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Four years of negotiations with the EU - progress only on paper?

Interview

Tim Judah,
journalist for the Economist

Region

Three million euro for job creation in the Western Balkans



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By: Damir Nikočević

BIG GOVERNMENT AND BIGGER EXPECTATIONS

And then there was Government. Like in a well-directed thriller with sudden twists, so the citizens of Montenegro got the Government of electoral trust. Lengthy negotiations accompanied by unpleasant scenes that launched Montenegro onto front pages of the regional newspapers culminated in the entry of one part of the opposition into the Government.

Opposition's entry into the Government brought new, we could even say great expectations. Although they have little time at their disposal, we expect them to uncover concrete examples of the abuse of public funds. Most of the new ministers are still coming to terms with their now role, but the time is short. And while the search for the holy grail of corruption goes on, the public is witness to obstructions perpetrated by the long-term insiders of the ruling system. The employment agency is a good example, but there are more. A system that evolved into a way of life cannot be changed overnight, and definitely not in a handful of months in a moment when it is best serving the interest of those who created it.

Some issues are best observed by those on the sidelines. Europe has so far duly recorded our successes, and more importantly our failures to deal with our bad habits. It remains to be seen what the new members of Government, and other representatives of the opposition, can do create a "deep cut" from the current practices and foster a different political culture and European standards. It would appear that so far everything is running on, the unions would say, the minimum work process. By calling the elections, the Government enters the formal end of the term. The last days are not the time to think about the past, but about the future, and the actors must be quick to come out on top of what promises to be the sequel to a riveting thriller.

Damir Nikočević

Implement the new electoral legislation to make the elections credible



By: Johannes Hahn

This June, we will mark four years since the opening of accession negotiations with Montenegro. We have to-date opened twenty-two negotiating chapters, out of which two are provisionally closed.

Concerning the rule of law, which is at the heart of the accession process, over the last few years we have seen the first steps in achieving lasting reforms, through the adoption of legislation and the establishment of institutions. As the Commission stated in its November report, however, and as has been pointed out by the European Parliament - this is not the whole story.

Our assessment is, unfortunately, that real progress on the ground in the rule of law remains limited, including in establishing a track record in the fight against corruption and organised crime. This is the message that the Commission has given to Montenegro at a rule of law meeting in early March.

When I met Prime Minister Đukanović last month, I congratulated him on his country's invitation to join NATO. I also stressed, however, that while the country was moving ahead overall, we were now entering a decisive phase, in particular in the accession negotiations and on the rule of law. We need to see Montenegro making credible progress on Chapters 23 and 24. We must see a tangible track record of implementation.

This is not only for the benefit of the accession negotiations: legal certainty, a functioning independent judicial system, a transparent administration and fundamental rights like for

Our assessment is, unfortunately, that real progress on the ground in the rule of law remains limited, including in establishing a track record in the fight against corruption and organised crime.

instance property rights are necessary not only for meeting the rule of law criteria - they are preconditions for attracting investment, improving competitiveness and stimulating growth and jobs. We are also working closely with Montenegro on improving the country's competitiveness through our economic dialogue. The focus is on sectoral reforms, including on education, labour market, infrastructure, and the business environment. Concerning the other negotiating chapters, we have given Montenegro guidance on what needs to be done, through the opening benchmarks. Meeting them is a challenge for the country, in particular when we talk about alignment with the EU acquis on competition policy, or environment and climate change.

Let me turn now to the political situation in Montenegro. The political dialogue that was launched in December was put on hold, without an agreement on 19 February.

However, despite the fact that there is, to-date, no agreement among the political leaders on the establishment of a "government of electoral trust", it is crucial that the dialogue within the Parliament continues. This year, Montenegro will hold local and parliamentary elections. The full implementation of the electoral legislation is crucial for the organisation these elections so that they are credible. It is the responsibility of Montenegro's political leaders to ensure this.

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Excerpts from the speech of the EU Enlargement Commissioner in the European Parliament ahead of the vote on the EP Resolution on 2015 Montenegro Progress Report

- 5 March **EUR 93 million for the Trilateral programme** / Montenegro, Italy and Albania will have access to EUR 93 million from the European funds for the projects organised within the Trilateral programme. The programme aims to improve strategic cross-border cooperation for smart and sustainable development, and to foster exchange of knowledge and experience between regional and local stakeholders from the three countries.
- 10 March **European Parliament adopted the resolution on Montenegro** / The EP adopted the resolution prepared by the rapporteur for Montenegro **Mr. Charles Tannock**, which welcomes the progress Montenegro made on its path to the membership of the EU and the invitation it received to join the NATO, but also expresses deep concern about the polarisation of the political climate and the boycott of the parliament by part of the opposition.
- 10 March **Sixth meeting of the Subcommittee for justice, freedom and security** / Sixth meeting of the joint Subcommittee for justice, freedom and security of Montenegro and the European Commission was held in Podgorica on 9 and 10 March. The meeting was opened by the state secretary for European integration and chief negotiator Ambassador **Aleksandar Andrija Pejović**, and the head of the Department for Montenegro in the DG Enlargement **Dirk Lange**.
- 15 March **DPS continued negotiations with part of the opposition** / Democratic party of socialists (DPS) presented its latest draft of the agreement on the conditions for organisation of free and fair elections to part of the opposition. The new draft contains modified proposals on five out of seven contested issues, and is now awaiting response from the representatives of Demos, Civic movement URA and Social-Democratic party.
- 23 March **Drobníč: Political dialogue will produce a compromise solution** / Head of the EU Delegation to Montenegro **Mitja Drobníč** said he was convinced that only political dialogue will produce a compromise solution and that the question of the date of local elections in Tivat will be resolved within the political process. He said that European institutions welcomed parliamentary dialogue and hoped that this process will soon lead to agreement between political parties.
- 25 March **Five-year programme for the between Montenegro and the UN adopted** / Integrated programme of cooperation between Montenegro and the United Nations (UN) for the period 2017-2021 has been adopted at the meeting of the Supervisory committee for the monitoring of implementation of that programme. The MFAEI said that the Programme had been harmonised with the national priorities and strategic aspirations of the Government of Montenegro towards the EU membership, and will consist of four output areas – democratic governance, environmental sustainability, social inclusion and economic governance.
- 29 March **Dukanović met the highest EU officials** / Prime Minister of Montenegro **Milo Đukanović** met in Brussels with the president of the European Council **Donald Tusk** and of the European Commission **Jean-Claude Juncker**, as well as with the High Representative for Foreign and Security Policy and deputy president of the EC **Federica Mogherini**. The goal of the meetings was to exchange opinions on the current processes in Montenegro and the dynamics of accession negotiations, as well as on developments in the region.
- 30 March **Montenegro's Border Commission met with the experts of the president of Kosovo** / Montenegro's Border Commission met representatives of the President of Kosovo at the Montenegrin Ministry of Interior to discuss the progress of negotiations on the demarcation between Kosovo and Montenegro. Montenegro and Kosovo signed the Agreement on demarcation last year in Vienna, which has since been ratified by both governments and forwarded to their respective parliaments, but the opposition in Kosovo demands that the agreement be annulled.

- 1 April **Igor Lukšić candidate for secretary general of the UN** / Vice president of the Government and Minister of Foreign Affairs and European Integration of Montenegro **Igor Lukšić** resigned on both functions in the Government of Montenegro in order to concentrate on his candidacy for the secretary general of the UN. He has been nominated for this position by the Government of Montenegro 28 December last year.
- 6 April **EU accession process cost Montenegro 1.5 billion dollars so far** / At a meeting with a group of European journalists in Podgorica, the EU Ambassador to Montenegro Mitja Drobnič said that Montenegro has a long way to go to join the EU, but that there has been progress. He pointed out that the accession process is costly, and that Montenegro had already invested 1.5 billion dollars so far to meet the criteria. According to him, the IPA assistance only covers about 10 percent of these costs, while the rest must come from the national resources.
- 16 April **Meeting of the speakers of parliaments of the Adriatic-Ionian initiative** / Speaker of the Montenegrin Parliament, **Ranko Krivokapić**, attended the meeting of the speakers of parliaments involved in the Adriatic-Ionian initiative. In a joint statement, they called on the EU to work with the international community to eradicate cause of recent migration, and in particular to put an end to conflicts, strengthen institutions in the transition countries and alleviate poverty.
- 18 April **Montenegro signs agreement with EU to gain access to the EaSI Programme** / As a candidate for EU membership, Montenegro has the right to participate in the EU's Programme for employment and social innovations (EaSI), which has a fund of EUR 920 million for innovative social policies and promotion of employment mobility. The programme has been addint new competencies, and is currently composed of three components: modernisation of employment and social policies (PROGRESS), which takes ups 61% of the total EaSI budget, job mobility within the European civil service network - EURES (18% of the budget); and access to micro-finance and social entrepreneurship (21% of the budget).
- 26 April **Agreement on free and fair elections signed** / Months of negotiations between DPS and part of the opposition on the formation of a Government of electoral trust have been formally concluded with the Agreement on fair and free elections. The agreement was signed by the opposition parties SDP, Demos and Civic Movement URA. DPS and the Bosniak Party signed the agreement on the behalf of current government. The participants in the parliamentary dialogue agreed on a *Lex specialis*, a specific and temporary Law that will regulate the formation of a joint government and remain in force until the general elections.
- ***
- 9 May **Celebrated Europe Day** / Montenegro celebrate 9 May - the Day of Europe, with a numerous activities taking place in several municipalities of the country. The activities were organised by the EU Delegation to Montenegro, with support of the EU Info Centre, MFAEI and numerous NGOs. The Day of Europe commemorates the Declaration of the former French Minister of Foreign Affairs **Robert Schumann** that was issued in 1950, and is regarded as the first official step towards the creation of the EU. It had led to the creation of the European coal and steel community in 1951, the predecessor of the European Economic Community which today we know as the EU.

- 21 May **Tenth anniversary of the restoration of Montenegro's independence and thousand years of statehood** / The main celebration ceremony was organised at the Independence Square in Podgorica, featuring speeches by the Prime Minister Milo Đukanović and president of the European Council **Donald Tusk**. The latter said that Montenegro was a great country despite its small size, and that Montenegrins, although few, are a great nation. *"With your history, pride, courage, wisdom and patience, you showed that you are a great country and a great nation, regardless of the size of your territory and the number of people"*, Tusk said during the ceremony in Podgorica, where he spoke in Montenegrin.
- 26 May **Ministerial dialogue between the Western Balkans and Turkey and the European Commission in Brussels** / According to the conclusions adopted at the meeting, the agreement was reached on recommendations to all seven partner states that are in the accession process of enlargement, all emphasising structural reforms. The commissioner for European neighbourhood policy and enlargement negotiations Johannes Han said that the main objective of the EU's enlargement strategy was to strengthen economic and social development in partner countries. Recommendations for Montenegro include reduction of public debt and deficit, support for development of local enterprises by fostering the market of consultant services and supporting the lending activity of the bank sector, above all by resolving the non-performing loans. The EU Delegation to Montenegro said that the said guidelines are based on the Programmes of Economic Reforms (PER) prepared annually by the national administrations, that have been submitted to the EU in late January.
- 29 May **EU expert mission for freedom of the media visits Montenegro** / Expert missions are part of the EU's new approach to membership negotiations and are a regular mechanism the EC uses to assess the estimates the state of judiciary and fundamental rights, or progress in the areas of justice, freedom and security in the candidate countries. To evaluate the progress achieved to date, experts met representatives of the relevant parliamentary committees, Ministries of Culture, Justice and Finance, Agency for electronic media, State Audit Institution, Agency for the protection of personal data and free access to information, Directorate of Public Procurement, Competition agency, Radio Television of Montenegro, as well as with the representatives of NGOs that deal with media-related issues.
- ***
- 2 June **Government adopts annex to the European Commission progress report on Montenegro for 2016** / The Annex, which is adopted twice a year, constitutes the basis for the creation of EC's report and contains the overview of activities implemented during the first six months. In addition to this annex, the EC gathers information from diplomatic and consular missions of the member states, EU Delegation to Podgorica, civil society, as well as from reports of other international organisations.
- 19 June **Seventh meeting of the EU-Montenegro Council for Stabilisation and Association to be held in Luxembourg** / Among the agenda items are continuation of institutional dialogue between Montenegro and the EU, implementation of the Stabilisation and Association Agreement (SAA), Montenegro's strategy for accession to the EU, and pre-accession support from IPA funds. Montenegrin Delegation is led by the State secretary for European integration and chief negotiator, Aleksandar Andrija Pejović.
- 29 June **Four years from the beginning of negotiations with the European Union** / Montenegro began negotiations with the EU four years ago, and opinions on its progress so far are divided. Chief negotiator with the EU Aleksandar Andrija Pejović, believes that we ought to be satisfied with our achievements, above all with the fact that two thirds of the acquis chapters have already been opened. On the other hand, President of the Committee for European Integration **Slaven Radunović** warns that Montenegro will never join the EU by 2020 at this pace, and that more has to should be done to improve the rule of law. Representatives of the NGO sector agreed with this assessment. According to the coordinator of the EU programme at the CCE **Ana Nenezić**, Montenegro made some progress in technical terms, but could have, and should have done much more.
- 30 June **Montenegro opened negotiations on chapters 12 and 13** / Two new chapters were opened at the Intergovernmental conference in Brussels: Chapter 12 - Food safety, veterinary and phytosanitary policy, and 13 - Fisheries. So far, Montenegro opened 22 chapters and provisionally closed two chapters.

A.N.

Opinions divided on Montenegro's progress

Four years of EU accession talks progress only on paper?



By: Svetlana Pešić

Four years after the opening of negotiations with the European Union, we mark the results with the opening of two thirds of 35 chapters. Yet, counting is one thing, but the reality is something else altogether. Many analysts don't see tangible results that should have followed the standards we allegedly adopted. The question is also whether the citizens have experienced any improvements. Nonetheless, our interviewees agree that legislative alignment with the European Union rules is clearly visible in some of the chapters.

Mitja Drobnič, Head of the EU Delegation to Montenegro, recently said that *"Montenegro took some important legislative steps in the previous year and made further progress in institution building, especially in the area of the rule of law. From these two angles, progress is visible, and what we now expect are the tangible results, the so-called track record... Our impression is that the country is currently heading in that direction, which is important not only for the process of European integration, but above all for the citizens of Montenegro and for attracting foreign investors". "When we speak about the transformative process of EU integration, the journey is as important as the destination, or in this case – the date of accession. The citizens believe that, even before the accession, this process opens up many opportunities,"* Drobnič said.

The EU is one of the largest donors in Montenegro, with more than EUR 235 million already previously invested through the EU's funds in the period 2007–2013. Another EUR 270 million have been allocated to the country in the following seven year period. The process of European integration brings tangible benefits to the Montenegrin citizens that they can feel in their everyday lives, said Drobnič, bringing up the examples such as toy safety. Though this may seem too technical, it practically means that parents can rest assured that their children will be safer when they play with the toys that are produced in line with the strict health and safety standards. He also mentioned the example of the modernisation of Bar-Vrbnica railroad, which significantly reduced travel time and increased the safety of the Montenegrin



Mitja Drobnič

part of the Belgrade-Bar railroad. The EU had also recently provided up-to-date equipment to the Institute for blood transfusion. Students have been using the benefits of Erasmus+ programme ever more frequently to attend courses at the universities in the EU.

Drobnič explained that *"the progress regarding alignment is assessed separately for each individual chapter. It is obvious that there are differences between the level of alignment in different areas".* He also warned that the key to the success of this process is

"The most demanding chapters for Montenegro are the ones related to the competition policy, as well as to the protection of environment and climate change. There are also areas that do not necessarily belong to any single chapter – such as the reform of public administration. All these areas are challenging, and the EU is there to support Montenegro's efforts to prepare the country for the membership", Drobnič said.

a public administration capable of responding to the challenges posed by the European integration, i.e. functional, stable and professional institutions.

State secretary for European integration and chief negotiator, ambassador **Aleksandar Andrija Pejović**, told *European pulse* that *"if we take into account the fact that we have been negotiating for only four years, as well as that we are conducting the negotiations in line with the new, more rigorous approach, I am sure that we can be very satisfied with the results so far. We opened 24*



Aleksandar Andrija Pejović

chapters, another six are ready to be opened, and we are completing preparations for the opening of another three. In addition to this, in a number of opened chapters we already meet the conditions necessary to close them. We conducted comprehensive reforms in the legislative and institutional part, we have significantly enhanced our administrative capacities by adopting the missing knowledge and practices, and by enriching the existing ones. High quality solutions in almost all areas are already yielding visible results in practice, making a positive impact on the life and work of our citizens, and bringing us closer to the quality of life of the EU citizens".

The new approach to negotiations, Pejović said, created an important new challenge of developing detailed and comprehensive action plans for the chapters 23 and 24: *"We used the action plans to define the measures and activities to meet 83 provisional benchmarks which we received for these chapters. The extent of our success is reflected in the fact that the rate of implementation of these action plans exceeds 80%, and that we expect to soon receive the final benchmarks and begin the work on the provisional closure of these chapters".*

As for the concrete benefits so far to the citizens of Montenegro, Pejović said that the freedom of movement of goods has already given citizens more choice in the selection of consumer products, as well as better quality and lower prices: *"In the area of information society and media as well, we now have cheaper, faster and more secure access to the Internet. Reforms under chapter 12 gave us better and safer transport and better energy supply. The results of reforms in chapter 28 – Consumer and health protection – provided us with have safer products and better quality of health services. Also, our young people have better access to education and scholarships at the universities of EU member states, which was gained by concluding chapter 25 – Education and culture".* Pejović insists that the benefits will become more visible as the process unfolds: *"This is why it is so important to prepare ourselves well ahead of the membership, not only to fulfil the future obligations, but also to make the best use of the benefits offered by the membership of this club."*

Due to the central position occupied by the rule of law in the process of negotiations, Pejović announced that most attention in the future will be on the implementation of commitments from chapters 23

and 24, but also noted that he expects more effort will be needed in chapters 1 (Free movement of goods), 8 (Competition policy), 11 (Agriculture and rural development), 12 (Food safety, veterinary and phytosanitary policy) and 27 (Environment). These are the chapters with the most extensive legal acquis, and which require sizeable administrative and financial investments.

The chief negotiator clarified that the improvement of administrative capacities is one of the basic prerequisites for the accession to the Union. *"The lack of administrative capacities is not a Montenegrin specialty. On the contrary, it burdened nearly every country in the process of accession to the EU. This is exactly why the EU added the criteria relating to institutional and administrative capacities to the original three Copenhagen criteria. Montenegrin administration is small, and yet in the process of negotiations we encounter the same commitments and challenges that had been posed to the larger states with much bigger administrations. Even so, at every stage of the European integration so far, we have demonstrated that we have developed institutions and quality staff to meet every challenge of this process. There are many well trained, professional individuals not only in the public administration, but also in the Parliament, the judiciary and the civil sector, who poses specific knowledge and experience necessary for making progress on particular negotiation chapters. There is of course always room for improvement, and we continue to work on that, especially through training programmes and expert and technical support of the member states".* According to Pejović, the building of administrative capacities and of an efficient and responsible public administration is not only our obligation and a requirement of membership in the EU, but part of an internal need to have strong institutions and high quality officials who will ensure that all processes and policies, as well as the necessary reforms in the country are implemented effectively and efficiently.

Marijana Laković Drašković, general director of Directorate for judiciary in the Ministry of Justice and head of the Working group for the preparation and conduct of negotiations on chapter 23, stressed that with the new set of laws on court organisation the changes of the judicial system that began with Amendments to the Constitution on July 2013 had been completed, and that the country is now facing the challenge of implementing all the novelties brought

by these laws. Laković Drašković noted that the Prosecutorial council had appointed a Chief Special Prosecutor in June 2015, alongside eight special prosecutors, and filled out the two remaining posts in June 2016. *"Efficiency was improved by significantly reducing the backlog of cases, as a consequence of a series of activities, including transferring judges to the courts with backlogs, delegation of cases, application of alternative methods of conflict resolution, especially mediation and postponement of prosecution. The start of implementation of the new Code on criminal procedure which introduced the institution of prosecutorial investigation, as well as the Law on misdemeanours and the application of misdemeanor warrants also contributed to the efficiency of the judiciary. A comprehensive reform of the judiciary resulted in great improvements in the quality and quantity of criminal legislation. Hence, Montenegro made significant progress in the previous period in aligning its criminal legislation with the European and international standards",* Laković Drašković concluded.

According to her, all these processes took place according to the plans for the rationalisation of the court network, which were adopted on grounds of three analyses of the need for rationalisation. The analyses were adopted by the Government of Montenegro in 2009, 2013 and 2015, respectively. *"The institutions are very dedicated to the implementation of legislative innovations created by the organisational laws that came into force on 1 January 2016, and this dedication has been recognised by the European Commission. Strengthening of administrative capacities and the quality of cooperation between institutions in the following period are prerequisites for further improvement of these legislative innovations. The most challenging will be the measures to rationalise the network of courts and establish a single information system for the judiciary, the State Prosecution, the Ministry of Justice and the Institute for the for Execution of Criminal Sanctions. In the upcoming period we should continue with the strengthening of public bailiff services, which will require additional work on the legal framework, as well as monitoring of the notary and bailiff activities. We should also continue with the work to ensure that the Training Centre for judiciary and State Prosecution will become fully operational, by providing adequate space and staff,"* Laković Drašković said.

Fight against the corruption is one of the key preconditions for further integration into the EU. Laković Drašković reminds that a number of steps



Marijana Laković Drašković

have been taken in that direction, such as the changes to the *Code on criminal procedure of June 2016* and the adoption of the *Law on the management of seized property that had been criminally acquired* of September 2015, and especially the establishment of Agency for the prevention of corruption as a central, independent, preventive anticorruption body that brought under a single roof the competencies and capacities of the former Administration for anticorruption initiative, Commission for the prevention of the conflict of interest and some competencies of the State Election Commission, in particular those related to the financing of political parties and election campaigns.

Regarding fundamental rights, Laković Drašković notes that greater emphasis was placed on the implementation of those activities and projects that improve the status of minority groups, prevent the discrimination, but also improve the overall protection of human rights and freedoms. *"Notable progress was made in the protection of members of the LGBT population. Montenegro organised four Pride parades so far – the latest was organised in December 2015, and passed without incidents. In the coming period, we should work more on raising the awareness of the citizens at the local level, as well as of the practitioners, to advance the rights of LGBT persons. It is also important to work on the education of police officers and prison staff at the local level, to improve the treatment of prisoners and prevention of torture",* Laković Drašković said.

Ana Nenezić, coordinator of the European integration programme at the Centre for Civic Education (CCE), believes that Montenegro made certain technical progress in the negotiations so far, which is reflected in the number of opened and provisionally closed chapters. However, Nenezić believes that more could and should have been done. *"The much announced comprehensive social reform that*



Ana Nenezić

was supposed to bring progress in all areas is still intangible to the citizens of Montenegro. Even though we prepared and adopted a number of quality laws and strategies, established new and strengthened some of the existing institutions, concrete results are still lacking," Nenezić said. According to her, the negotiation process was accompanied by a lot of optimism from the get-go, which further raised the citizens' expectations. "Now, more than ever, the public expects concrete and tangible results, although Montenegro had only taken the very first steps towards full membership of the EU. It would appear that the conflict between the lightly promised speed and the complexity and difficulty of the process for which the authorities were not prepared caused some fatigue within administration. There is also the added burden of the continuous internal political crisis, of accumulated economic and social problems, as well as of the latest developments within the EU. All of this takes a toll on the speed of negotiations with the EU, but it should not be an alibi for the lack of results," Nenezić stressed out.

As for progress, she agrees that some improvement was achieved with regard to the rule of law, through the establishment of the Special Prosecution, which already produced some tangible results. "On the other hand, we had greater expectations from the Agency for anticorruption, which should have become the cornerstone in the fight against the corruption. Six months later, however, we can already see that political interference and questionable administrative solutions will ensure that these expectations are not met and that results of this new institution will be very limited," Nenezić said. She added that for now the citizens cannot experience much improvement in their everyday lives, because the adopted documents are not being adequately implemented. In her opinion, the political will and commitment to implement this process properly are crucial. "The deeper we go into this process, the more the monopolies of authority dissipate and are replaced by a system based on the rule of law and strong and independent institutions, free of political influence. It is obvious that there will be resistance from those who thrived on the manipulation of institutions, and this is why they spend more time talking about the problems within the EU than investigating responsibility for our own failures meet the commitments we undertook on the path to the EU". It is also reasonable to ask whether Montenegro can meet the financial challenges of the accession process.

In light of the generally low level of understanding of the European integration by the citizens of Montenegro, Ana Nenezić believes that the implementation of current Strategy for Communication of the accession of Montenegro to the EU 2014-2018 should be reconsidered. The Strategy is "an excellent document, but superficially implemented and with modest results". She insists that the current system that begins and ends in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and European Integration is an elitist approach, which is neither attractive nor close to the citizens, and as long as it doesn't include all societal structures the results will remain far from satisfactory, and the citizens will never understand clearly the reform processes instigated by the accession to the European Union.

"The current economic situation, with high levels of debt, unsustainable public finances, and high unemployment gives good reasons to suspect that we cannot successfully carry out this very expensive process. It is enough to just remember the chapters on agriculture and environment, which we know are the most demanding and difficult to negotiate, as well as very expensive," Nenezić said.

She especially stressed the role of NGO sector in the accession process: "Montenegro is the first country to involve NGO representatives in the working groups for the preparation and conduct of negotiations, which is of course commendable, and, in a formal sense, it is a step towards better cooperation between the civil sector and the state. However, when we examine the experience of cooperation in the previous four years, one gets the impression that this was rather a forced move to get a "tick" from the EC, rather than genuine desire to improve cooperation. A good illustration is the fact that WG members from the ranks of the NGOs do not have the access to important documents such as the EC's comments on the key laws and reports of its expert missions to Montenegro. Another is the establishment of the Council for the rule of law, which took over coordination of the process in the most significant chapters 23 and 24, and whose sessions are closed to the public and unavailable for representatives of the civil society. This is a clear step backward and does not contribute to the transparency of the process," Nenezić said.

Taking stock of the achievements to date

Working groups for the preparation of negotiations need more attention



By: Mina Kalezić

In late May, the Centre for Civic Education (CCE) presented the analysis *Working groups for the preparation of negotiations with the EU – their importance, role and the position of members*, as a review of the first four years of the official negotiations between the EU and Montenegro.

The working groups are the pillar of the negotiation process, but their position, role and importance of the members have not received adequate attention in the Montenegrin public. This is what inspired the Centre for Civic Education (CCE) to draw the attention to their work, as well as to gauge the amount of resources spent on the working groups to date and the possibilities for better use of these working groups, bearing in mind the wide range of stakeholders involved in them. The information was collected for the period stretching from the formation of the working groups until March 2016, and it came from 16 ministries, 14 agencies, 5 funds, 7 institutes, 15 administrative bodies and 58 other institutions (directorates, institutes, centres, courts, etc.), that have representatives in the working groups.

At the presentation of the study, **Ana Nenezić**, coordinator of the CCE's EU integration programme, reminded that *“on prerequisite for the start of the accession talks was to establish a structure to prepare and manage negotiations for Montenegro's entry into the European Union. This is why the Government adopted the Decision to establish the structure for negotiations, which envisaged formation of 33 working groups for the 33 negotiation chapters”*. Today, these working groups consist of some 1 330 members of various profiles, coming from a variety of institutions and organisations, including the civil society. Overall, the civil society participates with 327 representatives, out of which 39 are from NGOs. The size of the working groups varies

At the moment these working groups have some 1 330 members of various profiles, coming from a variety of institutions and organisations, including the civil society.

depending on the complexity of the chapter and ranges from a minimum of 12 (chapter 21 – Trans-European networks) to 101 members (chapter 18 – Statistics).

The total amount of funds paid by the public sector bodies to their delegated representatives in the working groups between March 2012 and March 2016 was EUR 441 235.16 EUR. The largest share – 88.8 %, or EUR 391 710.20, was paid to the representatives of ministries, while the representatives of public administration received a total of EUR 22 594 (5.1%). Representatives of the judiciary earned EUR 11 286.96 or 2.6% of the total, those of institutes EUR 10 501 (2.4%), of agencies EUR 2 550 (0.6%), of other bodies EUR 2 593 (0.6 %).

“Ministries allocated the largest amount of funds in payment to their representatives in the working groups: EUR 391 710.20. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs and European Integration (MFAEI) spent a total of EUR 179 581.49 in payments to the secretaries of the working groups, but it paid no additional compensation to the other members. Ministry of Interior (MI), meanwhile, with 17 representatives, spent a total of EUR 126 210.44 on payments to its representatives in just two working groups – 23 and 24. The Ministry of Justice paid EUR 51 308.44 to 13 representatives in WG 23, WG 24 and WG 31”, Nenezić said.

Nenezić emphasised the difference in payments to the working groups allocated by different public sector bodies. “For instance, the **judiciary** allocated EUR 11 286.96 on

payments to their representatives in WG. The largest amount of funds went to the payments of the two representatives of the *Supreme Court* for the work in WG 23 (EUR 6 447.60). For the work in the same WG, the *Supreme State Prosecution (SSP)* paid its three representatives a total of EUR 2 700. The *Court of Appeals* has one representative in WG 24, who has been there since the formation of the WG (March 2012), and received a total of EUR 2 139.36. The *Commercial court* has 4 representatives in WG 6, WG 7 and WG 20, but told CCE that its representatives received no additional compensation for their work in the working group”, Nenezić said.

Working groups are the axis of the negotiation structure and their role in the preparation and management of negotiations is of key importance to the process. The scope and complexity of tasks that were placed in the hands of the members of these WG often exceeds the competencies required by their day jobs. This should be recognised and adequately compensated if we want to maintain a certain level of quality in the work of the members of the working groups.

The information collected by the CCE demonstrates no clear criteria for the extent and grounds of compensation for the members of the working groups. Those who receive additional compensation are usually the heads of the working groups for individual chapters, coordinators of some subgroups and secretaries. However, there is also obvious variation based on the judgement of the superiors within a given public sector body, and the result in terms of the level of payment is extremely uneven.

Out of the total amount of EUR 441 235.16 paid to the members of the working groups from their establishment until today, 88.8% went to the representatives of ministries, whereas the representatives of public sector bodies received much less. This practice should be additionally revised, especially in view of the specific requirement of some chapters and the need for specialised knowledge and expertise from the working group members who

Out of the total of EUR 441 235.16 paid to the members of these working groups from their establishment until today, 88.8% went to the representatives of ministries, whereas the representatives of public sector bodies received much less.

come from other bodies than the ministries, and whose professional skills are of great importance for the preparation of necessary documents, and eventually for the successful completion of negotiations.

To assess the contribution to the preparation and process of negotiations by the members of the working groups for each chapter, it would be necessary to prepare an analysis of the performance to date of each member within the working group, and of each working group within the negotiation system, and subsequently set the criteria for the assessment and compensation of the members' work.

Apart from the fact that there was no unified criteria for payment for the work in WGs, the system was biased against the NGOs from the very start, as they had to cover all costs of their own representatives, from those necessary to ensure the physical presence of their members at the WG meetings, such as travel costs, to those relating to other activities within the WG. There should be a better solution to this problem, given that NGOs depend on project funds that cannot cover such expenses, and this leaves NGOs representatives in an unequal position.

Finally, 25% of public sector bodies did not submit the information requested, which confirmed the previously identified lack of transparency when to information on the allocation of funds from the state budget. Public institutions and state bodies have to be more transparent in their work, because transparency, among other things, is one of the most important areas in which improvement is expected by the EU, as well as by the citizens who can only lose trust in the state bodies that refuse to share basic information with them.

Tim Judah, journalist for The Economist

The pro-Brexit strength was the issue of immigration and its control

Europe will soon have a member less. The outcome of the referendum significantly unsettled both the EU and the UK. The exit from one of the world's largest markets upset many markets, and placed before the EU the difficult task of internal cohesion. We talked about these issues to **Tim Judah**, a writer for the UK based The Economist and an expert on the West Balkan region.



Tim Judah

» Were you surprised by the decision of the UK citizens to leave the EU?

No. I thought the remain camp would win, but only just, but I was not surprised. A campaign against the EU has been waged for years by much of the popular press painting Brussels in the same way as your press painted one another as Chetniks, Ustatshas or Jihadis for years. **Boris Johnson**, now the British foreign minister said during the campaign that the EU aimed at a sort of European superstate like Hitler. Just as people in the former Yugoslavia believed a lot of what they were told many in the UK did too.

» What, according to you, were the weaknesses and strengths of the pro-BREXIT vs. the non-BREXIT campaign?

The pro-Brexit strength was the issue of immigration and its control. Large parts of Britain have changed quickly because of immigration and people resent that. They had a populist campaign and lied to the electorate, which tended to believe those untruths. The

The UK already counts for less in Washington because it has no more voice in Brussels and Brexit is regarded by policymakers there as the height of folly and a selfish error made by Conservative politicians as part of their party civil war. Nothing about the future is clear.

Remain campaign did not have an effective answer to the migration issue. They talked facts and figures and economics but as you know in the former Yugoslavia, emotion is also an important political factor and can be more important than facts and reality. In that sense the "Take Back Control" slogan of the pro-Brexit camp worked in the same way as in all the bits of Yugoslavia taking back control from Belgrade in the 1990s.

» What will the EU look like with the United Kingdom out of the picture? What can the EU learn from this?

No one knows. The prime minister says that "Brexit means Brexit" but there are different interpretations of what Brexit means. Is it a Norwegian model, a Swiss one, a Canadian one or something new. So we don't know what the relationship will be and how other countries will react and to what extent similar populists e.g. in France and Italy will be encouraged and successful and if they are whether they will destroy the EU. What is for sure is that the EU in general will be weakened unless somehow a much stronger and united Eurozone emerges.

» What will be the geopolitical significance of the UK after BREXIT? What will be the direction of its key foreign-political priorities? Is there a clear picture now of that future?

Too early to tell. We don't know if Brexit will destroy the UK with the exit of Scotland.



Tim Judah

Though I expect that to happen. If Scotland leaves what happens to the UK's nuclear weapons which are in Scotland and cannot easily be moved? (Scotland says they have to go.) With or without them and Scotland will there be a new effort at UN Security Council reform to get rid of the UK from its permanent seat? The UK already counts for less in Washington because it has no more voice in Brussels and Brexit is regarded by policymakers there as the height of folly and a selfish error made by Conservative politicians as part of their party civil war. Nothing about the future is clear.

» You recently said that Brexit will limit the UK's role in the Balkans. What exactly did you have in mind, and where do you expect the UK's influence to be diminished?

The UK will be totally consumed in Brexit and trying to strike new trade deals. It won't have the time or interest for the Balkans and as the main foreign policy plank of western Balkan countries is joining the EU so now it will have no leverage either. Why listen to a country that is leaving the club you want to join?

» What will be the impact of BREXIT on the enlargement policy?

It will slow things down because other countries will be consumed by Brexit issues,

EU remains committed to the Western Balkans

» Did the Paris summit demonstrate a fundamental commitment by the EU to the Western Balkan, or has the enthusiasm sparked by the Berlin process evaporated?

The Paris summit was very clear that enlargement continued and that was good. Still, I expect it to slow down from its already rather slow pace. In place of enthusiasm we have the political realities in the EU member states and the hard work that needs to be done in the Balkans, especially in Bosnia and Macedonia.

trying to keep the rest of the EU together and worrying about migration as a negative issue. The numbers of potential migrants from the western Balkans is small but what happened in the Brexit referendum is important. We were sent maps showing candidate countries and in this way the Balkans were confused with Turkey and its tens of millions of potential migrants. In the maps sent by the Brexiteers Iraq and Syria were added in a different but unexplained colour to imply they were somehow part of the enlargement process. Having been a successful policy in the UK we can expect anti-EU forces in France, Italy, Holland and so on to do the same.

Svetlana Pešić

Social entrepreneurship in Montenegro

Souvenir sales to fight social problems



By: Jovana Bulatović

The author is assistant at the Centre for Development of Non-Governmental Organisations (CDNGO) in the Programme for development of philanthropy and corporate social responsibility.

Centre for Development of Non-Governmental Organisations (CDNGO) recently completed a study of the needs of social enterprises, inspired, among other, by the government's promise to create a set of incentives for development of social entrepreneurship in Montenegro in the near future. The study was conducted in period November 2015 - January 2016, and included 19 organisations (16 of them active) with some characteristics of social enterprises participated.

Social entrepreneurship is increasingly regarded as an alternative and innovative way to promote social inclusion, integration and employment of marginalised groups. And yet, there is little consensus over the definition of this term either in literature, or in the legal practice. In its broadest sense, social entrepreneurship includes the use of innovative practices in the sale of goods and services in order to make profit that would be invested towards some general good. Though there is no special law in

The profit from the commercial activities of social enterprises does not go to the owner, but is channelled into activities aimed at resolving the next social problem.

Montenegro regulating this area, nor an adequate strategic development plan, it is notable that a growing number of NGOs is engaging in the production of certain goods or services.

The profit from the commercial activities of social enterprises does not go to the owner, but is channelled into activities aimed at resolving the next social problem. Social entrepreneurship can take on a variety of legal forms, and in Montenegro they most commonly operate in the form of NGOs registered to engage in commercial activities (14 of them), as limited liability companies (1), or as protective workshops (1). Their social missions, i.e. the problem they seek to resolve through their commercial activities, are often related to issues of socio-economic integration of persons with disabilities, women victims of violence and elderly women, members of Roma and Egyptian population.

The research shows that that social enterprises in Montenegro typically engage in the production of souvenirs and other ornaments, clothing, household items and promotional office material. But although the number of their employees is often under 10, social enterprises that act as NGOs cannot guarantee their employees proper wages based on the sales and services alone. The following were identified as key obstacles to higher revenue generation: problems with the product placement, lack of retail space, strong competition.





The wages are thus usually covered from grants. This raises red flags regarding the financial sustainability of social enterprises in Montenegro.

It is clear to establish and successfully operate a social enterprise, entrepreneurs need certain knowledge and business skills. Although the majority of enterprises covered by this research wrote their business plans with the help of experts, in the course of various trainings, there is a notable absence of other key documents, such as feasibility study or marketing strategies. Only one of the surveyed companies did a feasibility study and only one has a marketing strategy. As for the equipment, the majority of enterprises owns the necessary basic equipment that they acquired as donations or purchased with grants. All, however, expressed the need for additional or better equipment, as well as for a separate retail place.

Finally, all social enterprises included in the analysis stressed the need for a legal framework for development of social entrepreneurship in Montenegro that would specify the characteristics of social enterprises, the record keeping requirements and the mechanisms of oversight.

In order to create a stimulating environment for development of social entrepreneurship, there should be a continuity in the provision of expert support to social enterprises. In addition to counselling services on business management and specific trainings tailored to the needs of individual enterprises, it is also necessary to ensure timely access to information about training programmes outside of Montenegro, as well as about possible sources of financing. Montenegrin social enterprises also need help in finding space and linking up with other socially responsible companies, as well as with other social enterprises, both in the country and abroad. No less important is support for the future studies and analyses in this field, which could provide the basis for appropriate legal and strategic framework for development of this concept.



EU citizens can use embassy services of all the EU member states



Only the US, China and Russia host representations of all the EU member states, whereas the EU citizens make, on average, 90 million travels outside the EU's borders every year. This is why the European Commission passed a set of measures to protect the EU citizens whose home countries

do not have embassies or representations in their country of destination. From now on, the EU citizens will be able to use embassies of other member states as if they were their own. The rules apply in all situations in which the citizens of the EU would seek assistance of their home country: the loss or theft of a passport, accident or severe illness, suffering an attack, emergency assistance in case of natural disasters, public unrests or armed conflicts, as well as death.

Brussels to investigate authenticity of the Mannekin Pis statue



Belgian investigators have decided to subject the famous statue Mannekin Pis to a screening in order to determine whether this is in fact the 1619 original. The original is now located in the city museum on the Grand Place, the Brussels'

central square, not far from the fountain, and it was restored in 2003. However, there is no evidence that the sculpture in the museum is indeed the one which the city commissioned in 1619 from sculptor **Hieronymus Duquesnoy the Elder**, which is why the city decided to examine it in order to put an end to speculations. The sculpture represents a urinating boy, and there are various interpretations to explain its origin. Some claim that a boy urinated on fire started by the soldiers during a siege, and thereby saved the city from burning down.

Luggage boys instead of escalators in the Prague metro



The architect who designed the new metro section in Prague forgot to place escalators in the main station, which serves as the transfer point for Prague's international airport. In order to solve the problem, the authorities of the international airport in Prague contracted two young men to carry the passengers' luggage up and down free of charge. Their working time is nine hours, but the airport hopes that it will not have to pay for the new service-attraction much longer, as the local authorities promised to find a way to add escalators to the station.

A German couple pays back their share of reparations to Greece



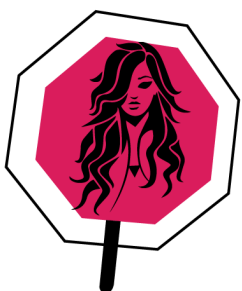
The Greeks were amazed to see a couple of German tourists bring a check for EUR 875 to a municipality on the Peloponnese. This, according to their calculation, is their share of what Germany owes to Greece in war reparations. Athens, which is stumbling under the weight of debt that has reached more than 175% of the GDP, has long been claiming that Germany never paid reparations for the damages done to the country in the World War II, nor returned the loan Greece extended to it under the pressure of occupation in 1942.

Madrid removes place names reminiscent of Franco



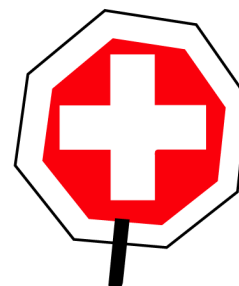
In 2016, Madrid will change names of 30 streets and squares that were named by, and evoke the 1939 – 1975 fascist dictatorship. Changes were made in line with the decision adopted by the local city councils in December, four decades after the death of the dictator **Francisco Franco**. In the future, Madrid will no longer have its Caudillo square, a word means 'leader', and was commonly used for Franco. The Caudillo square, built after the civil war in Spain in honour of Franco's victory and baptised after the dictator in 1953, will be renamed into the Arch of victory. The same awaits the Arriba España (Rise Spain) square, which was named after the battle cry of the far right troops.

European Commission adopts the Directive on hair dyes



Sales of hair dying products in the EU are steadily increasing, which is why the MPs of the European Parliament decided to protect the health of consumers by adopting a special Directive on cosmetics to ensure safety of cosmetic products. To this end, the European Commission adopted a Directive on hair dyes which limits the use of 24 ingredients in hair dyes. More detail on the directive can be found at: http://ec.europa.eu/consumers/sectors/cosmetics/cosmetic-products/hair-dye-products/index_en.htm

Switzerland terminates the process of accession to the European economic area



A week before the EU referendum was held in the United Kingdom, Switzerland officially withdrew its application for the membership of the European economic area. The EEA is only a step away from the accession to the single European market, and it can be joined by both the EU member states and the non-members. Examples are Norway and Iceland, which are members of the EEA, but not of the European Union. The decision to terminate the accession process, which began in 1992, was adopted by the lower house of the Swiss Parliament and confirmed by the upper house. According to the Swiss Minister of Foreign Affairs, the next step is to officially notify Brussels that the application has been withdrawn.

Tourists, go home! – say Spaniards



Graffiti telling foreign tourists to go home appeared on the walls of numerous houses and buildings in Spain. The messages were most common in Mallorca, which is a long time tourist favourite. There are high tensions during the peak of the tourist season, and even though tourism is good for the economy, the locals claim that they disrupt their everyday life and undermine local services. Things are all the worse since this year tourists are avoiding other favourite destinations such as Egypt, Turkey and Tunisia for security reasons, making Spain all the more popular. But while they are calling on the tourists to leave, the Spanish citizens remain willing to accept refugees.

How stereotypes and prejudices obstruct the fight against discrimination

Long road to full integration of marginalised groups



By: Petar Đukanović

Montenegrin citizens are mostly familiar with the notion of discrimination and in the questionnaires they most often “define” it as the denial of human rights and lack of respect for diversity. These are the findings of the *Research on the perception of citizens on discrimination and homophobia in Montenegro*, conducted by the Centre for Civic Education (CCE) as part of the project *Different but equal!*, with support of the Embassy of Canada. Nevertheless, 12% of respondents did not know what discrimination actually meant, a fairly high figure that should be not be neglected, as it means that these citizens would not be able to recognise discrimination if they were exposed to it and would probably fail to react adequately in order to protect themselves. Three quarters of the respondents believe that the denial of rights based on some personal attribute is unacceptable; 20% of respondents said it is generally unacceptable but could be justified under special circumstances; while 2% said that denial of rights on such grounds is justifiable in all circumstances.

More than a half of the citizens believe that discrimination exists in Montenegro, while every fifth citizen believes otherwise. Asked to name the most discriminated groups in the Montenegrin society, the respondents spontaneously most often listed the poor, persons with disabilities and elderly, followed by women, Roma, sexual minorities and national minorities. Next on the list were workers, political opposition, religious minorities, children and young people, as well as the unemployed and ill people. When they were asked to select the most severely discriminated group from a pre-set list, the respondents gave similar response: the most discriminated were

When we move past the general problem of discrimination to the specific issues of discrimination against LGBT persons, citizens' condemnation of discrimination fades and the potential for discrimination increases.

found to be the poor, persons with disabilities, Roma and elderly, sexual minorities, women, HIV positive persons, former drug addicts, ex-convicts and religious minorities.

Citizens generally agree that the state should demonstrate that the country respects human rights guaranteed by the Constitutions for all minority groups, regardless of whether the society likes them or not, whereas 14% disagreed. However, when we moved past the general problem of discrimination to the specific issues of discrimination against LGBT persons, citizens' condemnation of discrimination fades and the potential for discrimination increases. A great majority of the citizens disagrees with the claim that homosexuals are in danger in Montenegro and that they require assistance to realise their rights. A similarly high percentage maintains that homosexuality does not exist in Montenegro. Nearly two thirds of the citizens believe that the different sexual orientations are less common in Montenegro than in western Europe, “thanks to” education, social mores and family-oriented lifestyles which are held in high regard in the Montenegrin society.

The common association expressed by the respondents with LGBT persons was disease, revulsion, and disgust, shame, perversion, something abnormal and unnatural. Positive associations are rare and usually reflected in the opinion that everyone has the right to choose, and that homosexuals are people like all other and that nothing should be held against them. A fifth of the citizens believes that the state should ensure healthcare for homosexuals as

Citizens are more likely to accept a person of different sexual orientation as their neighbour or boss than as a member of their family.

for any other citizens, a third believes that the state should suppress homosexuality instead of providing them support and protection, while a quarter maintains that the state should protect the rights of sexual minorities as those of any other minority. Every second citizen agrees with the claim that people of different sexual orientation are so harmful to the society that we should do everything to eliminate this phenomenon, whereas two fifths of the citizens believe that the panic over different sexual orientations has been blown out of proportion and that homosexuality is a normal occurrence that has been present in the civilised works since time immemorial.

Most troubling is the respondents' aversion to new information about homosexuality. Only a fifth of the citizens would find professional discussions, public events and media reporting that contain scientific explanations of homosexuality useful. Among those, the majority believes that would be useful to understand the causes of homosexuality scientifically to better fight against it, while some citizens find this form of discussion about homosexuality completely irrelevant. Citizens are divided on the question of scientific discussion of homosexuality in schools. On the other hand, the citizens are poorly informed about the initiative to legalise same-sex unions: only one quarter of the respondents have heard of the initiative, and only a fifth of them had a positive opinion on it.

Less than 10% of citizens know someone of a different sexual orientation. In the majority of cases, if a person was to find out that a celebrity or a politician is of different sexual orientation, he or she would lose the sympathy for them. Half of them would cease to support a political party if it were to start campaigning for LGBT rights.

Citizens are more likely to accept a person of different sexual orientation as their neighbour or a boss, then as a member of their family. Six out of ten respondents would mind a public display of different sexual identity. This is also reflected in the generally negative attitude towards the Pride, which the majority believes

The research reveals authoritarian tendencies in the Montenegrin society, such as the belief expressed by a huge majority of the respondents that our country needs a strong and unwavering leader whom they would follow.

to be an excuse to flaunt a particular sexual orientation rather than a way to draw attention to discrimination. Citizens are less tolerant of verbal and physical violence, even though there is a small but not negligible proportion of those who would approve of such actions (10% justifies physical violence, and slightly more than 20% justifies verbal violence). When placed before a hypothetical choice between an excellent surgeon who is homosexual, and an average one who is heterosexual, married, and with children, the vast majority of the citizens would place their lives in the hands of the first.

The research reveals authoritarian tendencies in the Montenegrin society, such as the belief expressed by a huge majority of the respondents that our country needs a strong and unwavering leader whom they would follow. Attitudes towards women, and the belief that a woman's main role in the society is to be a good wife and mother, similarly illustrate deeply rooted traditionalism and patriarchal approach to the gender roles. A non-negligible number of citizens agrees with the claim that the EU accession could affect the culture and jeopardise traditional values, and some of them believe that marriages between different ethnic and religious groups could be a danger to national integrity. The aim of this research was to determine citizen's perception of discrimination in the Montenegrin society, its prevalence, the most affected groups, potential for discrimination against the LGBT population, as well as the degree of authoritarian vs. democratic inclinations in the Montenegrin society.

Field research was conducted by Ipsos Strategic Marketing via three-stage, random, representative and stratified sample of 1000 adult citizens in 17 municipalities, in the period 15-21 February 2016.

Three faces of Russia's influence in the Western Balkans

A spoiler, a strategic partner and a role model



By: Francisco de Borja Lasheras



By: Vessela Tcherneva



By: Fredrik Wesslau

The authors are policy analysts in the European Council for Foreign Relations.

Competition between great powers has returned to the Western Balkans, and the European Union – absorbed by other crises – has failed to respond. There is a growing sense in the region that the EU is falling apart and is not serious about integration. This is creating a power vacuum into which other actors, particularly Russia, are inserting themselves. Russia no longer passively accepts that the Western Balkans will move towards the EU – let alone NATO. Instead, it seizes on opportunities to disrupt EU and Western objectives, intervening in local politics and promoting an anti-Western, populist narrative. Moscow may not have a grand strategy for the Western Balkans but it does seek to exploit openings to disrupt Western interests; the Western Balkans offer low-cost opportunities to do this. We can outline three basic roles Russia plays: spoiler, strategic partner, and soft power player.

Russia as spoiler

Stakeholders on the ground characterise Russia as a tactical opportunist that takes advantage of opportunities as they appear. Moscow's role as spoiler manifests either in terms of disrupting some of the Western Balkan countries' stability and EU or Euro-Atlantic paths, or in countering Western objectives in the region, or in lending support to local spoilers.

The best example of the latter is **Milorad Dodik**, the president of Republika Srpska. He has called for a referendum on the status of the Bosnian judiciary and on the authority of the Office of the High Representative in Bosnia (OHR), threatened an independence referendum in 2018, and called for the removal of the mandate of the EU military mission (EUFOR) in Bosnia. While Russia has not officially supported the independence of Republika Srpska, it has supported Dodik by blocking or watering down language on Bosnia's territorial integrity at the Steering Board of the Peace Implementation Council, the international

There is a growing sense in the region that the EU is falling apart and is not serious about integration. This is creating a power vacuum into which other actors, particularly Russia, are inserting themselves

body that oversees implementation of the Dayton Agreement; and stating that any review of Dayton that weakened the Serb entity would be a red line for Russia. In the past two years, Russia has also abstained rather than support Security Council resolutions to extend EUFOR's mandate.

Recent unrest in the Western Balkans illustrates how easily Russia can use divide-and-rule tactics in the region, either between countries or between their internal political groupings. In these interventions, Moscow combines the narrative of victimhood and conspiracy theories about Western meddling with propaganda campaigns executed by pro-Kremlin outlets and groups. As anti-government protests rocked Skopje in spring 2015, Foreign Minister **Sergey Lavrov** accused the West of orchestrating the protests to force Prime Minister **Nikola Gruevski** to comply with the sanctions regime against Russia and drop his support for Russia's South Stream natural gas pipeline. By contrast, Moscow openly endorsed the October 2015 protests in Montenegro against the government of **Milo Đukanović**, who had complied with EU sanctions against Russia. Russia called for a popular referendum on the country's membership of NATO, and warned that the alliance's enlargement to the Western Balkans would be a red line.

Russia as strategic partner

Moscow has been increasing its investment in key strategic sectors in the region for some time – diplomacy, military, security, finance, and energy – especially in Serbia and Republika Srpska. In 2013, during a visit to **Putin's** summer residence in Sochi, Serbian President **Tomislav Nikolić** signed



an ambitious strategic partnership agreement with Russia, including military and intelligence cooperation as well as coordinated positions in international bodies. That same year, Russia and Serbia signed a 15-year bilateral defence treaty, with provisions for training operations, joint exercises, arms sales, and intelligence sharing. Putin personally endorsed this partnership in late 2014, while attending as guest of honour a military parade in Belgrade, where he described Serbia as Russia's "closest ally" and reaffirmed his support for Serbia's claims in Kosovo.

The energy sector is another key target for Russian influence. Russian state-owned companies, such as Gazprom or Zarubezhneft, as well as private companies led by oligarchs close to the Kremlin, have benefited from the hasty privatisation of businesses in the region and loose institutional governance. Russian firms have acquired a significant stake in the energy sectors of countries such as Serbia and Bosnia, consolidating the country's dominant position in the Balkan oil and gas markets.

Russia has not always been able to translate this selective economic presence into diplomatic leverage, as illustrated by Montenegro's resistance to Russian pressure on its sanctions stance or its NATO candidacy. But the web of economic and personal relations between Russia and the region's elites and oligarchs adds to the levers it can muster if need be.

A soft power player

While the EU may have succeeded in winning the minds of many in the Western Balkans, Russia, with smaller material investments, is making clear progress towards winning the hearts of Serbs, Bosnian Serbs, and perhaps even Montenegrins and Macedonian Slavs. In Orthodox corners of the region, Russia, and Putin personally, enjoy significant soft power. Russia appeals to many in Bosnia, Serbia, Montenegro, and Macedonia, especially in times of economic hardship. It benefits from the contrast with the EU, which is perceived to be on the brink of collapse, promoting "decadent" morals (such as LGBT rights) and imposing its will on the people (for instance, on recognition of Kosovo). Kremlin's narrative of a clash of civilisations between the Russian world and the decadent West – based on social conservatism, nationalism, rejection of liberal norms, and victimhood – resonates among Serbian ultranationalists; radical groups, and paramilitary movements. It also has the support of some more mainstream political actors. These groups see Russia not only as a brother power challenging the West with force in Ukraine and Syria, but also as espousing a different and often more persuasive set of values to Europe and the West.

What can the EU do?

Europe can no longer afford to rely on "business as usual" in the Western Balkans. In the face of geopolitical instability and the refugee crisis, the enlargement process is not enough.

Instead, the EU and its member states should bring to bear a broader array of tools, such as strategic communication and conflict-prevention mechanisms. In a context of revived geopolitics, power games, and political gridlock, the EU cannot rely on incremental change and the "carrot" of enlargement alone – it will also need coercive "sticks". But beyond enlargement, in parallel, the EU should step up the integration of the region's countries into European structures, such as the Energy Union, that are open to non-EU members. This would tie the countries closer to the EU, provide greater strategic coverage in the region and curb Russia's strategy of using energy supplies to strike strategic alliances.

The full text of the publication can be found at
www.ecfr.eu

On REKOM in Podgorica

Politicians' view of the process of reconciliation in the region



By: Tamara Milaš

Montenegro must step up the efforts to abolish impunity for war crimes, and to effectively investigate, process and sanction war crimes in line with the international standards. This is a precondition for genuine reconciliation and durable peace in the region, and the CCE, as the representative organisation of the Coalition for REKOM, seeks to make this process more effective. These were some of the conclusions of the debate on reconciliation, organised by the Centre for Civic Education (CCE) and Coalition for REKOM in order to encourage dialogue on reconciliation and the ways in which reconciliation is understood, as well as to draw attention to the importance of Initiative for REKOM.

Initiative for REKOM gathers numerous civil society organisations and individuals from the region in an attempt to establish Regional commission for the establishment of facts on war crimes and other severe violations of human rights perpetrated on the territory of former SFRY from 1991 to the end of 2001. As the Montenegrin representative of the Coalition for REKOM, CCE seeks to make this process more effective through its own activities.

Daliborka Uljarević, executive director of CCE, stressed the importance of insisting on the responsibility of politicians to confront the past. *"Political horse-trading in human tragedies further victimised numerous victims, but also created new ones. It is not enough to send out a few slogans on "useful" occasions. We already stressed at the previous debates that in many countries of the region political elites shaped during the war and still in power remain the main obstacles to investigation and processing of the war crimes".* She especially stressed the problem of forgetting, warning that the politicians would likely find this to be the most suitable solution. *"But if you know anything about the history of this region, where conflicts had been celebrated and venerated for centuries at the expense of positive examples of peaceful coexistence, you know that the attempt to forget is the first step towards the next tragedy. Politics is always flirting with xenophobia, perpetuating the lack of clarity".*

Prof. Dr Žarko Puhovski, a vocal advocate of the Coalition for REKOM in Croatia, reminded that war crimes left behind wounds that cannot be healed overnight. *"Our region faces a particular paradox: the leaders of one of the two leading countries would readily renounce their twenty-year younger selves, while the leaders of the other one, who were not even involved in the events of the 1990s, are trying to resurrect that atmosphere",* Puhovski said. He also warned that, in addition to the court verdicts for the war crimes, we should also find ways to condemn the perpetrators that would change the way people generally think of these times. *"For me today the key word is «disgrace». As a citizen, I would like to see those who were directly or indirectly responsible for these crimes disgraced, and to see disgraced policies that enabled such crimes".*

Rifat Rastoder, president of the Committee for the political system, judiciary and administration in the Parliament of Montenegro, reminded that Montenegro also had a fair share of war crimes





perpetrated on its territory, or in its name elsewhere in the region. Not only have these never seen a court epilogue, but despite all insistence, there was never enough political or institutional will to do so", Rastoder said, citing 9 cases of war crimes that were officially processed, and scores of those that were never formally prosecuted.

Marija Maja Čatović, vice president of the Committee for European integration in the Parliament of Montenegro stressed the importance of regional cooperation, which is also one of the key elements of EU integration, and reminded that the pace of European integration depends on the cooperation between Balkan states and their willingness to be part of a united Europe. *"Joint attention to a single common goal – to join the EU, where we would sit at the same negotiation table with all other EU members, but also seek to wield as much influence as possible, is one of the more important drives of reconciliation in this region"*, she said.

Momo Koprivica, deputy president of the Democratic Montenegro said that *"No reconciliation is possible unless the political participants in the war are brought to justice. Ethno-political entrepreneurship is the main obstacle to reconciliation in the region. The political elites that profit from heightened tensions prevent the state and other mechanisms from investigating and disseminating truth"*.

Rade Bojović, deputy president of the Civic Movement URA, illustrated Montenegro's situation with the following question: "Who wants to face the consequences for the shameful attack on Dubrovnik? Is there anyone who would teach our children the facts about this period?" He also reminded of the nearly forgotten "original heroes" – Admiral **Vladimir Barović** and Counter admiral **Krsto Đurović**, whose honourable conduct in those times cost them lives, and yet today *"there is not one street or square in Montenegro that bears their name, nor is there a single bust or monument in Montenegro to honour them"*. He concluded by saying that few today recall the Montenegrin anti-war movement, as well as that *"contemporary Montenegro basically refuses to face its recent past, its real role in the disintegration of SFRY, or its voluntary participation in Milošević's criminal greater Serbian policy"*.

Numerous participants joined the discussion.

Šučko Baković, Deputy Ombudsman of Montenegro, said that this process cannot be completed without participation of politicians. He said that *"there was no particular progress in the processing of war crimes"*, but that *"there was progress in the process of indemnifying the victims, which thereby acknowledged that crimes have taken place"*.

Stojanka Radović of the Special State Prosecution in charge of prosecuting war crimes said that war crimes have no statute of limitation, and this institution recently processed four cases. She announced that the case «Morinj» has been reopened.

The event gathered 50 representatives of political parties, non-governmental organisations, Government, judiciary, media and diplomatic corps.

Similar debates also took place in Zagreb, Belgrade, Sarajevo, Skopje, and Pristina, as part of the project *Strengthening the process of establishment of REKOM (stage II)*, financed by the European Commission, CCFD (French Catholic Committee Against Hunger and for Development) and the Rockefeller Brothers Fund.

Montenegrin textbooks dodge the subject of war in the region and of Montenegro's role in them

History concealed



By: Isidora Radonjić

This June, the Centre for Civic Education (CCE) presented a study titled *"Montenegrin textbooks: what do they hide and reveal about Montenegro's contemporary history?"* In the study, CCE's research team analysed history textbooks for primary and secondary schools in the country, as well as those used at a number of departments of the University of Montenegro, focusing on their account of the recent wars in the region. They also conducted an opinion poll among the students testing their knowledge of the country's and the region's recent past. The study also provides assessment of the ways in which history is currently being taught in Montenegro, as well as recommendations for improvement and modernisation of history teaching to ensure a more objective approach to historical facts, and to foster the process of reconciliation.

The study showed that the formal education system in Montenegro has produced generations that know next to nothing about the recent history of the region, and of Montenegro itself, as the textbooks spend very little time on this issue, and completely ignore numerous and important facts, especially those that could potentially raise the question of responsibility of those who still occupy the positions of power in the country.

CCE also conducted a field research among students of the Departments of Law, Philosophy and Political Sciences. The poll showed the devastating results of the failure of educational authorities to impart knowledge about an important period in the history of Montenegro.

12.5% of the respondents admitted lack of familiarity with the recent history of former SFRY republics, whereas 58.8% claimed superficial, and 28.3% some knowledge of the topic. 3.3% did not answer this question. The majority of those who claim that they are familiar with the subject are from the Department of Political Sciences (35%), followed by the Department of Law (27.5%), and at the lowest end the Department of (22.5%).

However, when we put their knowledge to test, it turned out that 50.8% of the respondents did not even know the number of republics and provinces of the former SFRY. 40.8% knew the right answer, but 3.3% did not answer at all. When asked to list the countries that are internationally recognised today, and were previously part of SFRY, 62.5% of respondents did not know the exact or complete answer, 6.7% did not answer at all, and only a little over one third of the respondents (30.8%) could list every state that derived from the former SFRY. As many as 85% of the students interviewed at the Department of Political Science could not list every internationally recognised state that was formerly in the composition of SFRY.

About half of the interviewed students (50.8%) chose correctly the year of the referendum that established FRY from the three possible options. 40% chose the wrong answer, and 9.2% did not answer the question. 86.7% of the students knew that Serbia and Montenegro – now both independent states – made up the former FRY.

The majority of Montenegrin students (54.2%) said that Montenegro participated in the 1991-1995 war, but nearly a third (30.8%) disagrees with this statement, 9.2% does not know the answer, and 5.8% did not answer the question at all. Almost two thirds of the students chose the right answer from among three options when asked when Montenegro carried out the armed intervention on Dubrovnik, and slightly less than a third of students (30%) chose the right date (1991).

When asked which politician was the most responsible for the civil war accompanying the dissolution of SFRY, 58.8% of the students listed **Slobodan Milošević**; 47.5% **Franjo Tuđman**; 30.8% **Radovan Karadžić**; 27.5% **Alija Izetbegović**; 14.2% **Milo Đukanović**; 10.8% **Momir Bulatović**; and 6.7% each **Milan Kučan** and **Kiro Gligorov**. Students across Montenegro assign blame for the wars in similar ways to the former SFRY leaders, but differences exist in their views of Radovan Karadžić and Milo Đukanović. While 50% of respondents from the Department of Political Sciences holds Karadžić responsible for the war, at the Departments of Law and Philosophy only 20 to 22.5% do so. Similarly, 22.5% of the students from the Department of Philosophy think that Đukanović is responsible for it, while half as many (12.5%) students at the Department of Political Sciences (12.5%) think so, and the percentage is even lower at the Department of Law (7.5%).

Montenegrin educational institutions have not yet shown enough will to resist politicisation of the textbooks, be it through what they teach or through what they hide. This puts a question mark over the role of history as a subject in education, at least when it comes to the contemporary history of Montenegro. This makes it all the more urgent to change and update the content of the current textbooks, and it should be

Forgotten

The research showed that the fallen members of the Yugoslav People's Army, as well as the victims of NATO bombing have been forgotten: a quarter of the century since the armed assault on Dubrovnik and its region, only 50% of the Montenegrin students knows that 165 members of the YPA from Montenegro died in this operation. When asked to choose between three options: 13, 442, and 165, the majority said there were only 13 dead. Only 27.5% knew that there had been human victims during the NATO bombing in Montenegro, 55% guessed the wrong number, and 17.5% of the students did not answer this question.

40% of the students have heard about *Srdan Aleksić*, who recently got a street in Podgorica, and his heroic attempt to protect a fellow citizen. 38.3% never heard of him, and 21.7% of the respondents did not answer this question.

done by those who have enough integrity not to enter into compromises with the government about the ways in which they represent the contemporary history of the country, a history already marked by those who still hold much of the political power in Montenegro.

Danijela Stolica, general director of the Directorate for agriculture and fisheries

Main advantages of the opening of Chapters 12 and 13 are greater competitiveness and access to the EU funds

At the Intergovernmental conference that took place in Brussels in late June Montenegro opened two new chapters: Chapter 12 - Food safety, veterinary, phytosanitary policy and Chapter 13 - Fisheries. The domestic actors in these two fields are in for many changes, and the Montenegrin institutions are facing the tough challenge of successfully implementing reforms in two very demanding areas. We talked about these issues with **Danijela Stolica**, general director of Directorate for agriculture and fisheries at the Ministry of Agriculture and Rural Development.

» *What were the requirements for the opening of negotiations on chapters 12 and 13? What key activities had to be undertaken to prepare the country for the launch of negotiations on these two complex chapters?*

The Ministry of Agriculture and Rural Development invested a lot of effort to fulfil all the preconditions necessary for the opening of chapters 12 and 13. Montenegro received four benchmarks in total for the opening of these chapters, three for chapter 12 and one for chapter 13.

The initial benchmark required the primary legislation to contain a sufficient basis for further transposition of the EU acquis through secondary legislation, without having

to be amended again in the Parliament in the future. This meant making amendments to 10 laws from the legal framework related to chapter 12. This benchmark was met on 7 October 2015 with the adoption of the Law on Food Safety.

The second benchmark required adoption of the Strategy for the transposition

and implementation of the EU acquis in chapter 12 with a General Action plan and a Special Action plan for the control and eradication of the classical swine fever. The second benchmark was met with the adoption of the Strategy on 10 September 2015.

The third benchmark required classification of all food establishments and all establishments handling animal by-products, according to whether they meet the EU standards or not. The list has been presented to the EC, with which we fulfilled the third benchmark.

Chapter 13 was in some way less demanding than chapter 12, but nowhere near simple, because we had to

"We will definitely need time. After all, these are the chapters that are to be negotiated until the very end of the accession process, at least judging by the experiences of other countries that went through the process. There is no room for "negotiation" in these chapters: rather, we are expected to consistently transfer the acquis, and should use the time until the accession to ensure implementation of these standards"

adopt a Strategy for development of fisheries with an Action plan on the transposition of the acquis. We involved all relevant experts in the development of that Strategy, above all those employed in the Ministry of Agriculture and Rural Development, as well as scientists from the Institute for Marine Biology, but we also had support of an expert from Croatia who was hired via the FAO Adria Med project.

» *What are the next steps in the alignment of the legislation, now that the two chapters have been opened?*

Our future plans have been predefined by the documents already prepared by the Ministry and adopted by the Government. These are strategies and action plans for both chapters, which lay out in detail the timetable for the alignment of legislation, as well as activities necessary to develop the requisite institutional and administrative capacities. Great challenges lie ahead of us, especially with regard to administrative capacities. We must bear in mind that our administration has few people, but that we must nevertheless ensure implementation of the Common fisheries policy in chapter 13. Meanwhile, for chapter 12 we must adopt a great number of bylaws by 2020 and establish a system that will guarantee consistent application of the food safety standards.

» *How long will it all take, considering the fact that chapter 12 constitutes one of the key pillars of the regular functioning of the EU's internal market and uninterrupted, free movement of goods?*

We will definitely need a lot of time. After all, these are the chapters that are to be negotiated until the very end of the accession process, at least judging by the experiences of other countries that went through the process. There is no room for "negotiation" in these chapters: rather, we are expected to consistently transfer the acquis, and should use the time until the accession to ensure implementation



Danijela Stolica

of these standards, by which I mean especially the food establishments.

» *What are the estimated amounts that would have to be invested in order to close these chapters? And how much do you expect to draw from the EU funds to finance the alignment of this part of the policy with the EU standards?*

Chapter 12 requires a considerable amount of funds, primarily for the construction of infrastructural capacities, such as border checkpoints for veterinary and phytosanitary inspections. Montenegro can draw on the EU funds to construct the checkpoints at border crossings with third countries that will be equipped according to the EU standards. It should also find ways to ensure safe disposal of animal by-products, as well as to equip and accredit laboratories. Staff training also presents a great challenge. As for fisheries, the largest portion of the funds will go to outfit the fishing ports and first landing sites, as well as for the training and equipment of inspectors. For now, around 52 million of pre-accession funds have been allocated to all three sectors (agriculture, fisheries and food safety), but we already started negotiating with other international institutions on the possibilities of financing these projects on favourable terms.

» *Is the Montenegrin administration prepared to handle the costs of the common agricultural policy?*

We, or rather the Directorate for IPARD payments, are currently in the process of accreditation for the management of pre-accession funds for rural development (IPARD), and everything is ready for the accreditation of the IPARD agency. The trust between the Ministry of Agriculture and Rural Development and EC is best demonstrated by the fact that we are already "managing" the EU funds in cooperation with the World Bank through an IPARD-like project. In the coming period, the biggest challenge will be to meet the requirements to manage the EU agriculture funds which will be at our disposal only after accession. This

Montenegrin agriculture could reap great benefits from the accession process of accession, and the Ministry and the agricultural producers should join efforts to use this opportunity to the maximum

is a truly demanding process, but we have outlined clear plans and I am certain that with the energy we have in the Ministry, and with the support of the EC, we will have a functional payments agency by the day of accession.

» *Do the traditional Montenegrin products such as cheese, prosciutto etc. meet the safety and quality criteria of the European standards?*

Every product found on the market is safe and meets the standards prescribed by the Law on Food Safety, which was aligned with the EU acquis. As for traditional products, in 2016 we adopted the Regulation on derogations from the rules on construction, equipment and furnishing of food establishment specialising in small-volume production, and processing of food in order to create the legal framework for the protection of small producers. This does not mean that we allow exemptions from food safety standards: the exemptions only apply to equipment in order to allow for use of traditional equipment used in this type of production such as vats, wooden shelves and similar, that constitute the environment necessary for traditional production. I would like to point out that it is very important that we were able to introduce these derogations at the very start of the implementation of IPARD, as in this way we can avoid unnecessary investments by small producers and allow them to remain competitive. Some states did not take this opportunity in the pre-accession period, and ended up shutting down a large number of producers.

» *What are the concrete benefits of opening negotiations to the agricultural producers and the fishermen?*

By opening chapter 12, we ensured the application of top food safety standards, as well as the possibility to enhance competitiveness of domestic products and improve their placement on the market. As far as chapter 13 is concerned, the fishermen will have the opportunity to make more significant use of the EU funds for fisheries and to access the market through their organisations. The opening of the chapter also constitutes additional obligation to implement all the plans we adopted, which includes investment in infrastructural projects and implementation of standards. Together, these will ensure that our food producers and fishermen have the same conditions as their colleagues from the EU. Montenegrin agriculture could reap great benefits from the accession process of accession, and the Ministry and the agricultural producers should join efforts to use this opportunity to the maximum.

Svetlana Pešić

Wine among the first to reach the EU markets

» *Does Montenegro currently have food products ready for the EU market?*

Yes, we have food products that are already being exported to the EU market. We are primarily exporting wine, but we are also working to enhance our competitiveness, i.e. to meet the standards for a number of other products, such as meat products, honey and olive oil. We should however bear in mind that for us the quality of the product is more important, and that they should be competitive in the domestic market. Once those products achieve the necessary quality and quantity they can be exported to the EU market. The most significant form of export for domestic products is tourism. The rise of luxury tourist venues with high-paying guests opened up the opportunity to all local producers who invested in reaching a certain level of quality to offer their products to such guests at significantly higher prices.



Centar za građansko obrazovanje
Centre for Civic Education

30

participants of
workshop on peer
violence

20

participants of
workshop on human
rights

167

participants of our
educational
programmes and
workshops

30

participants of
Democracy
School

87

participants of
Peace Education
Programme

Continuation of European reforms: BiH candidacy for the membership of the EU

“Stick and carrot” instead of strict conditionality?



By: Vladimir Vučković

Twenty years have passed since the end of the bloody civil war in Bosnia and Herzegovina (BiH) and the signing of Dayton peace agreement, and this Balkan state has shown some signs of progress in the process of European integration. Considering the consequences of the war, still reflected in the intense ethnic and religious intolerance, secessionist movements, dysfunctional state administration, endemic corruption and crime and an inefficient economy, BiH's bid for EU membership demonstrates its commitment to the EU as the key strategic foreign policy goals. Moreover, this could force the ruling political structures to focus on internal political and socio-economic reforms in order to receive a positive opinion from the Council of Ministers of EU.

Given its past record, BiH cannot boast of great results in the process of European integration. After the 2003 EU summit in Thessaloniki, and the emphasis

on the “membership perspective” for the Western Balkan countries, BiH showed little interest in the EU membership, maintaining for years its status of a potential candidate country. BiH officially launched negotiations with the EU on the Stabilisation and Association Agreement (SAA) in 2005, and concluded them in late 2007, when the then enlargement commissioner **Olli Rehn** judged that there was enough agreement on the direction of reforms by the BiH leaders. The SAA between BiH and the European Commission was signed in 2008, and came into force in 2015. One of the more tangible steps towards the EU membership was certainly the introduction of visa-free regime for all BiH citizens in 2010. The membership application, submitted in February 2016, is inarguably an incentive to fulfil the Copenhagen criteria and implement the *acquis*.

Generally speaking, BiH made a visible, albeit limited progress in European integration. This progress has been slow and unpredictable, as well as weighted down by the merely rhetorical support for the membership by the political elites of the state. At the same time, the application for EU membership could motivate the political leaders to mobilize the forces and tackle the political and socio-economic problems in the country.

It is obvious that in order to enable BiH's membership application the EU made certain concessions, and it is reasonable to assume that it will try to reclaim these concessions in the future.





This is especially true of the conditions BiH must fulfil in order to apply for membership of the EU. These are, above all, adoption of a coordination mechanism to reduce administrative complexity of the country and allow it to present a unified front in the membership negotiations; and amendments to the SAA regarding the so-called traditional trade. Among other conditions were to conduct the first post war census (which is still incomplete), implement the decision of the European Court of Human Rights in **Sejdić-Finci** case to rectify constitutional discrimination of minorities; and resolve the problems with Republika Srpska, which has been obstructing public institutions and insisting on the possible separation from BiH. The EU made these concessions in order to encourage democratic consolidation and transition of the country and diffuse the EU norms and values as effectively as possible, but these concessions have an expiry date.

Whereas the EU has been pursuing the policy of conditionality towards the Western Balkan countries to insure

implementation of the SAP, in BiH's case we have seen it resort to the "stick and carrot" principle. This could be revitalizing for the overall reform of the internal political and socio-economic system of BiH, as well as encouraging of civic engagement in a country whose citizens have turned increasingly pessimistic. Consequently, a credible membership perspective could bridge the internal political divisions between the elites and the society, thus creating optimal conditions for the improvement of internal socio-economic situation.

FREEDOM OF ASSEMBLY - LAW AND PRACTICE

How "free" is assembly in Montenegro?



By: Aleksandra Vavić



By: Ivana Bogojević

The authors are public policy researchers in Institute Alternative (IA)

In the recent years Montenegro saw a lot of social polarisation over political issues, as well as intensified activism and public gathering. Citizens increasingly take to the streets, but there they face the lack of political will and capacity of institutions to guarantee their right to public assembly. The research of Institute Alternative on the state of the freedom of assembly in Montenegro shows that the state must make greater effort to improve legal solutions and practice in order to adequately ensure that its citizens can enjoy this right.

Overlapping competencies of national and local authorities - The Ministry of Interior (MI) is in charge of approving public assemblies in Montenegro. More precisely, public assemblies need not be approved as such, but the organisers must notify the authorities, by submitting a document that contains information about the organiser, the goals, the place and the time of the assembly. But the administrative tasks of the organisers do not end there. More often than not Montenegrin administration takes it upon itself to make citizens' lives more difficult, and public assemblies are no exception. Should the organisers wish to use a certain prop, kiosk, stand, stage or another temporary object at the assembly, they have to turn to the local secretariat for public works. As each municipality adopts its own rules on the regulation, installation, construction and removal of temporary objects, different municipalities can have widely different rules on the kinds of objects that can be erected. This means that while certain objects can be used at the gatherings in one municipality, they would be impossible to use in another. The administrative ordeal does not end there - the majority of organisers we interviewed say that they were not familiar with the local regulations, and that they found out during the gathering itself, when they were ordered to remove certain objects.

Complete ban of assembly - Ignorantia iuris nocet

- The authorities can only impose a temporary ban on public assemblies, if the notification is incomplete, when the goal of the assembly is to perpetrate a crime or to impose on other people's rights, violate public order and peace, or take place in an inappropriate space. Even though *prohibition of assembly* does not even exist as a concept in the Law on Public Assembly, 23 decisions adopted by the Ministry of Interior in 2014 prohibited assembly. Not only did the Ministry respond to the organisers' notifications by a measure that doesn't exist under the current law, it also justified these decisions by reference to the acts unavailable to the public, such as the Regulations on interior order in the building of the Government, which cannot be a valid legal basis to ban a gathering.

Legal restrictions without constitutional grounds

- Constitution of Montenegro guarantees the freedom of assembly, in line with the international democratic standards, and cites exhaustively situations in which the same can be temporarily restricted, in order to prevent riots or crime, danger to public health, morale or security of persons and property. Though the Constitution only recognises temporary limitation of assembly, without relation to the location of the event, the Law institutes additional limitations which are set very broadly and impose permanent prohibition of assembly in certain locations (e.g. in front of the Parliament, Government, Constitutional court). Recent amendments to the law did nothing to resolve this conflict with the Constitution.

Ineffective security during gatherings

- One of the issues that drew the attention of both national and international community in October 2015 was the security at the demonstration and the behaviour of the police. During a protest, the police has a clear task to preserve public order and peace in line with the principles of human rights as well as legality,



necessity, proportionality and non-discrimination. However, the opposition and civic protests that took place last year paint a different picture. The police repression was reflected in the excessive use of force, demonstrated by the use of tear gas, truncheons and rubber bullets that affected a large number of citizens. The police also failed to ensure safe departure from the event for the citizens. Ten months later, there are still no legal consequences for the violence against protesters. Of the 28 members of the Special Anti-Terrorist Unit (SAJ), who demolished a vehicle and inflicted physical injuries to a citizen on the night of the protest, two members admitted their involvement, but the commander of the unit, **Radosav Lješковиć**, is still refusing to disclose the names of the others who participated in the events of that night. Institutions have not been proactive in dealing with the citizens' complaints about excessive use of force. The Ombudsman was the only institution which did its job, submitting a criminal complaint against the commander of SAJ that lay ground for the beginning of his trial at the end of June 2016. Only eight months after the protests. Political figures directly in charge of the events, the then Minister of Interior **Raško Konjević** and the director of Police Department **Slavko Stojanović** have never been called to account. This lack of integrity and accountability can only further

blacken the reputation of this repressive apparatus. Of particular concern is the attempt of police officers to cover up for unethical behaviour of their colleagues, thereby sending a dangerous message that excessive use of force is the *modus operandi* of the Montenegrin police, which already enjoys very little trust from the citizens. In addition to its bent towards repression, the Police also demonstrated a lack of transparency. The Ministry failed to submit a timely report on the use of rubber bullets during the protest to the Council for the civic control of the police, while the Council of Europe received an elaborate report on this subject. The "culture of concealment" of such important information by the police does not contribute to greater civic confidence - on the contrary.

New solutions - old habits - It is hard to expect changes after the recent adoption of the new Law. The MPs missed the opportunity to improve the state of human rights in the country when they accepted the Draft Law on public assembly and public events without attempting to change it. This effectively means that we, as citizens:

- » cannot organise peaceful public gatherings in front of the Government and Parliament, the key institutions in charge of policy making;
- » cannot organise an gathering in order to express our dissatisfaction with another gathering taking place at the same time nearby;
- » cannot be sure whether the Police will prevent an already announced assembly, because the provisions of the Law allow broad interpretation by the officers;
- » will not know the reasons behind the prohibition of a gathering, because the Police is not obliged to provide an elaborate explanation.

International practice and civil sector have found solutions to these, as well as other poor legal provisions. But as usual, we are forced to wait for the benevolence of the public bodies and members of Parliament to adopt solutions that would actually guarantee our human rights and allow the citizens their freedom to influence public policies of their country through peaceful public gatherings.

A step forward towards the improvement of socio-economic conditions?

Three million euro for new jobs in the Western Balkans



By: Svetlana Pešić

International Labour Organisation (ILO) and Regional Cooperation Council (RCC) will create a joint platform for employment and social issues in the Western Balkans, as part of a new project which the two organisations signed on 1 March 2016. The project will be financed by the European Commission. In addition to Montenegro, the project will also cover Albania, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Macedonia, Kosovo and Serbia.

Should the project succeed, our interviewees agreed, the citizens of Montenegro could expect, among other, a very significant impulse towards increasing employability and adaptability of the workers and removal of institutional barriers that stand in the way of new jobs. Some of them however, worry that the lack of solid and independent institutions reduces Montenegro's absorption capacity for this project, i.e. its ability to process and transform the said resources and advantages into higher employment and social safety.

The ESAP Project will last 36 months, and the project team will be based in Sarajevo. The project will help establish a structured dialogue on the social and employment issues between the governments and social partners in the Western Balkans. It will cover direct and virtual activities, such as regional meetings, bilateral exchanges and development of new instruments and information materials, as well as a virtual platform to supervise and build on individual activities.

Ministries in the region will have the chance to set their own objectives,

and the national employment agencies will receive support to participate in the work of the network of employment agencies of European Union (EURES). A regional database should contribute to development of better national policies and employment measures, according to the standards of the EU.

According to **Goran Svilanović**, Secretary General of the Regional Cooperation Council, "one of the objectives of the project *Employment and Social Affairs*



Goran Svilanović

Platform (ESAP) is to provide support to the ministries of labour and social affairs in the preparation of Economic Reform Programmes. Ministries of labour and social affairs will be able to define their own needs as part of the preparation, monitoring, implementation and reporting on the Economic Reform Programme, and the Platform will be adapted to the needs of each individual ministry in the region".

Svilanović said that "the other objective is to offer national employment agencies through professional support in development of employment measures, as well as in the evaluation of the success of these measures. It is especially important to support national employment agencies to participate in the work

of the network of employment agencies of the European Union (EURES)". He added that the project will create regional working groups to enable exchange of experiences, study visits within the region, as well as in the member states of the European Union, joint trainings, and exchange of materials and information.

"We will create a regional database that will be publically available, and will enable national and regional analysis of the labour markets, as well as of employment policies. The project will thus help to improve national policies and employment measures based on professional analysis and EU best practices", Svilanović told the European Pulse.

Svilanović explained that all project activities are intended for public institutions - primarily for ministries of labour and social affairs and national employment agencies in the Western Balkans. *"Our governments will cooperate and manage the project through their ministries and employment agencies, and prepare the activities that will then be adapted to their specific needs. The ESAP team is located in Sarajevo in the Regional Cooperation Council. This project is fully financed by the European Union through the programme for pre-accession assistance (multi-user IPA) as well as by the Regional Cooperation Council", Svilanović added.*

"Considering that employment is one of the most important issues, and closely related to the question of economic growth in the region, the governments expressed great interest for this project. The Regional Cooperation Council team, which is responsible for project implementation, will visit all countries of the region to agree on the mechanisms of project management and prepare a detailed plan of activities adapted to the needs of the region in the first year of project. A regional conference on labour market and employment policy will

be organised to present in detail the project management structure, planned activities and the expected project results", Svilanović said.

According to the Employment Agency (EA), in February 2016 there were 42.520 unemployed persons in Montenegro. The unemployment rate, according to the EA, rose from 18.15% to 18.33%. **Vukica Jelić**, former director of the Employment Agency and the current representative of the Government in that institution under the Agreement between the government and opposition, told *European pulse* that the beneficiaries of the newly created platform



Vukica Jelić

will be Albania, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Macedonia, Kosovo, Montenegro and Serbia, and that the total value of the project whose implementation runs from March 2016 to March 2019 will be EUR 3 million. According to her, implementation of the Platform for employment and social policy is the first step in supporting the Western Balkan states in their accession to the EU. *"The platform for employment and social policy in the Western Balkan states consists of two components. The Regional Cooperation Council will implement the first component, improving the environment for work mobility in the region, development of competitive skills, development of the database on education, employment relations and social policy. The Regional Cooperation Council will focus on two goals: improvement*

of the capacities of institutions (ministries) in charge of policy making on human resource development, and improvement of capacities of employment agencies and strengthening their connections across the region", Jelić confirmed.

She added that the International Labour Organisation will be in charge of the second component of the Platform, with the main goal to strengthen the tripartite dialogue in the Western Balkan states and support the reforms of the labour market and employment policy. *"The focus of the International Labour Organisation will be to strengthen the tripartite councils, develop labour laws (transpose particular articles of EU directives into labour laws), collective bargaining and peaceful resolution of work disputes. Support will also be provided to the work inspections to improve their capacities, develop laws on health and safety at work (transposition of EU directives) and fight against informal employment".*

The Report on Montenegro adopted by the Foreign Affairs Committee of the European Parliament on the motion of Charles Tannock in February 2016 warns that *"further steps should be taken to fight unemployment, social discrimination, and poverty and to strengthen the workers' and trade union rights in accordance with the EU standards".*

Deputy president of Democratic Montenegro **Momo Koprivica** believes that the Platform for employment and social issues in the Western Balkans could give a powerful impetus to the creation of a stimulating and efficient institutional framework and innovations in labour and social legislation that would closely follow European processes towards an economic



Momo Koprivica

Improve measures for employment of young people, long-term unemployed and vulnerable groups

The Report of the European Commission (EC) on Montenegro for 2015 states that Montenegro has achieved some level of preparation in the area of social policy and employment. The Report also noted some progress in this area, mainly on employment and social inclusion. However, it also warned that more work is needed to ensure legislative alignment with the acquis, adding that:

"Critical situation on labour market still remains the key issue. During the following year, Montenegro needs to intensify active measures of labour market when it comes to employment of young people, long-time unemployed persons, as well as of persons belonging to vulnerable groups; strengthen the capacities on every level in order to implement social and employment reforms; strengthen the cooperation with social partners and NGOs".

model that relies on socially responsible entrepreneurship, adaptable and flexible work organisation, and overcoming of short-term political bargains in the collective bargaining process. *"Coordinated action and networking of national institutions in charge of the labour market could reduce the overall social costs of institutional reforms for several reasons. Firstly, connecting and combining the national resources could lead to a greater reform momentum and the pooling would reduce the average fixed costs that each country would have to bear in order to shape the requisite institutional improvements. Secondly, the Platform could encourage combinations of institutional reforms that would ensure that same social resources are used for different, though related, institutional products and institutional improvements of both the legal framework for the labour*

Montenegro must speed up

"Montenegro is significantly lagging in this area: in other words, it is far behind the optimal institutional frontier. It takes a lot of political will to begin the reform of the institutional environment and a lot of skill to change the nature of institutional reform as the country approaches the institutional frontier. The lack of solid and independent institutions reduces Montenegro's absorption capacity for this project, i.e. its ability to process and transform the said resources and advantages into higher employment and social safety. Participation of the relevant non-state actors could also alleviate the lack of administrative capacities that reduces Montenegro's ability to absorb the resources and benefits generated by the Platform. Should the project succeed, our interviewees agreed, the citizens of Montenegro could expect, among other, a very significant impulse towards increasing employability and adaptability of the workers and removal of institutional barriers that stand in the way of new jobs," Koprivica said.

market and social policy. Thirdly, the Platform could generate synergies, or the use of different resources from different countries to achieve institutional innovations, for which we will also need the input of the ILO's specialised expertise. Streamlining the costs through joint activities will free up resources that could be reallocated to productive purposes and raise the level of employment," Koprivica explained.

According to Koprivica, the Platform will create three potential benefits for the Western Balkan states and Montenegro in particular. The first in his opinion, is that *Montenegro has scarce budget funds*, and the Platform will provide additional resources for institutional reform in the domain of labour market and social policy, without increasing the fiscal burden and deepening the deficit. Secondly, considering that *a knowledge deficit* constitutes a serious obstacle to institutional development in Montenegro, Koprivica believes that project activities such as regional meetings, bilateral exchanges, development of new instruments and similar, can assist in

the discovery, growth and expansion of specialised and systemic knowledge of the labour law and the types of institutions that are most conducive to the growth of employment, economic growth and social stability. Thirdly, he believes the *Platform has the potential to generate permanent incentive for the government and the responsible institutions to initiate and consistently implement institutional reforms and strengthen the institutional capacities of public administration and associations of employees and employers.*

The authorities have a special responsibility to improve the effectiveness of these institutions, as the flexibility of labour and welfare institutions, i.e. their ability to adapt to the problems that arise from the evolution of the system, depend above all on the quality of political institutions. The expert public must therefore help to dispel the misconceptions about the functioning of the labour market and about the labour and social legislation.

The "rEUnion" column seeks to portray the lifestyles of the citizens of European Union who live in Montenegro, as well as that of the citizens of Montenegro living in the European Union. From this number of the European Pulse you will be able to read about the advantages and downsides of living here or abroad, as seen by our friends, neighbours, and relatives.

EU in Montenegro

» *What are you doing in Montenegro?*

Just like most things in the world happen by chance, so I had applied for an internship programme for young graduates sponsored by the Italian Ministry of Foreign Affairs to spend three months in an Italian embassy somewhere in the world. I have done the Erasmus change in Germany, and based on that experience I chose Berlin as the first option and Podgorica as second. The Italian Embassy in Montenegro was looking for a candidate with some background in a Slavic language, and with my BA in Russian language, I said: why not? I could not know that I would be chosen for the appointment in Podgorica. I came here for three months in January 2011 and I never left!

» *Before coming to Montenegro, did you know anything about our country? Can you remember the first time you heard of Montenegro?*

Having studied a Slavic language and taken classes in contemporary history at my department, Montenegro was unknown to me, although I have to admit that my high school taught me little about this country's history. As it often happens in the last school year before *matura*, teachers have to rush the lessons on the world history, especially the world wars and the more recent events. We unfortunately had just enough time to cover the material until the fall of the Berlin wall, and the most recent events enrolling on the other side of the Adriatic were left out.

» *Do you remember your first encounter with Montenegro, what were your initial feelings or thoughts? How would you describe the beginning of your life in Montenegro? What was particularly challenging, difficult, was there anyone to help you find your way?*

I arrived in Montenegro on a Thursday afternoon, on 13th January 2011, and the same night I was woken up by the sound of explosions, firecrackers and petards. I really did not know what was going on and I was also a bit concerned ... no one had told me that it was the celebration of the orthodox new year! Afterwards, the life went smoothly. The small but lively Italian community and several Italian-speaking Montenegrin friends helped me to get by with the everyday things and integrate. Now that I speak the language, it really feels much easier!

» *Do you follow social developments in Montenegro?*

What are your thoughts on the reform process taking place in the country, especially with regard to EU integration? Are we doing everything by the book, or would you suggest some improvements?

I believe that the process of European integration is bringing changes to the country, whether in the end the country ends up being a full member of the EU or not. The goal - membership of the EU - is not the only important thing. What also matters are the positive changes that this road brings to the country: this is the most powerful impact that the EU has on the Western Balkan countries. Focussing on the benefits that the process is bringing now and not only on the advantages that Montenegro will have once it joins will make this process smoother, and certainly more meaningful.

» *What are the advantages, and what are the downsides of life in Montenegro compared to your country of origin?*

What I appreciate most about my life in Podgorica is that people find time for their families, friends and passions. In such a small city, people can enjoy some leisure time. I worked for a few years in Milan, and I know well that in a chaotic city like that, where commuting can sometimes take hours, there is little time left to dedicate to favourite activities. Live here is slower but richer in relationships. I also noticed that here young people can really make a change and work in key positions, whereas in Italy my generation is mostly considered to be too young to occupy more influential positions.

» *What, in your opinion, is Montenegro's greatest wealth?*

Its resources - both natural and human. Montenegro has such a diversity of landscapes, of nature, of wildlife that could be utilised in a sustainable manner to attract environment-friendly tourists to show them its mountains, its lakes, the beautiful seaside. Human resources - the Montenegrins that I know are good-hearted, generous, well-educated and enthusiastic, which is not something to be taken for granted. Montenegro should invest in keeping its young human resources in the country and support them in developing ideas for sustainable progress of Montenegro.



Chiara Gaia Iascone, Italy

Montenegro in the EU



Andrija Klikovac,
Montenegro

» *What are you doing in Italy?*

I've decided to continue my education in Italy, primarily because of the desire to obtain adequate knowledge of economics, to perfect the language, learn about the Italian history and culture, and also gain that come from living independently.

» *Before to coming to Italy, did you know anything about this country? Can you remember the first time you heard about Italy?*

I was a child the first time I heard about Italy, as a country of football, later a country of famous Italian movies such as *La vita e bella*, Italian festivals such as San Remo, traditional cuisine etc. Also, I knew that there was a historic bond between our country and Italy. That special tie was queen Elena di Savoia, often known as Elena di Montenegro. One can get the impression based on the Italian stories that our princess Jelena was well respected and a great humanist, as testified by the streets, boulevards and institutions bearing her name.

» *Do you remember your first encounter with Italy, what were your initial feelings or thoughts? How would you describe the beginning of your life in Italy? What was particularly challenging, difficult, was there anyone to help you find your way?*

I visited Italy as a tourist before coming here to live and study, but I was not able to experience it in the right way then. Italy is a country where you have to live, to cross it from north to south, in order to realise that it is a truly unique country, with many specificities and differences. When I came to live in Rome, Italy's largest city, it was rather weird. To come from Podgorica to such a huge city was a big challenge. An even greater challenge was studying in Italian. But thanks to the Montenegrin students there everything was much easier - from finding accommodation, to learning the language to getting to know the city and the society. In Italy I made some real friends and that's something I will remember for the rest of my life.

» *Italy has been a member state of the European Union for quite some time now. Have you identified some European values that Montenegro lacks to become an EU member?*

I think that there are two issues that Montenegro has to work on – promotion of work and professionalism. This is our common goal. Italy is similar to Montenegro, a country full of differences between the north and the south. These are even more pronounced than in Montenegro. However, gaining the knowledge and success based on merit bridges these differences, and it does not matter whether somebody is from Torino, Bari, Naples, regardless of the traditional differences among them.

» *What are the advantages and disadvantages of the life in Italy compared to Montenegro?*

The advantages come from an enormous amount of competition, at the University, in the business sector, and in all other professions. I found this very motivating. The recipe is clear: only hard work will take you to your goal! Historically, Montenegro never understood the concept of work and competition in the right way, and this creates problems to this day, even though things have been improving thanks to the influence of the European Union and better understanding of market needs and quality requirements. That's why we create prejudice, because we don't accept the competition and we don't respond to it by work and improvement. The disadvantages of life in Italy concern the young people who have difficulties in a labour market that has been oversaturated in some areas, and depleted resources that have led to high youth unemployment. The global economic crisis left heavy consequences that are still felt, much more so than in Montenegro. Also, due to the size of their cities and the country itself, communication is more complicated and people are less close to each other than in Montenegro. However, given that we often misuse these close ties in Montenegro, this can even be taken as an advantage of Italy.

European voices from Montenegro

European voices from Montenegro is a social network campaign within the project *Homo Europeanus – overcoming the knowledge deficit on the EU*, supported by the European Union as part of the programme *Europe for citizens*, and implemented partly by the Centre for Civic Education (CCE) as the partner organisation in Montenegro.

The goal of the campaign is to raise the level of information and knowledge by the citizens of the EU and EU-related issues, and to stimulate debate on various aspects of the process of European integration of Montenegro.

You are in for some very interesting facts about the EU, which, we hope, will clarify the way the EU functions, explain the processes taking place inside the EU, bring you news about the current trends and the ways they affect Montenegro as a candidate for EU membership. We offer the citizens the possibility to express their opinion, views, hopes, as well as fears, dilemmas and doubts about the current state the EU, and the challenges and opportunities for its future development.

If you would like to share your thoughts with us and join the debate, join us by leaving your comments on the posts, asking questions and being part of dialogue of the European voices from Montenegro. We are open to every type of comment – pessimistic or optimistic, critical or supportive. We will only not publish insulting or hateful comments.

Let's debate and learn together about the EU and the process of European integration in Montenegro!



Petar Đukanović

“The idea of integration into the European union is important to me because it offers me the possibility to become part of a wider community, overcome the narrow national identity and expand it by the European identity, which is more diverse, open, and tolerant, and therefore broad enough to make me feel comfortable and content. The European identity carries the values of democracy, human rights, multiculturalism, solidarity and equality and all those values are close to me personally.

The European Union today is facing many challenges in developing its inner potential, as does Montenegro on its path towards the EU. To my mind, the best way to overcome the challenges on both sides is education that supports the promotion of European values and identity and encourages civic activism. Educated and active citizens play the key role in improving the national democratic systems in the states that aspire towards EU

membership, and in overcoming the problem of democratic deficit and other obstacles to mutual understanding and cooperation that hinder the development of the European Union.

Join the campaign *European voices from Montenegro*. Share your thoughts with us, and join the debate on the EU and the Montenegro's EU integration!“



Isidora Radonjić

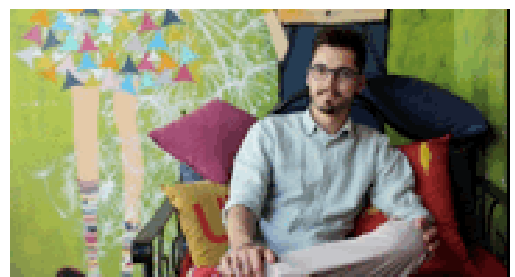
“During my Bachelor studies I had the opportunity to live for two semesters in Warsaw. Through the Erasmus Mundus Programme I studied history at the Institute of History of the University of Warsaw. This experience helped me to expand my knowledge in different areas and to improve my English, as well as to learn Polish. I have met many people from all over the world. Studying in Europe and in Montenegro are very different experiences. Those who stay at home unfortunately do not get a chance to experience the real joys of the student life. Young people in the EU are much more active during their studies, almost all of them work in addition to studying. The culture of travel is different due to the cheaper travelling options which the students can actually afford. In terms of the quality of education and student activism, I'd say that we are lagging behind Europe quite a lot, but the situation is slowly changing for the better. I hope that in the future more young people will go abroad to study and then put their

knowledge to use here to improve the life in Montenegro.”



Mina Kalezić

“When it comes to European integration, it would appear that our country is doing well. However, in order to become a member of this supranational institution, Montenegro will have to face a lot of challenges, and do much more, especially in terms of adopting the EU values, such as multiculturalism, the rule of law, respect of fundamental human rights and freedoms. However, citizens have to understand that not everything is up to institutions, and that they must also make an effort to adopt these values. After all, the citizens are the key to everything and act as the main engine of a democratic society! Once the citizens of Montenegro understand that they are also part of the process of European integration and that they have an important role in it, I am sure that our course to the EU will run faster and smoother.”



Vučić Ćetković

“The European Union is like a canvas - a space of unlimited opportunities”.

PROTECTION OF WHISTLEBLOWERS IN THEORY AND PRACTICE

Centre for the development of non-governmental organisations (CRNVO) organised a conference in Podgorica on 4 March 2016 in cooperation with British embassy titled *"Protection of whistleblowers in theory and practice"*. By opening the gathering, **Ana Novaković**, executive director of CRNVO, pointed out on three key problems when it comes to whistleblowers in country and in region: still unexamined application of law on the protection of whistleblowers, poor motivation of potential whistleblowers to report the illegalities and general relation of general public to whistleblowers. **Ian Witting**, ambassador of United Kingdom, reminded of the importance of whistleblowers, who put their professional and private life at stake in order to solve crucial problems in the society, thus emphasising the necessity of their protection. In this regard, he reflected on the experience of United Kingdom. Minister of Justice, **Zoran Pažin**, stated that Montenegro made progress in the improvement of legislation related to protection of whistleblowers and that the current focus is on the implementation of same, which will be one of the greatest challenges in the following period, given that corruption and organised crime are two greatest problems of Montenegrin society. The following whistleblowers from country and region shared their experiences at the conference: **Višnja Marilović** from Sarajevo and **Milisa Dragović** from Podgorica. **Mina Kalezic**, programme assistant, attended the conference on the behalf of Centre for Civic Education (CCE).

SEMINAR ON SOCIAL ENTREPRENEURSHIP

NGO Juventas organised a seminar on social entrepreneurship from March 7-10 2016 in Podgorica, whereby the lecturers were **Boško Nenezić** from CEMI, **Milena Kalezic** from PR Centre and **Goran Radisavljević**, executive director of Timok youth centre from Serbia. During this training, the participants - representative of civil sector in Montenegro, discussed on the significance of social entrepreneurship and its development in world and region. They were introduced to development of business plan, SWOT analysis, as well as with the challenges of entrepreneurs. **Isidora Radonjić** and **Mina Kalezic**, project assistants, participated on the behalf of Centre for Civic Education (CCE).

IMPORTANCE AND CHALLENGES OF EDUCATION OF YOUNG PEOPLE FOR ENTREPRENEURIAL CULTURE IN MONTENEGRO

Centre for Civic Education (CCE) organised a panel discussion *European framework of key competencies for life-long education - Importance and challenges of education of young people for entrepreneurial culture in Montenegro*, in cooperation with Entrepreneurial club of Gymnasium „Slobodan Škerović” - "Žica" on 25 March. Entrepreneurial education plays an important role as the propellant of positive social changes and development, while in Montenegrin primary system of education, this subject is only present in the form of inter-course topic. It also plays an important role through the education on sustainable development, while in secondary education, entrepreneurship exists as an elective course. In secondary vocational education, entrepreneurial education is an integral part of the curricula of vocational subjects. As an example of good practice, they presented the work of Entrepreneurial club of high school "Slobodan Škerović" titled "Wire", conducted under the tutorship of coordinator and professor **Milena Pajović**, which ranked on 7th position among 49 other clubs on a recently completed European competition in Slovenia. During the panel, she, along with the members of entrepreneurial club **Marija Boljević** and **Jovana Nedović**, presented the experience from working in entrepreneurial club, participation on the fair, and stressed out the importance of connecting and exchanging young entrepreneurs with peers from other European states. They also presented part of the product of their work and some of the numerous successful actions which were implemented in their school. **Petar Đukanović**, Programme coordinator, briefly presented the programme Europe for citizens as an opportunity for schools to secure the funds necessary to promote different aspects of education and topics that are relevant in European frameworks, whereby entrepreneurship is of special importance. Panel discussion is part of the activities of project *Homoeuropeanus - Overcoming the Knowledge Deficit on EU*, conducted by the CCE in partnership with 14 European organisations.

FIFTH ANNUAL SEMINAR ON THE PREVENTION OF GENOCIDE

Sarajevo hosted the fifth annual seminar *"Building the resilience and inhibitors against cruel crimes: a common agenda for prevention"* on March 9 and 10 2016, in the organisation of Centre for post-conflict research (CPI), in cooperation with the United Nations. Participants were the representatives of civil sector from the territory of former Yugoslavia. The aim of this seminar was for the selected organisations from region to formulate their suggestions in the form of joint recommendations for the Secretariat of United Nations (UN), and consequently for the representatives of

governments and members of UN. CPI and UN Office consolidated the list of relevant organisations from the Balkan region which aspire to involve in this activity as future alumni of organisation. Based on the discussion and presentations of representatives, they came up with a conclusion that they are ought to work on the improvement of regional cooperation between the organisations that deal with related topics with the aim of improvement of the results of work, as well as with the Office of UN. Afterwards, participants received the document with adopted recommendations, for the needs of further analysis. **Isidora Radonjić**, programme assistant at CCE, participated the seminar.

CONSULTATIONS ON THE AMENDMENTS FOR THE ESTABLISHMENT OF EQUAL CHANCES FOR ALL MEDIA

Representatives of Centre for Civic Education (CCE) – **Boris Marić**, senior legal advisor, **Ana Nenezić**, coordinator of EU programme and **Daliborka Uljarević**, executive director, held the meetings with the MPs of Socialist People's Party (SNP), Democratic Montenegro, Civic Movement URA, Social-Democratic party (SDP), Liberal Party (LP), Croatian Civic Initiative (HGI), Democratic Party of Socialists (DPS) and Positive Montenegro, during March, on the proposal of CCE's amendments on the set of media and related laws. According to the conducted consultations, CCE expects that the proposed amendments, in legally prescribed form, will be the subject of parliamentary procedure. Amendments were prepared with the aim of establishment of equal opportunities for every media in Montenegro through the precise regulation of approach to public funds and financing of media from the budget of Montenegro, and they present the result of several years of research and analysis, both national and international, which CCE conducted. More precisely, the amendments were prepared within the project *"Regulation of equal approach of media to public funds in Montenegro"*, which is a part of regional project "Media observatory for South-Eastern Europe", conducted by regional partnership of ten civil society organisations, lead by Peace Institute from Ljubljana, with the financial support of European Union.

CERTIFICATES AWARDED TO PARTICIPANTS OF VI AND VII CYCLE OF PEP

World-renowned Peace Education Programme (PEP) completed its ten-weeks long VI cycle of workshops in April, and VII in June, while the workshops were in Centre for Civic Education (CCE). Certificates for successful participation were awarded to 53 participants of VI cycle, and 34 participants of VII cycle. Workshops were diverse and stimulating, while the materials for this programme offered the selection from key topics on which **Prem Ravat**, world-renowned expert in this area, spoke before the international public. Objective of PEP is to help participants explore the possibility of their own peace and discover their inner capacities – tools for life such as inner strength, possibility of choice, gratitude and hope. Each workshop consisted of several videos, reflection time and the accompanying reading material. CCE implements the Peace Education Programme within its educational programme *"Contemporary tendencies in critical thought"*, while the workshops are facilitated by the manager of PEP for Montenegro, Mrs **Caroline Jovičević**. New, or VIII cycle of PEP workshops, will be conducted from October 2016.

«EUROPEAN CAFE» IN 2016

Centre for Civic Education (CCE) organised a meeting on 13 April 2016, in cooperation with Friedrich Ebert Stiftung, within the *«European café»* project between the representatives of non-governmental organisations and oppositional parties, in light of the negotiations between the European Union and Montenegro, on the subject "Do European values live in Montenegro and how does the civic opposition advocate for them?". Guests were **Miodrag Lekić**, president of DEMOS, **Aleksa Bečić**, president of Democrats of Montenegro and **Dritan Abazović**, vice president of Civic movement URA. During the second meeting, held on 18 May 2016, titled *"European Union and Western Balkan – yesterday, today or tomorrow?"*, civil society activists spoke with **Jozo Radoš**, MP of European Parliament and member of Stabilisation and Association Parliamentary Committee of EU and Montenegro (SAPC). The objective of *«European café»* is to create a platform for open and fruitful informal discussion which would complement the improvement of cooperation between civil society organisations and institutions, intensify the communication, identify the existing challenges and define the proposal to overcome them, as well as inform on special aspects of accession process of Montenegro in EU, through the discussion of representatives of NGO in Montenegro and different actors of that demanding and complex process.

CCE ALUMNI OF PRESTIGIOUS MARSHALL MEMORIAL FELLOWSHIP PROGRAMME VISITED MONTENEGRO

Centre for Civic Education (CCE) once again hosted this year's American participants of prestigious Marshall Memorial Fellowship programme in Montenegro from 15-20 April 2016. During their stay in Montenegro, the participants had the opportunity to get to know more about the potentials and challenges of Montenegro, by visiting its various parts, by learning about Montenegrin history, but also of contemporary cultural expressions, as well as about current social-political and economic situation, with emphasis on Euro-Atlantic integration and rule of law. In this regard, they had meetings with various decision-makers, including: **Ranko Krivokapić**, Speaker of the Parliament of Montenegro; **Aleksandar Damjanović**, President of the Committee for Economy, Finance and Budget in the Parliament of Montenegro, **Vesko Garčević**, National Coordinator for NATO Accession; **Genci Nimanbegu**, President of Albanian Council and MP of FORCA in the Parliament of Montenegro. Furthermore, they met with high officials of US Embassy in Montenegro, as well as with representatives of foreign investors who manage some of the largest projects in the state, then with representatives of successful Montenegrin entrepreneurs, artists, media and NGO sector. Delegation of American Marshall Memorial Fellowship 2016 was consisted of: **Ajenai Clemmons**, Managing Partner in The Policy Shop LLC from Washington; **Jason Esteves**, Lawyer specialized for corporate law and litigation matters in Equifax in Atlanta; **Sean Gray-Lewis**, Assistant Director in Goldman Sachs Business Program from Detroit; **Tatuye Topa Najin Win (Tatewin) Means**, Attorney General in Oglala Sioux Tribe from South Dakota; **Olivia Mendoza**, Director of Office of Economic Development and International Trade from Colorado; and **Dylan Orr**, Chief of Staff in the Office of Disability Employment Policy at the US Department of Labor from Washington.

LANGUAGES AND NATIONALISMS

On 21 and 22 April 2016 the Centre for Civic Education (CCE) hosted the first of four regional expert conferences on LANGUAGES AND NATIONALISMS, with two debates titled respectively *"Does every nation in Montenegro speak a different language?"* and *"What is the point of increasing the language differences"*. The conferences will be organised in Podgorica, Sarajevo, Belgrade and Split. Dr **Hanka Vajzović**, linguist and MP in the Parliament of B&H, moderated both rounds of debate. Participating in the debate were writer **Balša Brković**; PhD student in Semiotics at the Department of Linguistics, Faculty of Philosophy in Zagreb **Bojan Glavašević**; socio-linguist Dr **Slavica Perović**; PhD student in cultural studies at the Faculty of Political Sciences of the University of Belgrade **Nađa Bobičić**; linguist and professor at the Faculty of Philosophy, UOM Dr **Rajka Glušica**, and Dr **Josip Baotić** from B&H. Around 100 interested experts from the academic community, media, NGO sector, culture and etc, attended the debates. The project LANGUAGES AND NATIONALISMS is a result of a two year long expert missions and partnership of the Belgrade Association Krokodil, Association Kurs from Split, Centre for Civic Education (CCE) from Podgorica and PEN Centre of B&H from Sarajevo. It was supported by Allianz Kulturstiftung and Forum ZFD.

STATE OF MEDIA AND MEDIA FREEDOMS IN THE WESTERN BALKANS

Ana Nenezić, Programme coordinator for EU integration at the Centre for Civic Education (CCE), spoke in the European Parliament on 21 April 2016, during a hearing organised by the ALDE group on the topic *"The state of play in press and media freedoms in the Western Balkans"*. Her presentation outlined the key characteristics of the media scene in Montenegro and the problems faced by the media outlets, and stressed the importance of the media and non-governmental sector for development of a society. Vujošević also presented the CCE's research on soft censorship and the lack of transparency in the public financing of media in Montenegro. She noted that the government interference in the work and reporting of the media could be reduced through improvement of the legal framework and its adequate implementation, which in turn could revitalise the media scene in Montenegro.

HOMO EUROPEANUS –TRAINING FOR CITIZENS' ACTIVATORS

A training in civic activism was organised in Skopje from 31 March to 4 April 2016 as part of the project Homo Europeanus, in which the Centre for Civic Education (CCE) is involved as a partner. The training was led by the NGO European home from Slavonski brod (Croatia), through its programme *Europe for citizens*. During the training,

the participants presented their organisations and their activities, and then worked on development of own campaigns. Each of the designed campaigns should be conducted in the participants' countries of origin, and should introduce the citizens to civic activism and the European Union. Representatives of the CCE at the training were: **Miloš Knežević**, coordinator of the youth group, **Mina Kalezić**, programme assistant and **Dina Abazović**, volunteer.

ELIAMEP AND CCE TO PROPOSE A NEW EVALUATION SYSTEM FOR MONTENEGRIN HIGHER EDUCATION INSTITUTIONS

As part of the project *"Only Knowledge should Get you the Title"*, Centre for Civic Education (CCE), in cooperation with the Hellenic Foundation for European and Foreign Policy (ELIAMEP) organised a series of meetings between ELIAMEP's experts Dr **Dimitri Sotiropoulos** and Dr **Ioannis Armakolas** and representatives of different educational institutions in Montenegro. During their two-day visit to Montenegro, Dimitri Sotiropoulos, PhD, professor at the University of Athens, and Ioannis Armakolas, PhD, professor at the University of Macedonia and manager of the South East programme in ELIAMEP, met with the representatives of the University of Montenegro, University of Mediterranean, University of Donja Gorica, Council for Higher Education, Ministry of Education, Council for Qualifications, Students' parliament, MAPSS, as well as with representatives of several departments. In addition to the two experts, the ELIAMEP-CCE delegation consisted of **Daliborka Uljarević**, CCE Executive Director and **Mira Popović**, CCE programme associate. A part of the activities under the project *"Only Knowledge should Get you the Title"* is to draft a proposal for a new system of evaluation of university departments and programmes at the higher education institutions in Montenegro. The meetings were an opportunity for the Greek experts, who have plenty experience in this area from numerous EU member states, to learn directly about the challenges of higher education in Montenegro with regard to the application of the legal framework, harmonisation with the European area of higher education, and other related issues. The conclusions derived from these meetings and the study of background material will allow the experts to prepare a joint proposal ELIAMEP/CCE proposal for the improvement of the evaluation system in both public and private universities, and thus lay the foundations for an adequate system of evaluation of the professors by their students, as well as a system of external and internal evaluation of academic staff and universities overall. The project *"Only knowledge should get you the title"* is implemented with support of the EU Delegation to Montenegro, with co-financing from the Commission for allocation of part of revenue from the games of chance and the Heinrich Boll Stiftung.

INFORMATION MEETINGS FOR NGOS FROM THE NORTH, SOUTH AND CENTRE OF MONTENEGRO

Centre for Civic Education (CCE) organised information sessions on 16, 17 and 20 May for representatives of local civil society organisations (CSOs) in Kotor, Berane and Podgorica. The sessions were part of the project **"Think locally – Act locally! – Fight against corruption at local level"**. Montenegrin CSOs had the opportunity to learn about the conditions of the call for project applications within **"Think locally – Act locally – Fight against the corruption on local level"** frame, which opened in the beginning of May. Apart from the technical part of the application, where they were introduced to the procedures and the amount of funds available for projects, CSOs were informed about the areas, topics and eligible activities for this call. The project **"Think locally – Act locally! – Fight against corruption at local level"** aims to foster the participation of civil society in the implementation of anti-corruption policies through monitoring, reporting and watchdog activities at the local level in Montenegro. More precisely, the objective of this project is to increase capacities of small civil society organisations (CSOs) in MNE to monitor anti-corruption strategies and activities at the local level through exchange of information, experience and financial support. The project is implemented by the CCE, in cooperation with NGO Bonum from Pljevlja, NGO Inkubator from Kotor and NGO Centre for investigative journalism from Podgorica, with support of the European Union through the EU Delegation to Montenegro via IPA 2015.

24 YEARS WITHOUT JUSTICE FOR THE WAR CRIME "REFUGEE DEPORTATION"

Representatives of the Centre for Civic Education (CCE), Human Rights Action (HRA) and Centre for Women and Peace Education ANIMA, laid flowers before the Security Centre in Herceg Novi on 27 May 2016, paying their respects to the victims and commemorating 24 years since the war crime against citizens who were fleeing Bosnia and Herzegovina was committed on the Montenegrin territory. As a result of this crime, popularly known as "Refugee deportation", the majority of refugees were illegally deported in May 1992 and

sent to their death. During the ceremony, **Tamara Milaš**, CCE Programme associate and spokesperson of the Coalition for REKOM for Montenegro, said: *"The manner in which the Montenegrin judiciary had processed this case unequivocally demonstrated that the judiciary still lacks the professional courage to do its job by the law, and that the political influence is too strong, certainly strong enough to impede investigation and adequate processing of the war crimes. In fact, the case "Deportation of refugees" is one of the biggest defeats of the Montenegrin court system"*, Milaš concluded.

EU ENLARGEMENT AND THE BERLIN PROCESS: WHAT ROLE FOR THE CIVIL SOCIETY?

Daliborka Uljarević, executive director of the Centre for Civic Education (CCE), spoke at the event organised on 26 May 2016 by the European Policy Centre (EPC) from Brussels, in cooperation with European Fund for the Balkans, on the subject *"EU Enlargement and the Berlin process: What role for the civil society?"*. The policy dialogue was organised in the European Policy Centre in Brussels, and also featured contributions from **Andris Kesteris**, Principal Advisor for Civil Society and Media in DG NEAR, **Niccolo Milanese**, Chairperson of European Alternatives, **Dane Taleski**, Visiting Fellow at the Centre for Southeast European Studies at Graz University, **Igor Bandović**, Senior Programme Manager of the European Fund for the Balkans, and **Corina Stratulat**, Senior Policy Analyst in the European Policy Centre, who also moderated the debate. At the Western Balkans Summit in Vienna last year, the representatives of civil society organisations (CSOs) from the Balkans were, for the first time, given the opportunity to get involved in the Berlin process by presenting policy recommendations. Follow-up initiatives, such as this meeting, aim to strengthen the capacity of civil society actors in anticipation of the upcoming Western Balkans Paris Summit this July, which will also provide space for input from the CSOs as part of the Civil Society Forum. The focus of this discussion was to evaluate the readiness of civil society to make use of the possibilities granted by the Berlin process, as well as the challenges that the civil society in the region faces. The event gathered around 40 representatives of the Council of European Union, European Parliament, European Commission, diplomatic missions to the EU, Belgian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, as well as of influential civil society organisations with headquarters in Brussels.

DIPLOMAS AWARDED TO THE PARTICIPANTS OF THE XXVII GENERATION OF DEMOCRACY SCHOOL

Participants of the XXVII generation of *Democracy School* received their diplomas at the ceremony organised on 13 June 2016. The School is run by the Centre for Civic Education (CCE) with support of the Friedrich Ebert Stiftung. The participants who successfully finished the programme were awarded diplomas by **Daliborka Uljarević**, CCE Executive Director and **professor Dr Radovan Radonjić**, moderator of the School. The thirty successful participants came from various areas of the Montenegrin social lives, including political parties, governmental institutions, media, NGOs, students and others. The programme offered them an opportunity to attend lectures of prominent national and foreign professors, representatives of legislative and executive authority, NGO sector, journalists, independent institutions, diplomatic corps, etc. Diplomas were awarded to: **Aldan Ramović, Aleksandar Bulatović, Aleksandra Dujović, Anka Odović, Belma Šestović, Bojan Ćuzović, Dejan Dragović, Dijana Mitrović, Dženana Kuč, Haris Banda, Ivica Vukčević, Jakša Vuković, Jelena Kontić, Jovan Dašić, Katarina Bošković, Ljiljana Milović, Marija Jovčić Stanković, Marko Bajčetić, Marko Korać, Mileva Jovović, Milica Joksimović, Milosava Cerović, Perko Mijatović, Petar Dabanović, Petar Josifović, Samira Resuljović, Samra Radončić, Selma Korać, Vladan Vlahović and Željko Stanković**. The continuous interest this programme had been attracting from the very beginning, and that lasted for twenty-seven generations of the school so far, is encouraging, and it demonstrates that there are citizens in Montenegro who are willing to become socially engaged and actively participate in the social and political life of the country, as well as work on developing their own capacities. The programme was established in 2003, and so far it was successfully completed by **765** citizens of Montenegro.

ON HUMAN RIGHTS WITH YOUNG PEOPLE

Miloš Knežević, Coordinator of the Youth Group of the Centre for Civic Education (YG CCE), organised on 28 June 2016 in the American Corner of the CIC "Budo Tomović" a workshop on human rights with emphasis on the rights of LGBT persons. The participants were representatives of FLEX Alumni Montenegro, a high school exchange programme. The workshop, organised along the principle of a discussion club, was meant to familiarize the fellows with the concept, history and evolution of human rights, as well as with the problems of discrimination of marginalised groups, multiculturalism and tolerance in Montenegro, and especially with the still particularly challenging position of the persons of different sexual orientation within the Montenegrin society. 20 representatives of FLEX Alumni Montenegro participated in the workshop. Previously, on 13 May 2016, Knežević was the guest of the Student parliament in the gymnasium "25 May" in Tuzi, where he held a workshop for the students and teachers of this school on the role of students' parliaments and volunteer clubs in the prevention of peer violence. He introduced the participants to the concept of peer violence, the way it originates, the various forms it can take, and its consequences, as well as the ways to recognise it and take an active stand in the fight against it through peer education, activities of students' parliaments and volunteer clubs, as well as other mechanisms of protection and reporting of specific cases to the teachers and school's services. The workshop on peer violence was attended by 30 students and professors, and was the second event of this kind organised on the initiative of **Damir Suljević**, representative of the students' parliament of gymnasium "25 May" and former participant of the Human Rights School, organised by CCE with support of the administration of gymnasium in Tuzi.

GO FOR GREEN-GO SHORT FILM!

CEE web for Biodiversity is hosting the 2016 edition of their annual Short Film Competition and seeking for films focused on agriculture, circular economy and the benefits of Europe's nature. The organisers of Green-Go Short Film Contest are waiting for attention grabbing short films focused on agriculture, circular economy and the benefits of Europe's nature. The purpose is to find films that raise awareness about specific problem or show a solution. Make a film in the following three themes that has a high impact on citizens and decision makers and calls them to act so our world becomes a better place to live.

You can participate in these categories:

- » Small is beautiful – Make a film about issues caused by intensive agriculture or small-scale farming solutions
- » Round'n'round – Shoot a film and raise your voice for the sustainable use of our planets resources and benefits of circular economy
- » Act naturally! – Make your stance for European nature

Open for all young creative people interested in making short movies preferably between 60 and 90 seconds, focused on agriculture, circular economy and the benefits of Europe's nature.

Deadline: 31 October 2016

For more information, please visit: <http://greengofest.eu/>.

BARCELONA WORKSHOP ON REGIONAL AND URBAN ECONOMICS

AQR-IREA is pleased to announce the 2016 Barcelona Workshop on Regional and Urban Economics, to be held in Barcelona on October 27-28, 2016. The workshop will be focused on innovation and the spatial diffusion of knowledge with emphasis in collaboration networks. Its aim is to bring together researchers in urban and regional economics who are working in topics where the broad concept of the geography of innovation plays a fundamental role.

Particular attention will be paid to papers dealing with the mechanisms and actors of knowledge diffusion (knowledge spillovers, networks, technological collaboration, and knowledge relatedness). Although the Workshop will focus on empirical papers, theoretical studies are also welcome.

Travel and accommodation costs for presenters of accepted papers will be covered by the organizers.

Deadline: 9 September 2016.

For more information, please visit: <https://workshop2016aqr.wordpress.com/call/>.

INTERNATIONAL STUDENT CONFERENCE IN SKOPJE

Having two successful student conferences from the previous two years, the Faculty of Economics and Administrative Sciences at International Balkan University in Skopje is delighted to announce its 3rd student congress that will be held in Skopje, Macedonia. The main theme of the student conference will be “Contemporary Leadership- Challenges and Opportunities”. The purpose of the congress is to gather 50 international and a number of domestic students that are going to present and discuss the contemporary issues of today and share their researches and knowledge related to a variety of topics offered by our three faculties.

Some of the given topics to write a research paper are:

- » Leaders of Today versus Leaders of Tomorrow – Comparison of Examples from the Leaders from the Past with the Leaders of the Future;
- » Political Leadership – Comparison of Types, Styles and Approaches;
- » Systematic Approach to Transformational Leadership;
- » Leadership Management – Team Building, Gender Differences, Cultural Diversity and Ethics.

Deadline: 20 August 2016.

For more information, please visit: <http://www.ibu.edu.mk/isc/>.

INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE DEVELOPMENT AND DEMOCRACY

The International Conference Development and Democracy is a leading event on development cooperation in the region. Through stirring the wider professional and academic debate, the conference addresses the most pressing current global challenges and facilitates discussion on innovative approaches in the global efforts to Leave No One Behind. Root causes of poverty and instability in the world need to be addressed if we are to successfully deliver on the SDGs and ambitious 2030 Agenda. Academic and non-academic contributions are invited in a wide range of topics underlying issues associated with development cooperation.

Deadline for full paper submission: 8 September 2016, and registration of those, who are wishing to present a paper, is available until 30 August 2016.

For more information, please visit: http://www.nadaciapontis.sk/data/files/DDA%20konferencia/D&D_2016_Call_for_Papers_final.pdf

CHALLENGE FUTURE: MARKETPLACE FOR YOUR CREATIVE & INNOVATIVE GOODIES

C:F Marketplace emerges as a movement, to create a space for the best creative minds – artists, designers, authors, illustrators, craftsman, innovators or entrepreneurs. A place to connect, share ideas and grow a new vibrant network. It offers you the opportunity to become a real celebrity and engage your work with a community of more than 36,000 youths across the world.

In particular, they:

1. *Featured article on www.challengefuture.org about your work* (the review being prepared from the creative fingers of our very best writers);
2. *Conduct a short interview with you* (tell your story, how did you start, what inspires your work, what stimulates you to do your art or business);
3. *Promotion and dissemination of your work to our huge family across the world* (to more than 36,000 members registered on the challenge: Future platform, to more than 10,000 followers on our Facebook, Twitter and LinkedIn channels).

Eligibility: artists, designers, authors, illustrators, craftsman, innovators or entrepreneurs. Applicants must be registered members of the C:F platform.

The admissions to the C:F marketplace are accepted on a rolling basis. First 5 to 10 most successful applicants will be selected until 31 August 2016. Next roll will follow in autumn.

For more information please visit the official website.