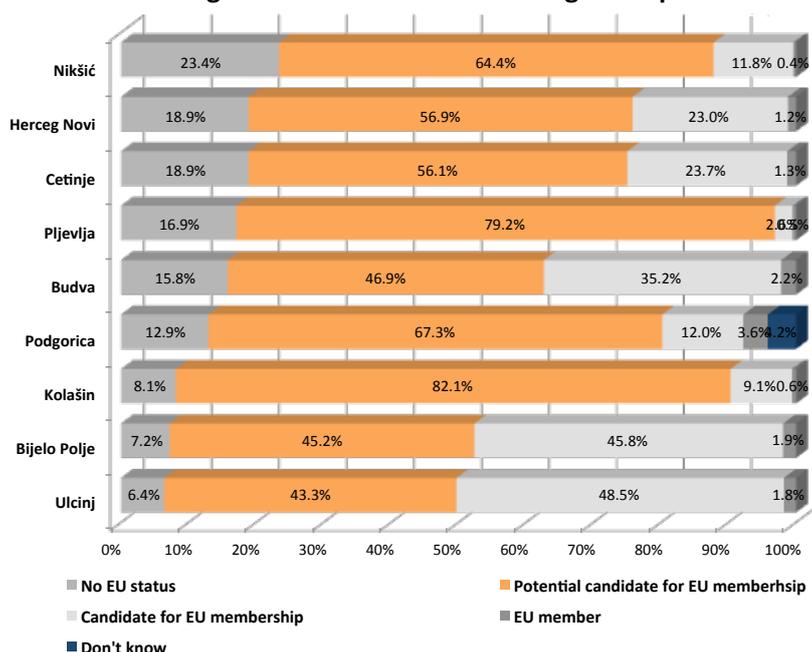
tion to EU, while most of the respondents waver between “potential” and “accepted” candidate for EU membership.

The opinion poll showed an awareness of EU's growing importance in the everyday private lives of the citizens. This is best illustrated by the finding that the respondents believe that five years from now Montenegro will play an even larger role in their everyday lives. A partial exception from this pattern are the respondents from Herceg Novi, where the share of those who believe the EU will rise in importance is a little under the sum of those who believe it will stay the same and those who think it will even decline. In Kolašin, as many as three fifths think the EU's role will remain the same as until now.

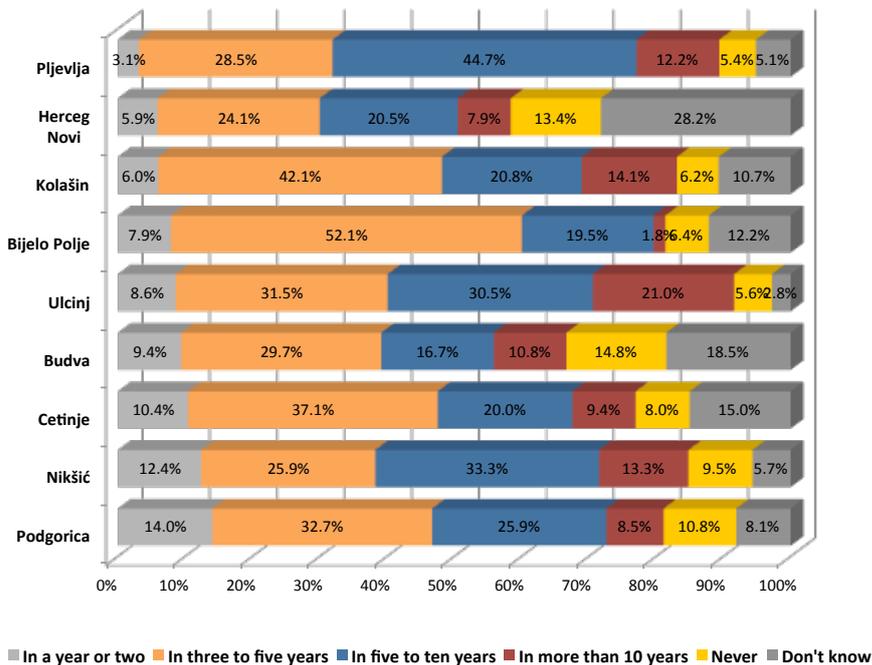
As for the time needed for Montenegro to join the EU, ten percent are (excessive) optimists, who think Montenegro will become member in a year or two. Another ten percent on average think it will never happen, while most of the respondents are either moderate optimists, who estimate the time until accession to three to five years, or sceptics/realists who think it will take more than five or even 10 years until full membership. Regarding the quality of work of municipal administrations in the process of European integrations, those who know anything about it are quite critical. The most critical are the respondents from Bijelo Polje and Cetinje, followed by those from Podgorica.

The municipalities fall in three distinct groups according to their respondents' assessment of projects implemented with EU support. The first group consists of Pljevlja and Bijelo Polje, where the respondents are well acquainted with such projects. In the second group are Podgorica, Nikšić, Cetinje, Budva and Kolašin, with an intermediate level of information, while in the rest of municipalities the citizens are not sure whether there are any EU-supported projects in their locality. The reader should bear in mind that the authors lack the information about the real frequency of EU supported municipal projects, so the citizens' perceptions should be additionally checked against the data on already implemented,

Montenegro's current status in EU integration process is:

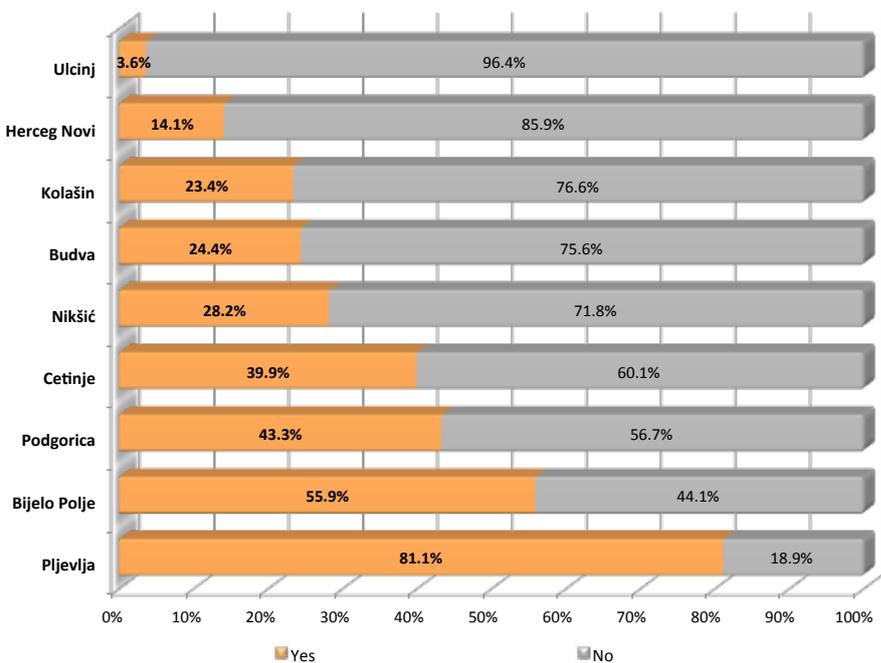


### When will Montenegro become a member of EU?



and positive assessment of own resources and preparedness of the European indication process. The best prepared actors, according to the respondents, are the citizens and local entrepreneurs. In Herceg Novi, by contrast, the respondent believes the Government is the best prepared, while the least prepared are the citizens, indicating a greater need for intensive communication with the local population. In Kolašin, nobody is sufficiently prepared for the task. Most unprepared, however, according to the poll, are the citizens and local entrepreneurs. A similar opinion is shared by the citizens of Nikšić, who don't believe that the citizens, the local entrepreneurs, local governments or the non-governmental organisations are ready, while they think that the Government is partly or fully prepared for integration.

### Do you know of any European project that has been implemented or is being implemented in your municipality?



In Pljevlja, the respondents also think the Government is ready, half of the citizens think the NGOs are well prepared, while the citizens are overall unready. In Ulcinj, the respondents do not believe that any of the actors are as yet ready to actively participate in European integration process. They have similarly low grades to all actors, with very few instances of the respondents choosing “completely ready” answer. The Government and NGOs are seen as motivated actors involved in the process in Podgorica, while in Budva the respondents believe there is more to be done to demonstrate motivation, build capacities, and increase the level of participation of all actors. In this municipality, the respondents are nearly evenly split between those who judge actor's overall outlook as “partly prepared” and “partly unprepared”.

or currently implemented EU-related projects. It is clear that Pljevlja and Bijelo Polje are clearly ahead of other municipalities with regard to the importance of such projects for the respondents. The respondents also evaluate these projects very positively, especially in Pljevlja. Overall, the data for Bijelo Polje indicate a high level of optimism

In Cetinje, the only actor who is believed to be ready for the process is the Government, while the local entrepreneurs got the lowest marks. In spite of the ongoing global crisis, the citizens of Montenegro are optimistic about EU's future. In this category, the champions of Euro-optimism (more than 60%) are Ulcinj, Bijelo Polje and Pljevlja. On the other hand, the optimists are in a relative majority in Budva as well, but under 50% because of the high numbers of those “unsure”.

Progress reports on West Balkan countries

## An applause for the fight against crime in Serbia and Croatia

On 12 October the European Commission (EC) presented its “enlargement package”, containing progress reports on all candidates and potential candidates for EU membership. The European Pulse compiled the most relevant observations for the West Balkan countries.

**Croatia** made a lot of progress in the past year, especially with regard to judiciary and fundamental rights, and should complete the rest of the tasks by its accession to EU on 1 July 2013. In its last Progress Report, the EC adds that Croatia has committed to continue ensuring sustainable results in particular in the fields of judicial and administrative reforms, fight against corruption, minority rights, refugee return and war crimes.

Based on its progress in internal reforms, cooperation with the International Tribunal for Former Yugoslavia and regional reconciliation, **Serbia** was recommended by EC for the status of a membership candidate, provided it continues negotiations with Kosovo and implements the agreements reached to date. EC recommends beginning accession negotiations as soon as Serbia demonstrates further progress in its efforts to normalise relations with Kosovo. The fact that this is singled out as the only priority area is in itself a commendation to the reforms implemented in Serbia in the course of 2010 in judiciary and the rule of law.

Reforms in **BiH** are very limited, there is no political will for change, institutions are weak, there are not enough people or resources, and the cooperation between them is insufficient, warns the Commission in its latest report. One positive achievement is visa liberalisation for travel to EU country. According to the EC, there is still the problem of “harmonising the Constitution of Bosnia and Herzegovina with the European Convention on Human Rights” and that “there is little progress on the rule of law”, while corruption is “a serious problem... in many areas”.

**Macedonia** was for the first time recommended to begin the negotiations, but without specifying the date for the beginning of this process. The EC observed that the relations between Macedonia and Greece are still burdened by the unresolved name dispute, that the two countries are still engaged in UN-mediated negotiations on this issue, and that “preserving good relations with neighbours is of paramount importance”. The EC added that the progress over the past year was “limited” and that “the key challenges remain independence of judiciary, public sector reform and fight against corruption, and that the state of the media is a serious cause for concern.

In its report on **Albania** the Commission reminds that in 2010 it outlined 12 priority areas for Albania which require “significant efforts” to earn this country the status of a candidate. “Unfortunately, persistent political stalemate and boycott of the Parliament (by opposition which does not recognise the results of the elections) resulted in limited progress”, says the EC, adding that “recently there were some positive signs that the political parties are willing to reengage in dialogue”, which is “necessary in order to recover and sustain the level of cooperation necessary for further progress of European integrations”.

Organised crime and corruption remain the biggest challenges for **Kosovo**. Kosovo has to strengthen its public administration and urgently implement a reform of judiciary, stressed the Progress Report. The situation with regard to the integration of the local Serbs is much better in the south of Kosovo, warns the report, while the tensions in the north are on the rise, requiring a “comprehensive strategy for the north of Kosovo”. The EC promised to initiate a dialogue on visa liberalisation by the end of this year.

## Forum of the CCE Youth Group

From 13 to 16 October CCE Youth Group organised its first Forum in Tivat, in order to analyse its work to date and discuss future plans. CCE became part of the regional programme “Education for Human Rights and Active Citizenship” in April 2010. In May 2010, it established the Youth Group, which has since been an integral part of the Centre. In 2010 the Youth Group implemented the project “Travelling film festival on human rights”, and a series of film screenings accompanied by discussions on human rights-related issues, as part of its programme “Film Friday”, which continued in 2011. It is currently working on the project “Europe and I”, with support of the Norwegian Ministry of Foreign Affairs. The first part of the Forum was dedicated to the discussion on the group itself, its rights and duties in the framework of the regional programme, responsibilities related to project reporting. Regional youth group coordinator Adela Galešić attended the Forum as a special guest, and talked to the participants about the positive and negative aspects of their work so far and ways to improve it. Based on the discussion, the members of the Youth Group drafted the action plan for future activities of the group in the upcoming period. The second part of the Forum was dedicated to important issues related to capacity-building in the Youth Group in terms of PR, project writing and project management. **Mirela Rebronja** from CCE conducted a training in the fundamentals of PR, while **Marina Vuković** from CDNGO led a two-day training titled “Techniques of project writing and project management”..

## Civic education in educational system

On 31 October in Podgorica Center for Civic Education, in cooperation with the Educational Bureau of Montenegro, organised a round table titled “Civic education in the educational system of Montenegro”, in order to inspire dialogue of all interested parties on the implementation of the Strategy and subject of Civic education, achievements and obstacles in the implementation so far, and the appropriate solutions. The participants in the round table discussed the status of Civic education in the formal educational system, the extent to which the values of civic education are present in the life of the school, challenges in the educational process, the importance accorded to the subject by teachers, parents and students, the role of the NGO sector in the process of implementation of Civic education and the effects on the Strategy for Civic Education (2007-2010). The general conclusion was that the implementation of the programme still encounters numerous challenges, one of the biggest being the lack of educational cadre. There is no department or specialisation at the University of Montenegro that would offer teacher training in Civic education. In the meantime, the teachers currently in charge of the subject have only had the most basic training, and are originally trained in subjects which are often completely unrelated to civic education. Another problem is the lack of appropriate space in the schools for civic education lessons, lack of textbooks on the upper secondary level and only partial establishment of civic education as subject in secondary vocational schools. The lack of information often means that there is little or no recourse to the possibility of greater involvement of parents, children and NGOs in the life of the school through the 20% of the programme that is open to free activities within the framework of civic education. On behalf of CCE, executive director **Daliborka Uljarević** addressed the participants, and CCE programme coordinator **Petar Đukanović** presented the programme “Education for Human Rights and Active Citizenship in the Western Balkans”.

## Montenegro's road to EU: how far are we?

Centre for Civic Education (CCE) in cooperation with Friedrich Ebert Stiftung (FES) organised on 3 October a conference on the fulfilment of recommendations by European Commission to date: "Montenegro's road to EU: how far have we got?".

The very task of fulfilling these recommendations led to substantial mobilisation of different socio-political sectors in Montenegro. Have we matured as a society in the last ten months? Have we established sustainable mechanisms that will continue to serve the objectives of these recommendations? Are the results visible? Which areas have we succeeded, and where are we fighting for a passing grade? Is there awareness of the responsibility that comes with European integrations? Can we speak about a self-propelling reform process or were the last ten months the beginning and end of all activity on essential reforms? Have we succeeded in overcoming the divisions that undermine our society, and have we put together the resources for the common goal? These are some questions that were asked of the participants from the civil sector and the Government in 4 areas where the Government of Montenegro had the most direct mandate, and which concern: reform of public administration, strengthening of anti-corruption legislation and practice, media freedom and cooperation with the civil sector, anti-discrimination policies and practices. The conference was opened by Daliborka Uljarević, executive director of CCE, **Duško Marković**, deputy Prime Minister of Montenegro, **Alberto Cammarata**, head of the Department of Politics, European integrations and Trade in EU Delegation to Montenegro and dr **Michael Ehrke**, head of the regional FES office. During the discussions moderated by **Boris Marić**, CCE's senior legal advisor and **Neđeljko Rudović**, editor of the politics section of the daily "Vijesti", the following participants gave their contribution to the debate: **Duško Marković**, deputy Prime Minister of Montenegro and head of the Commission for the Fight Against Corruption and Organised Crime; **Zlatko Vujović**, president of the Board of Managers of CEMI and member of the Commission for the Fight Against Corruption and Organised Crime; **Veselin Vukčević**, deputy Minister for Public Administration in the Ministry of Interior Affairs and Public Administration; **Stevo Muk**, president of the Board of Managers of Institute Alternative; **Željko Rutović**, deputy Minister of Culture and Media; **Mirjana Radović**, coordinator in Human Rights Action; **Danka Latković**, head of the Office for Cooperation with NGOs; **Ana Novaković**, executive director of CDNGO and deputy president of the Council for Cooperation between Government and NGOs; **Sabahudin Delić**, deputy Minister for Human and Minority Rights and **Aleksandar Saša Zeković**, researcher of human rights violations. The participants adopted conference conclusions, available in the detailed report on conference proceedings.

## Debate on Constitution

On 27 October Ministry of Justice organised an expert debate on the Draft amendments to Constitution. On behalf of CCE, **Boris Marić**, CCE senior legal advisor and **Danilo Ajković**, CCE PR/Programme associate, presented CCE's proposal for the amendment

## Ex-YU intellectuals for RECOM

In a letter signed by more than 150 intellectuals from all countries of former Yugoslavia, they expressed their support for the foundation of RECOM and asked the presidents of each of the countries to do everything in their powers to establish the Commission. "Initiative for RECOM is the best opportunity to finally stop talking and thinking about the past as if it was still going on, to confront it, to begin to remember and learn from it, instead of continuing to live it", reads the letter. Among the many signatories of the petition are also the names of **Andrej Nikolaidis**, writer; **Janko Ljumović**, director of CNP; Professor of literature **Božena Jelušić**, journalist **Dragoljub Vuković**, actor **Slobodan Marunović**, actresses **Varja Đukić** and **Žaklina Oštir**, directors **Branko Baletić** and **Marija Perović**, as well as the composer **Leo Đokaj**. In addition to the signatories from Montenegro, there is a long list of well-known names from other countries, among which **Rade Šerbedžija**, **Mirjana Karanović**, **Nikola Đuričko**, **Biljana Srbljanović**, **Danis Tanović**, **Teofil Pančić**, **Svetlana Slapšak**, **Žarko Puhovski**, **Urša Raukar**, etc. The letter was sent to presidents of all countries in the region as well as to the members of BiH presidency.

## Bachelor, Master Et PhD Scholarships, Norway

The Norwegian government provides students from developing countries in the South and countries in the Western Balkans, Eastern Europe and in Central Asia with financial support to study for a degree in Norway under the Quota Scheme. The Quota Scheme currently provides funding for a total of 1,100 students, 800 of them from developing countries in the South and 300 from countries in the Western Balkans, Eastern Europe and in Central Asia. The main objective of the Quota Scheme is to contribute to capacity building through education that will benefit the home country of the students when they return. The Quota Scheme is also intended to strengthen relations between Norway and the selected countries and thus contribute to internationalisation at Norwegian institutions of higher education. The scheme normally includes courses at Master's and Ph.D. level in addition to certain professional/Bachelor's degrees. Most of the Norwegian institutions offer courses and educational programmes in English.

The Quota Scheme will only enroll students from institutions (organisations, universities, authorities) which have collaboration agreements with Norwegian universities or university colleges. Only in very special cases free movers will be considered. To find out which institutions collaborate with Norwegian institutions, please refer to the websites of the Norwegian institutions. You could also ask your home institution about whether they have any sort of collaboration with Norwegian universities / university colleges from the list of participating institutions.

All candidates should typically have the following basic qualifications:

- Secondary school certificates
- Minimum two years of higher education from their home country
- Some exceptions apply for certain professional educational courses at Bachelor's level.

The GSU-list (has been compiled by the Norwegian Agency for Quality Assurance in Education – NOKUT) with the general entrance requirements for applicants with higher education qualifications from abroad can be found here (<http://www.nokut.no/en/Foreign-education/General-recognition/Applicant/NOKUTs-administrative-procedure/GSU-list/>). Most of the study programmes offered under the Quota Scheme are taught in English. Applicants who are not native English speakers therefore must document their proficiency in English.

All inquiries should be directed to the International Office at the institution in question. Applications should be sent directly to the institutions and SIU is not responsible for received applications. For more information, please contact: Norwegian Centre for International Cooperation in Higher Education (SIU), P.O. box 1093, N-5809 Bergen, Norway, Tel: +47 55 30 38 00, Fax: +47 55 30 38 01, Email: [siu@siu.no](mailto:siu@siu.no)

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