

European pulse

Electronic monthly magazine for European integration

No 114, March 2015

FOCUS OF THIS ISSUE

Will the complaints of EC and EP regarding impunity in war crimes compromise Montenegro's path to Europe

Interview

Macedonian analyst
Branko Gorgevski

Challenges in the EU

Is Energy Union possible?



Foreword: Resignations



Vladan Žugić

In late March, the Croatian Minister of Culture **Andrea Zlatar Viočić** resigned after the state audit office found that she and the employees of her ministry have taken around 150.000 kuna (EUR 20.000) to cover their travel costs in advance and without proper documentation.

Also in late March, the Slovenian Minister of Education **Klavdija Markež** resigned because of a scandal in which the media close to the opposition accused her that she plagiarized her master thesis which she received in 2005 from the private Faculty for Administrative and European Studies. According to the media, 37% of Markež' text was taken from a paper of a graduate of the state Department of Economics.

Meantime, our Ministers **Sanja Prof. Dr Vlahović** and Suad of the human and minority rights are hanging onto their offices for dear life. Minister of Science Sanja Vlahović copied two thirds of her 2010 thesis from the UK professor **Dimitros Buhalis**, as reported by Vijesti and as confirmed by Buhalis himself.

What Numanović did is not only legally wrong, but altogether hard to believe. During weekends, the Minister replaces the official licence plates of his ministry car with private ones! This sounds more like a piece of news from an exotically named former soviet republic than as something from a country that is leading the Western Balkans in European integration.

Vlahović and Numanović are only the latest examples of the lack of democratic, moral and political accountability in Montenegro.

If one could be held responsible in Montenegro for a paltry EUR 20.000 and obscure scientific plagiarism, I'm afraid our administrative capacities would be even weaker! Joking aside, the process of European integration proceeds parallel with the process of advancing democratic values. It was not so long ago that Croatia and Slovenia, whose ministers are today resigning because of 20.000 in unsubstantiated travel claims and plagiarism, were headed by prime ministers – **Ivo Sanader** and **Janez Janša** – who merely shrugged off all accusations from the opposition and the media. Today, both they and their associates are in prison.

Calendar

- 5 March **Meeting on the prosecution of war crimes** / The Supreme State Prosecutor **Ivica Stanković** talked to the independent EU expert Mauricio Salustra about prosecution of war crimes. "The two parties agreed that in order to attain tangible results in the fight against corruption and organised crime it is necessary to ensure proactive cooperation between prosecution and police", said the Prosecutor's office.
- 11 March **Balkans could stray from the European road if the EU doesn't pay more attention** / Prime Minister **Milo Đukanović** told the audience in Stuttgart that the Balkans could easily stray from the European road if it doesn't get the proper care and attention from the EU, and especially from its key member states such as Germany.
- 11 March **EP adopts Resolution on Montenegro** / The European Parliament (EP) adopted by an overwhelming majority a Resolution on the progress of Montenegro in 2014, which states that the government must show political will in fighting organised crime and corruption. Among other, the document warns that the political influence on judiciary must be reduced and calls for effective investigation and punishment of war crimes.
- 19 March **Drobnić: This should be the year of tangible achievements** / Montenegro is deep into the process of EU accession talks, and 2015 should be the year of tangible achievements, said the head of the EU Delegation to Montenegro **Mitja Drobnić** at the presentation of the results of the project "National convention on the European integration of Montenegro".
"Opening of the negotiations is only one part of progress – the other is in the effective implementation. We expect 2015 to be the year of results", Drobnić said.
- 30 March **Two new chapters opened** / At the inter-governmental conference in Brussels Montenegro opened two new negotiating chapters with EU, bringing the total number of opened chapters to 18, out of which two have already been closed. The newly opened chapters are 30 – International relations and 16 – Taxation. With the opening of negotiation chapter on International relations, Montenegro will have to give up all bilateral trade agreements, while in the Taxation chapter the EU will require more efficient tax collection.

Montenegro – a good news story



By: Charles Tannock
The author is the European
Parliament Rapporteur on
Montenegro

The leading country in the EU enlargement process, the poster child of the Western Balkans, a good news story – these are all epithets that have been ascribed to Montenegro to describe its ongoing bid to join the European Union, and as Standing Rapporteur for Montenegro in the European Parliament for a second term they are sentiments that I share.

Having now opened sixteen of the negotiating chapters and provisionally closed two, Montenegro is far ahead in the regatta of any of its peers in the region. These chapters included the all-important Chapters 23 and 24, which now underpin the entire accession process as part of the overall balance clause, as well as Chapter 31 regarding foreign policy. In this regard, I particularly welcome Montenegro's efforts and note that it has fully aligned its position with EU Member States in applying economic sanctions against Russia in response to the ongoing situation in Ukraine. Similarly, Montenegro is supporting the coalition against Islamic State in Iraq and Syria and has proposed a law criminalising those who join foreign, non-state actor militant groups.

The Commission's Progress Report highlights a number of areas where Montenegro has made progress and the joint resolution to be voted on by the Parliament this week echoes much of that. The election of Ivica Stanković in October last year as the Supreme State Prosecutor, after a process lasting eighteen months, is a particular success. As a key part of Montenegro's judicial reform overcoming the obstacles in the election process has symbolic value and should be used as the basis for pushing ahead with further reform of the wider judicial system, particularly in terms of the appointment process, career development and disciplinary procedures for judges.

As we look forward to 2015 there are a number of areas where Montenegro is able to build on existing progress. As is noted in the Progress Report, incidents of violence against journalists and media premises have continued but this year has seen a decrease in the number of those incidents and I am pleased that

the Parliament's resolution has noted this fact. The Government has set up a commission to investigate such incidents and it will be important to see those recommendations implemented. Ensuring a free press is not only of value in its own right but is also vital in Montenegro's battle against corruption.

Much has been achieved at the legislative level with laws adopted on anti-corruption, lobbying, public procurement and removing conflicts of interests. It will now be important in the coming years to support the implementation of those laws. With this in mind, the Agency for Anti-Corruption should take a proactive approach and should be provided with sufficient funds to do so. A free press which pursues all avenues of investigative journalism that is able to observe the implementation of those laws and highlight cases where they are falling short is invaluable and can contribute much to the fight against corruption.

As Montenegro works towards joining the EU, it should not be forgotten that it is also working to become a member of NATO and 2015 has the potential to be the year that Montenegro is invited to join the alliance. Montenegro is working towards reaching the 2% of GDP threshold for defence spending in the medium term and I fully support their membership.

Montenegro's commitment to the EU accession process is strong and it will be important to retain cross-party support for this regardless of splits on domestic issues. The European Acquis sets tough benchmarks for membership and there is still much to do before Montenegro can meet all of the criteria but it remains on the right track to doing so. As the country moves towards elections in 2016, it is important that the focus this year remains on fighting corruption and organised crime, improving the rule of law and bolstering press freedom.

Source: www.europeandwesternbalkans.com

Can EC's and EP's reminders of Montenegro's unresolved war record influence its path to the EU?

We can't close our eyes to the war past



By: Svetlana Pešić

This month's arrest of eight persons in Serbia on charges of having committed a war crime in Srebrenica in 1995 against more than 1.000 Bosniak civilians is a painful reminder of how little the judiciary in the region as well as in Montenegro had done to prosecute the war crimes. The judiciary currently in office in Montenegro so far looked into the cases "Bukovica" and "Deportations" which concern the exile of Muslims-Bosniaks from the territory of Montenegro in the early 1990s. Dating from the same period are cases "Morinj", concerning crimes against Croatian citizens interned in that camp during the assault of Dubrovnik, and "Kaluderski laz", a case of shootings at the convoy of refugees from Kosovo in 1999.

It is unclear whether even these cases would have been broached if it weren't for a continuous pressure from the civil society and the media, while most of the Montenegrin opposition turns a blind eye to the war crimes committed in the period when most of the current political elite from DPS were already in power.

It is encouraging that in the last two Progress Reports the European Commission (EC) sent a powerful message to the Montenegrin authorities that the victims and perpetrators of the war crimes must not be forgotten. Furthermore, the problem of impunity for war crimes was given due attention by this year's Resolution of the European Parliament on Montenegro. Together, these indicate that

This month's arrest of eight persons in Serbia on charges of having committed a war crime in Srebrenica in 1995 against more than 1.000 Bosniak civilians is a painful reminder of how little the judiciary in the region as well as in Montenegro had done to prosecute the war crimes

confrontation with the past might be one of the preconditions for Montenegro's membership of the EU.

"Montenegro needs to step up its efforts to fight impunity for war crimes, and effectively investigate, prosecute, try and punish war crimes in line with international standards", states the 2014 Progress Report. The EC warned that Montenegrin courts "take a rather formalistic approach" to this issue, and repeated the findings from the last year's Report that charges of command responsibility, co-perpetration and aiding and abetting have so far not been brought. EC expert **Mauricio Salustro** visited Montenegro on 22-24 October 2014 when he held a series of meetings and analysed the available documents to assess how Montenegro was dealing with the war crimes. Salustro analysed the actions of the prosecution in cases "Morinj", "Bukovica", "Deportations", "Kaluderski laz", the murder of the Klapuh family and case "Štrpci". In his assessment, however, he only commented on the cases "Morinj", "Bukovica" and "Deportation", because "Klapuh" and "Štrpci" cases have been closed before 2008



It is encouraging that in the last two Progress Reports the European Commission (EC) sent a powerful message to the Montenegrin authorities that the victims and perpetrators of the war crimes must not be forgotten

Dubious charges and lack of familiarity with the international humanitarian law

Lawyer **Goran Rodić** told *European Pulse* that out of 30 persons accused of committing war crimes only four have been convicted, all others being cleared of charges. According to him, all trials have been characterised by rushed charges, without proper evidence and with dubious definitions of war crimes, as well as by insufficient familiarity with the norms of the international humanitarian law.



Goran Rodić

“Command responsibility is not regulated by our criminal code, and this area, which is linked to the international criminal and humanitarian law, is mostly ruled by ignorance and misinformation. However, it is still possible to prosecute command responsibility through the domestic legislation, if there is enough will to do so”, Rodić said.

He said that the existence of war crimes can only be established by the legal procedure, i.e. it is the court decision that establishes a certain event as a war crime or another criminal act.

“This surely requires the knowledge and will and persistence in investigating the said events which are suspected to have characteristics of war crimes. If we demonstrate enough seriousness and expertise in such investigations, I see no reason why there should be any delays in Montenegro's progress towards the European Union”, Rodić said.

when the current judiciary institutions were established, while “Kaluderski laz” is still in the appeal process. Expert Salustro noted that there are currently no open investigations of war crimes and that, according to his sources, no further investigations are expected. According to Salustro, Montenegrin judiciary did not make an effort to investigate war crimes, it does not have

Out of 30 persons accused of committing war crimes only four have been convicted, all of them in the “Moringj” case

a pro-active approach to try and identify possible suspects, and cooperation with colleagues from other states should not rest on informal, general requests. None of these cases, he observed, was open at the prosecutor's initiative and the lack of new cases “shows that the prosecution did not develop a strategy in relation to the war crimes”, but only “responds to criminal charges submitted by individuals or various institutions”. The fact that they did not initiate a single case cannot be held against the Special Prosecutor for war crimes as they were only formed in 2008, but Salustro holds them responsible for the charges, as trials in all these cases were initiated well after the establishment of the Special Prosecutor's Office.

However, deputy Special Prosecutor **Lidija Vukčević**, told *European Pulse* believes that “there are no ‘obstacles’ to

the prosecution of war crimes in Montenegro”. *“There are some difficulties in collecting the facts and evidence, which have also plagued prosecutors in other countries dealing with similar crimes, and which are the consequence of the fact that the witnesses, victims of war crimes and even the potential perpetrators reside in other countries of the region or abroad, and that material evidence has been destroyed or is held by other states or their institutions. Thus the identification of the victims and witnesses (due to their change of residence) and collection of evidence is made more difficult and has*



Lidija Vukčević

Deputy Special Prosecutor Lidija Vukčević told the European Pulse that the Prosecution has so far supplied enough evidence for several convictions in the cases of war crimes in Montenegro

Government continuity one of the key problems

Centre for Civic Education (CCE) programme associate and port-parole of the Coalition for RECOM in Montenegro **Tamara Milaš** says the cases of war crime prosecution so far have not only demonstrated a formalistic approach, but also inadmissibly strong political influence on the legal bodies, resulting in underspecified charges for war crimes and failure to establish responsibility which only further hurt the victims.



Tamara Milaš

"If we bear in mind that the people who were in the leading position during the war years are the same ones leading Montenegro today, it is clear that these individuals have no interest in such issues rising to the fore and becoming subject to a serious process of apportioning responsibility to those who are directly responsible for the crimes committed. Years of government continuity is one of the main reasons for the failure of the judiciary to investigate command responsibility as a unique form of responsibility of superiors, those who were in a decision-making position during the war years, and who knew or ought to have known of these crimes and did nothing to prevent or punish them. It is a fact that we have victims of war crimes, which makes it obvious that we must also have the perpetrators and their superiors", said Milaš.

Milaš notes that in the two most important chapters of the negotiations it will be impossible to circumvent the unpopular themes, and the state must deal with them too. *"The latest Progress Report by the European Commission warns that there must be political will and commitment on the part of judiciary to fight against impunity or insufficient action against war crimes. All such observations made in the last two reports, as well as in this year's Resolution of the European Parliament clearly indicate that the official Brussels has carefully followed the development of these cases, their outcomes and consequences, and I believe this will have a profound impact on Montenegro's path to the EU", Milaš said.*

to be pursued through requests for international legal assistance", Vukčević said.

According to her, the Prosecution has so far supplied enough evidence for several verdicts in war crime cases in Montenegro. *"Had there been enough evidence to raise charges against other individuals in the existing cases on the basis of command responsibility, co-perpetration and aiding and abetting, the prosecution would have, of course, raised charges against these persons. Nevertheless, we should not underestimate the importance of verdicts that have been passed in these cases so far, and the decisions made by the Montenegrin courts", Vukčević said.*

In his analysis of the work of the Montenegrin courts, Salustro notes they have taken a fairly formalistic approach to the definition of crimes described in the war crime charges.

The arguments presented in the justifications of legal actions undertaken in these cases are at times contestable, and in some cases outright untenable. For example, he found that in the "Morinj" case the court definitely took inappropriate decision in issuing sentences below the legal minimum, citing attenuating circumstances such as no prior record, family status, etc. which are inadmissible given the acts they were sentenced for (beatings, placing the gun in the mouth of the victim, shooting next to the victim's head, simulating executions etc.). The final verdict sentenced four members of the Yugoslav National Army reserve to a total of 12 years in prison for a war crime against Croatian prisoners of war in the Collective centre Morinj. "Morinj" case is the only one which ended in a sanction against the defendants.

Analyst Branko Gorgevski on the scandal that is shaking Macedonia

“Bomb” for the institutions

The problem of Macedonia, and I believe of other countries in the region, is that its political representatives did not have the necessary capacities to create societies in line with the desires and expectations of the citizens. They only had, and still have, some personal capacities the consequences of which we are witnessing today, said Macedonian analyst **Branko Gorgevski** in the interview for *European Pulse*.

» *To what extent has the fact that Greece effectively interrupted Macedonia's path to the EU 7-8 years ago affected the stagnation or backsliding of the democratic processes in Macedonia? Montenegro was then trailing Macedonia and looking up to it – today, it is the other way around, although the pressure on the media and the civil sector in Montenegro is strong, the corruption is widespread, and the judiciary is under political influence.*



Branko Gorgevski

It is indisputable that Greece's blockade over the use of the name “Macedonia”, irrational and unjustified as it is, caused enormous damage. If it weren't for that, Macedonia would be by now well ahead in Euro-Atlantic integration. However, I am not one of those who would seek in that the justification for all the woes of the democratic processes in my country. Why would the Greek obstruction be the reason for the ruling parties to continuously interfere with the appointment of judges, or with the court processes, to decide who will win the big and important and even the most meagre of tenders, and even who will get to enrol his or her child into a prestigious school or an overbooked kindergarten? All of these are issues where everything depends on us and our awareness. Do we really need the EU to see that? Do we need it as some tutor who will force us to respect knowledge, quality, impartiality and competition, because we are so “naughty”?

» *How would you summarize the affair “Bomb”? It all started when the opposition party Social-Democratic Alliance published recordings of an exchange between the prime minister Nikola Gurevski, head of UBK Saša Mijalkov, who is a close cousin of the*

prime minister, and other party and state officials, all of which contain indications of alleged corruption and nepotism. And now, the negotiations between the government and the opposition are being mediated by the European Parliament.

This is only the latest episode of the implacable struggle between political opponents who are fighting to death, and now is the time to get worried. For the current affair, the most important thing is to discover who is behind the mass wiretapping – a foreign service with local agents linked to the opposition, or the government itself?

» *What do you expect will happen?*

I doubt we will get credible information, because whatever ends up being the official story will be distrusted by a good number of citizens, just like many of them will continue to believe that the recordings were faked. The problem is that the logic and procedure have been undermined – the legal process which should have resulted in a credible decision is already violated. Some exchanges have been leaked to the public without authorisation – the opposition claims they are genuine, and the representatives of the prosecution and judiciary are following the instructions of the ruling party. On top of that, there are now counter-recordings on the youtube from the meetings between the opposition leaders and the prime minister, apparently obtained through special investigative measures. All of this suggests that the citizens should not expect a legal epilogue to a situation in which the capital evidence has been rendered untrustworthy. Without a legal solution, we will have to find a political one, obviously with the help from Brussels, which ranks Macedonia on par with countries that are unable to solve their own problems.

» *So, everybody loses?*

The biggest losers in this scandal will be the Macedonian institutions, which have already lost much of the citizens' trust due to political manipulations over the years. It is especially jarring that a large wiretapping operation has been under way in the country for four years, with no one the wiser.

I am especially concerned about the government's

claims that the wiretapping was executed by a yet unnamed foreign service. If this is true, this means that somebody is playing with Macedonia, its future, its regime change, direction of the state...all that in connection with scenarios that are being worked out for this region in the cabinets of some key players on the global political scene. Being part of somebody else's plans is not a good feeling, especially when you hear the recording of the Minister of Finance telling his colleague from Interior Affairs 'the guys from Brussels really don't like us...'.

» The EU seems to have reacted to the "Bomb" affair, sending a demarche to the Macedonian government, only after the ambassadors of five EU member states received alleged evidence that they too have been wiretapped by Macedonian secret services. What is your view of the role of EU in Macedonia and the Balkans? Would you say that the expectations of the pro-European public have been disappointed?

At times I too wonder at the fact that the European idea still holds such attraction in Macedonia. However, I think that despite the injustice of the great European powers towards Macedonia in the past, and the great injustice against solidarity they have shown in tolerating Greece's blockade of Macedonia's euro-integration, the European idea remains popular among the Macedonian citizens because they see it as the solution to all uncertainties that are still plaguing the country. And there are many such fears and uncertainties – whether we will survive as a state, whether we will ever live better and earn more than the current average of 320 euro a month, the lowest in the region.

All of that makes the European idea very attractive to the majority of the population. However, it doesn't mean that they don't notice all of these other moves that can only lead to disappointment. Such are, for example, the attitudes of some of the most influential countries that we should simply change the name of our country to appease Greece, or the obvious advantage some countries in the region get on account of their geostrategic position rather than their progress on Copenhagen criteria. This "pragmatic" approach of the EU does not go unnoticed.

Every country in the region knows well where and how it has been sold short – we all know why the EU can afford to heat with cheap Russian gas

Instead of democracy, rule of dear leaders and their apparatchiks

» Why is there so much idiotization and passivity of the public in Macedonia and the Western Balkans? There is practically no reaction among the citizens to the everyday corruption scandals, lack of accountability...

We can look for answers in various places, from the soap series served in the electronic media to the individual human flows. But all of this is first and foremost exposed to the external influence of the dominant atmosphere in a typical West Balkan society and state. To me, the most influential and detrimental factor which engenders, nurtures and maintains this idiocy and passivity is the partitocracy of these states and societies. We have to admit that two and a half decades after the fall of the one-party regime and introduction of democracy we have not been able to grow into a viable civil society where the ability and knowledge of an individual will be the key to his or her success and progress. Instead, everything still depends on the party affiliation, the link to party pork barrels etc.

The extent to which the parties have forced the citizens to depend on the good will of their leaders and apparatchiks is terrible, and they do not miss any opportunity to remind them of it. As individuals, the citizens are every day reminded of what they could lose if they take up some undesirable activity. What else is left but to make yourself passive and ignore the scandals and affairs? The only alternative to keeping quiet is going abroad. The number of young people that has chosen this path already speaks volumes about the results of our version of democracy.

but the Balkans can't, and are forced to forgo the new gas line; we also know why the US is sending us messages that our country, as well as our region, is in the "first line of fire" in the conflict for influence over this part of the world between the West and Russia.

V.Žugić

Disease strikes olives, Italy opposes felling



The EU member states are divided over how to halt the spreading of a plant disease that has afflicted olives in southern Italy and threatens to eliminate around million trees.

Some countries, like Spain and France, are worried that the bug could spread to their olives and orchards and are campaigning to destroy the diseased trees, while others, including Italy, insist on a “softer” approach. Italy is the second largest producer of olive oil in EU, after Spain. In late March, experts from all EU member states met in Brussels to discuss ways to prevent the spreading of *Xylella fastidiosa*, but failed to reach an agreement, reported EurActiv.com. “Italy alone cannot block the move ahead” because the decisions require a majority vote, said an unnamed European official. EU’s study shows that at least 10% of around 11 million trees in the most heavily afflicted Puglia region have succumbed to the disease. The disease has no cure for the moment, and will eventually kill the trees. Italian olive production has already received a heavy blow in 2014 from the spread of *Bactrocera oleae*, a fruit fly which attacks olives, lays eggs inside the tree trunks, damages the fruit and gives the oil a strong wooden taste. 2014 was also the poorest harvest year in Spain in nearly ten years, due to winter frosts and summer draught. All of this combined is likely to result in a sharp increase in the price of olive oil.

Ireland to call diaspora back



Ireland, which has officially emerged from recession, started a campaign to call back its citizens who left the country after the outbreak of the crisis in 2008. The government wants to return as many as possible of the 240 000 Irish people who left the homeland to try their luck in Australia, New Zealand or in Canada. They are counting on good economic indicators, such as the economic growth of 4.7% in 2014. “Emigration was devastating to our economy. We need these people to come back home” said the Irish Prime Minister **Enda Kenny** at the presentation of the new plan for diaspora.

Haloumi – a cheese that can(not) unite Cyprus



Popular haloumi cheese has become a significant source of income for Cyprus and an incentive to overcome the differences between the Greek and Turkish communities on this divided island. If they wish to protect the “golden goose” from imitation, like the French did with their Roquefort, they will have to reach an agreement on the control of production. The Turkish part of Cyprus wants separate production control for this part of the island, and the official Nicosia warns about the alleged secretive talks that are being held about it in Brussels by a number of EU member states. Haloumi is an important economic item for both parts of Cyprus and one of the main sources of export earnings. In July 2014 the producers submitted a request to the EU for the protected geographic origin label for haloumi, which in only a few years has turned from a local craft product to Cyprus’ prime export. The cheese is eaten in salads, grilled or barbecued, and is a favourite with vegetarians.

Croatia soon to apply for entry into the Schengen area

Long border, difficult neighbours

On 1 July 2015 Croatia will apply for entry into the Schengen area. The technical requirements have been met, says the Government in Zagreb. Everything else is a matter of European politics. European Commission's inspectors are expected in early 2016. On the technical side, over the last ten years Croatia doubled the number of border policemen of which there are now 6.400. By the end of the year the remaining 120 million euro from *facility funds* should be disbursed to cover the purchases of equipment that is still missing, such as the helicopters and the sea and river fleets. At the same time, Croatia is preparing collection centres for foreigners and setting up long-range cameras to control the sea.

And while the minister of interior affairs **Ranko Ostojić** and prime minister **Zoran Milanović** maintain that Croatia is ready to join the Schengen zone, few believe that this process will be swift and painless. This is above all because of the experiences with Bulgaria and Romania, which fulfilled all the formal conditions set by the EC, but are still waiting for the border to move. If we add to it the specificity of the Croatian border, as well as the growing worries about terrorism in the EU, even the most up-to-date equipment and top-notch human resources may not be enough to move the EU member states to make their decision faster. Even the Croatian citizens, it would seem, are not too

eager to move the Schengen zone to the borders with BiH, Serbia and Montenegro.

Exaggerated threat of Islamic terrorism?

Analyst of the internet news portal Obris.org **Igor Tabak** warns that the Croatian borders have largely emerged during the wars and often follow the lines set by natural barriers such as rivers and mountain ranges. And while border control is easier in the former case, in the latter it is far more difficult to monitor sparsely populated, inaccessible stretches of land. "In the last few years, Croatia tried hard to strengthen the control of its borders. We got a lot of equipment from our partners, including Germany, and the border police has been strengthened precisely for these purposes", Tabak said.

Professor of the Department of Philosophy in Zagreb, the leading Croatian expert on terrorism and international security **Mirko Bilandžić** also points to the specificities of the Croatian border. Over one thousand kilometres of this border are shared with BiH, which has recently been discussed more and more frequently as a possible terrorist stronghold. He agrees, however, that the level of security attained in the last few years meets all the requirements of the Schengen area. Bilandžić says that Croatia's history has proven that it can act as an external shield for EU, and that the country has been intensively dedicated to the process of developing the system of national security for the last 15 years. "The anti-terrorist system has been strengthened by entry into the Euro-Atlantic structures and by Croatia's position as a member of the International Coalition for the Fight against Terrorism. There is another aspect to this: I feel that the EU has been exaggerating the threat of Islamic terrorism, real as it may be. At the same time, there is reluctance to recognise the fact that in the last few years terrorism has been happening inside the EU, and that it is not an imported item. If we analyse all cases from the 2005 attack in London to the most recent events in Paris, we can see that this is a home-grown issue. This means that the Schengen agreement is not a solution to the problem of terrorism, but





a part of it. This means that Islamic radicalism should not be the main concern in the event of Croatia's accession to the Schengen area", Bilandžić said.

According to the analyst Tabak, the border depends on the situation on both sides, and he considers BiH to be, in some ways, a European problem. "This is a country where the international community helped to stop the war, but in exchange it created a state formation which is barely functioning. This is not conducing to security and regular everyday functioning of the border. Besides, such chaotic areas open up the space for the groups which are anything but welcome".

He believes Islamic radicalism should be taken seriously. "An exceptionally high number of BiH citizens were interned in Guantanamo. Many of its citizens also went to fight in Syria and Iraq. Some of them came back, and every once in a while a flag of the 'Islamic state' is flown in one of its enclaves. These are all symptoms of a broader problem inside the Muslim community in BiH, although the community is mostly moderate. But we cannot disregard these issues and Croatia must take it into account when it presents its application for Schengen", Tabak said.

Even the powerful EU members have maritime problems

On top of everything else, Croatia also has a maritime border which is over 6.000 kilometres long and which Dr Bilandžić believes to be successfully guarded. "This is an enormous area that has to be guarded. I would say that Croatia

is capable of that, but we should put things in context. We have seen much more powerful EU members struggle to protect their maritime borders. Just think of all the illegal migration coming from the politically troubled regions of North Africa, especially towards Italy but also towards other countries, such as Spain. This should not be the reason to discriminate against Croatia. The risk is no lesser nor greater than that borne by the most powerful EU members, which are forever struggling with it. There is no mechanism to ensure absolute security".

According to Tabak, there is no problem with the inner sea, which is guarded by the maritime police, port authorities and the Coastal Guard. The latter, he said, has been incorporated into the Croatian Navy. The problem, he says, is the extraterritorial sea where the Coastal Guard is the only authority. "Its integration into the Navy is a rational choice, but the EU doesn't like it, and the Coastal Guard has great difficulties accessing the EU funds. Nevertheless, the system continues to live up to the basic performance standards".

As for the airforce, Tabak says, it is as good as can be afforded by the country. "They can maintain air-policing, but not much more. As this is what is required for the entry into the Schengen area, that is all we need. Even the things we are doing fairly well could be improved with the right technology and better paid workforce."

Source: Deutsche Welle

Chapter 27: Environment



By: Petar Đukanović

In the field of environment, the European Union aims for sustainable development. This means that short-term economic gains at the expense of environment ought to be replaced by a sustainable model of economic and social development as the basis for greater efficiency and competitiveness. European strategy for sustainable development, adopted in 2001, is based on coordinated development of common economic, social and environmental policies. It lays out a cluster of main targets to limit climate change and increase reliance on renewable energy, in order to counter threats to human health, manage the natural resources better and improve transportation system.

Environment policy in the European Union begins to develop from the seventies onwards, as a consequence of the rising awareness that industrialization and development cannot and should not be at the expense of the environment, and that environmental resources are limited and cannot be exploited indefinitely. Today environment is one of the most complex EU policies and the protection of environment and sustainable development are the key values aimed at preserving the environment for the benefit of current and future generations. European

Environmental acquis is made up of over 200 key legal acts covering the horizontal regulations, which include more general documents aimed at preserving and improving the environment, as well as sectoral legislation, dealing with the more specific issues of environmental policy, such as the quality of air, waste management, quality of water, control of industrial pollution, climate change, sound pollution, civil protection etc. Environmental policy belongs to the group of so-called shared competences between the EU and the member states. In practice, this means that the EU will address an issue in this field only when it estimates that the issue cannot be adequately addressed by a single member states or by an inter-governmental alliance. This is the so-called principle of subsidiarity, which does not mean decentralization of decision-making, but implies that decisions are made on the level that is optimal for addressing a certain problem of implementing a solution. For the 13 East Central European member states, the last to join the EU, the investments necessary to comply with the environmental protections standards have been estimated at EUR 80 to 120 billion.

The focus of the EU's environmental policy is *prevention* – damage to the environment should be halted as much as possible at the very source and the polluters should pay for the damages, in line with the notion of environmental externalities. Furthermore, *responsibility* is determined by the EU's directives, as well as the options of criminal prosecution of the polluters. The body in charge of overseeing and collecting information on these matters is the European Environmental Agency. It provides the member states with technical, scientific and economic information concerning the protection of environment.

The negotiation process on this chapter stipulates that Montenegro should fully incorporate EU regulations on environment into its legislation and implement it consistently. So far a number of directives and international documents have been



transposed into the national legislation, such as the Rio Declaration on Environment, the Aarhus Convention, the Kyoto Protocol etc.

The process of EU integration in the field of environment will take place on three levels: regulatory harmonisation, development of administrative and institutional capacities and securing financial resources. The environment chapter is extremely demanding in both financial and administrative terms, and it also requires a well trained and well equipped judiciary and administrative structure. It is estimated that just the process of legal and regulatory alignment with EU in the area of environment during the pre-accession period will cost Montenegro around a billion euro. The process will continue with the accession to EU, and the overall costs of alignment by 2030 could climb to several billion euro. However, despite enormous costs, the experience of EU member states suggests that investment in the environment brings long-term benefits to all sections of society. Some forecasts suggest that direct economic benefits by 2030 could be nearly 2.4 times larger than the costs of alignment in this field.

A clearer picture of what still needs to be improved in the field of environment in Montenegro will emerge after the completion of the screening process, once the two parties have compiled a list of regulations that ought to be aligned with the EU law and implemented in the upcoming period. The screening will help to set the benchmarks for the opening and closing of negotiations in this chapter.

The European Commission 2011 Progress Report on Montenegro notes some progress in alignment and implementation of *acquis* concerning environment and climate change. It also states that the most progress was achieved in adopting general regulations on waste management and environmental preservation, as well as in ratification of several international documents in this field. The lack of strategic approach to environment, reflected in the absence of detailed action plans for environment with well defined short- and long-term goals and budgetary forecasts for their



- *EU recycles around 60% of its waste – Montenegro less than 10%;*
- *Every Montenegrin citizen produces on average 330kg of waste every year (excluding tourist waste), and this figure is expected to reach 450kg by 2020;*
- *In 2010, the EU introduced a ban on plastic bags in order to reduce pollution;*
- *Polluters are fined and can be subject to criminal charges because of the damage to environment*
- *Reliable insight into the state of the environment and oversight over implementation of the environmental rules would be nearly impossible without membership of the European Environmental Agency and other relevant EU institutions;*

implementation is considered a challenge. There is still confusion in the division of responsibilities and overlap in competencies of institutions charged with protecting the environment. Montenegro's most serious problems are in the area of waste treatment, including the most hazardous wastes, such as the potentially highly infectious medicinal waste. At the moment there is only a single modern sanitary facility for waste collection, whereas most of the waste is currently disposed in open-air landfills and inadequate locations which do not meet the most fundamental prerequisites for the



protection of human health and environment. There are no recycling facilities in the country. The number of convictions for violations of environmental regulations is low, and the sanctions for such violations too lenient. The number of investigations against violations of environmental laws is extremely small, and none of the processes initiated for severe violations of such provisions has been completed. According to the Commission, this is a sign that the level of implementation of such laws is extremely low.

Montenegro lacks expert and depoliticised administrative capacities to implement the reforms, especially in the departments dealing directly with the implementation of the laws in this area, as well as in the inspectorates which oversee the implementation. The shortcomings are evident both with regard to the sheer numbers as well as the specific knowledge and skills of the employees. The spending on environment is low. The latest revision of the budget envisages that 0.13% of the money will be spent on environment, which puts Montenegro well behind the EU, where environment accounts for around 2% of the member states' public spending.

The current situation in the field of environment is a consequence of the overall negative social and economic trends, and is unlikely to improve until the situation improves on this fundamental level. However, some of the problems are also the result of the weakness of various links in the system of environmental protection. In order to overcome

these challenges, it will be necessary to clearly divide responsibilities between the line Ministry, Agency for Environmental Protection and other relevant bodies and local governments. Alignment with the EU standards on environment will cover nearly all spheres of the Montenegrin society, and the success of this process will thus depend on the efforts and commitment of all its members. The key precondition for the preservation and improvement of the environment is a high level of environmental awareness among the citizens, which in turn requires continuous education campaigns. Crucial elements, without which it will be difficult to attain adequate results, are consistent application of sanctions, strengthening of the capacity of relevant institutions and their reorganisation to ensure better vertical and horizontal coordination. Involvement of the expert and wider public in the preparation of environmental legislation would also contribute to their quality. Increased investment in the environmentally relevant infrastructure is another key precondition for systemic improvements in some areas (waste water, municipal waste etc.) and no strategic goals can be attained without it.

It is already clear that through the process of alignment and implementation of regulations on environment Montenegro will ensure high environmental standards, thus contributing to the protection of health and generally higher living standards of its citizens. Thanks to a better environment, Montenegro will also be able to improve its standing as a tourist destination. High environmental standards serve as incentive for environmental innovations, and there is a chance that Montenegro's economy and industry will consequently increase its competitiveness in the European as well as world markets. Reduction of the risk of environmental accidents is however impossible without significant investment and creation of a system of risk management in line with the EU rules and practices.

You can read more about this and other negotiation chapters at <http://media.cgo-cc.org/2013/10/ocemupregovaramo.pdf>

Jean Claude Juncker is pushing for a European army, but is it realistic?

European army with no ammunition



By: Vladimir Vučković

President of the European Commission **Jean Claude Juncker** recently stressed the need to create “EU armed forces” in order to adequately address the security threats both in the European continent and in the world. According to Juncker, the creation of a strong and effective EU foreign and security policy would be aimed at establishing lasting peace and security among the EU members, but also among its neighbours, and dissuading any state that fails to accept the current geopolitical and geostrategic reality from armed intervention.

Juncker’s initiative for the creation of European armed forces is not new: it first arose during negotiations for the European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC) in 1951. After Monroe’s plan and the creation of ECSC, the first steps towards institutional integration of the European defence systems were taken through the Plevén’s plan, which established the European Defence Community (EDC). However, even though the proposal for the Treaty on the European Defence Community was signed in April 1952 and ratified by parliaments of five out of six countries which initially made up the ECSC, members of the French parliament refused to ratify it, and the idea fell through.

A renewed impulse to set up a European security system came from the USA in 1954, when the West European Union (WEU) was created. Adoption of the Treaty of Maastricht and the creation of the EU on 1 November 1993 marked a turning point in the functioning of the West European Union. The creation of the Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP) turned WEU into an integral part of EU’s development. The 1992 Petersberg Declaration is crucial for

Initiative for the creation of European armed forces dates back to the negotiations for the European Coal and Steel Community in 1951

development of the European defence system, as it lays out all post-Cold War tasks to be carried out by the West European Union, as well as the possibility to participate in humanitarian and other rescue operations, peacekeeping missions and crisis-management operations.

Following the adoption of the Petersberg Declaration, in 1992 WEU took part in the monitoring of UN-imposed embargo against FR Yugoslavia, and in 1993-1996 in the first joint WEU-NATO SHARP GUARD operation, controlling the international embargo against import of weapons in the Adriatic.

During 1998, the European Security and Defence Policy (ESDP), an integral part of the EFSP, was strengthened further. The need for stronger security ties between the West European allies, through the European Security and Defence Identity (ESDI) came as a result of the post-Cold War changes on the old continent and the EU’s efforts to act independently from NATO and the USA in the field of security and defence. Adoption of the Franco-German Potsdam Declaration (1 December 1998) represents the first official bilateral document which defines the sphere of activity for EU ESDP. The declaration states that EU member states should develop as soon as possible the defence capacities that would be supported by European or NATO’s security and defence mechanisms. Saint Malo Declaration (1998) goes a step further and is much more specific on the role and goals of the ESDP, defining the EU as a global actor. However, the first visible steps in the creation of a functional ESDP have been taken at the summing of EU member states in Cologne (Jun 1999) where they adopted the Declaration, stressing that the Union “ought to have the capability for autonomous action backed up by

The EU implemented a large number of military and civilian operations: Concordia and Proxima (FRY Macedonia), Altea (BiH), Artemis (DR Congo), as well as operations in Chad, Darfur/Sudan and Central African Republic

Internal economic crisis, financial and economic inequality of the member states, euro's devaluation against the dollar, the question of the new EU enlargements, the demand for greater outlays for military modernisation and the need to counter the US' opposition to the doubling of armed forces between the EU and NATO are only some of the issues that must be resolved by the European leaders before they can tackle the challenge of institutionalization of European defence

credible military forces". On that occasion, the scope for ESDP was broadened, with the EU now tasked with "fulfilling its mission in the field of conflict prevention and crisis management". However, the biggest step in the direction of institutionalisation and operationalisation of EU's military capacities was made at the meeting of the European Council in Helsinki (December 1999) when the member states set the so-called headline goal. The purpose of the set headline goal is to establish military mechanisms that would adequately respond to the challenges to international security and stability. Further, the member states decided to create European Rapid Reaction Force (RRF) by 2003, with significant military capacity (up to 60.000 soldiers that could be mobilized within one month and deployed for up to one year).

The Capability Commitment Conference in Brussels on 20 and 21 November 2000 goes one step further in the strengthening of EU military capacities within ESDP. It established the so-called Headline Force Catalogue to implement the agreement reached at Helsinki and create operative armed forces by 2003. This also required voluntary contributions of military resources by EU member states (100.000 soldiers, 100 ships and 400 fighter planes). Attention was also paid to the international crises that could be resolved by civilian means. Thus, at the meeting in Santa Maria de Feiri (19-20 Jun 2000) the EU member states set out four priority notions for civilian crisis management: policing, the rule of law, civil administration and civil protection.

Parallel to the reforms in political and military fields, the EU soon had a chance to demonstrate the degree to which it had accomplished the Petersberg tasks,



given the amount of civilian and military capacities it had been developing. So far, the EU implemented a large number of military and civilian operations: Concordia and Proxima (FRY Macedonia), Altea (BiH), Artemis (DR Congo), as well as operations in Chad, Darfur/Sudan and Central African Republic. We can conclude that the need for integration of the European security and defence space is nothing new in the European history, and that all preconditions for turning this concept of united European armed forces into reality have already been met. With its commitment to the declared European values and established political and cultural legacies, EU has defied its critics who accuse it of being an "economic giant, but a military dwarf", and asserted its indisputable presence in all parts of the world where political and economic freedoms have been diminished and human rights endangered. The ongoing crisis in Ukraine only confirms this finding. However, although the crisis in Ukraine has spurred European authorities to think about creating a European army, we should be realistic and emphasise that there is little chance that this military undertaking will be completed in the five year term of the current EC president Juncker.

The internal economic crisis, financial and economic inequality of the member states, euro's devaluation against the dollar, the question of the new EU enlargements, the demand for greater outlays for military modernisation and the need to counter the US' opposition to the doubling of armed forces between the EU and NATO are only some of the issues that must be resolved by the European leaders before they can tackle the challenge of institutionalization of European defence.

Conflict between Russia and Ukraine reignites the debate on Energy Union

Waste of energy



By: Vera Šćepanović

The European Commission has been propagating greater integration of the European energy market for over a decade, but the idea held little appeal for the member state until the recent conflicts between Russia and Ukraine revealed the depth of EU's dependence on its unpredictable eastern neighbour.

But now, the fact that over one third of the EU gas comes from Russia, and the security concerns over Russia's willingness to use gas as a political weapon, opened up a window of opportunity for the European Commission to push through an ambitious proposal for Energy Union. The plan, which the Commission vice-president **Maros Šefcovič** called "the biggest energy project since the Coal and Steel Community," is a wide-ranging vision of harmonisation of the member states' energy markets, which includes market liberalization, greater coordination of the member states' positions towards third parties and efforts to smooth energy flows across border, among other through investments into interconnectors and energy hubs.

At the 19 March meeting of the Council of EU, European leaders generally approved the Commission's proposal, but its conclusions signal a far less ambitious agenda. Most importantly, the Council made sure to emphasise that the member states will retain full sovereignty over the decisions on where to source their energy and in what form, and the mechanisms for forging a common policy towards the third parties remain vague. Differences in bargaining power between the individual member states, different preferences with regard to the energy mix and a lack of common infrastructure are just some of the obstacles that would have to be overcome before the EU can have a truly integrated energy market.

The discussion of joint negotiations for gas

Full integration of EU energy markets may take decades, but the European Commission is used to playing long games

The fact that over one third of the EU gas comes from Russia, and the security concerns over Russia's willingness to use gas as a political weapon, opened up a window of opportunity for the European Commission to push through an ambitious proposal for Energy Union.

contracts emerged as one of the most urgent topics of the Council meeting, advocated by no other than the president of the Council **Donald Tusk**. As the Polish Prime Minister, Tusk has long campaigned for a common negotiating platform for gas supply with Russia, hoping it will win Poland a better deal. At the moment, each EU member state negotiates separately with Russia's Gazprom and although the prices are secret, it is well known that some member states pay more than others. This is especially true of Poland and the Baltic states, who are highly dependent on Russian gas. Germany pays far less, reflecting not only its greater market power but also its geopolitical importance for Russia, and recently Hungary was also able to win a very favourable deal: Russia cut gas prices to Hungary by a third, and in exchange the Hungarians agreed not to sell cheaper gas back to Ukraine. This deal is a blow to EU's efforts to provide some buffer to Ukraine against Russia's energy blackmails, and the European Commission is understandably concerned that such individual deals allow Russia undue influence on EU's foreign policy and undermine energy security of some member states. Already two years ago the EC initiated an EU antitrust investigation against Gazprom, on allegations of "distorting the market" through monopoly power. But the investigation has yielded no results so far, and all efforts to promote joint negotiations have been blocked. Some member states have voiced concerns that joint buying would be against free market rules, and the Council conclusions simply notes the possibility for the member states to engage in "voluntary demand aggregation" but warns that any such initiative must be in line with World Trade

Organisation regulations.

Another proposal – to have European Commission vet all individual contracts between the EU member states and third parties – was similarly removed from the Commission's original plan for the Energy Union. Germany in particular protested that the Commission's oversight would endanger confidentiality of some aspects of the contracts.

The meeting also failed to produce clear guidelines on the diversification of EU's energy supply. This is a huge disappointment for the European Greens, who were hoping that the Energy Union could contribute to the switch away from fossil fuels. Recent developments have been playing into their favour: on the one hand, dependence on oil and gas leaves the EU at the mercy of third countries, perpetuating the threat of supply difficulties. On the other hand, an easy winter which left the EU with plenty of energy reserves, and a drop in the world's oil prices also freed up financial resources to invest more in alternative energy sources. And yet, the interest in the green energy is lower than ever. Whereas ten years ago the Commission managed to impose a binding target of 20% of renewable energies on all member states by 2020, the new target of 27% by 2030 remains voluntary.

The proposal for a binding target was rejected by UK's **David Cameron**, whose country is leading the European states in fracking explorations. But the UK is not alone: France's influential nuclear industry and Poland's reliance on coal are guaranteed to obstruct any joint push towards renewable energy.

Even the proposal on which everybody agrees – the need for greater investment in energy infrastructure – is hampered by practical obstacles and special interests of some member states. The Commission's plan envisages strengthening interconnections between energy grids of the member states. If energy could move more freely across borders, the Union would be more resilient to sudden supply shocks and shortages, and the more integrated market would likely result in greater efficiency and lower prices for the consumers across the EU. After the shut-off of Ukraine from the Russian

EP izražava zabrinutost zbog nedovoljnih napora koji bi trebali biti uloženi u borbi protiv nekažnjivosti ratnih zločina i poziva vlasti da gone ratne zločine "uključujući i one na najvećem nivou"

gas in autumn last year, the EU members closest to Russia already invested a great deal in building up interconnections with other EU member states in order to protect themselves from such events in the future. But the difficulties of building a unified network are enormous. The Commission hopes to have 10% of the total grid in interconnections by 2030, but a similar target has been already set in 2002 and there are still 12 out of 28 member states that have significantly less of their grid connected to the neighbours. This is especially true of the Baltic states, Poland, Spain, Cyprus and Malta, whose share of interconnections is under 5%.

However, while greater interconnectedness of the European electricity networks would in principle benefit everyone, entrenched national interests have resisted full market integration. Spain in particular has been complaining that its efforts to increase interconnectedness with the European grid have been thwarted by France. Spain has invested a lot into developing solar energy and is eager to export its renewable surplus to other EU members, but its position at the periphery of the European continent means that Spain must go through France to reach others. For their part, French energy companies are fearing the competition from cheap energy from renewable energy, and the industry pressure has held up the construction of power lines across the Pyrenees.

All of this suggests that a full integration of EU energy markets may take at least a decade, but the European Commission is used to playing long games. Although their proposal was significantly watered down, the end of the Council meeting, its representatives seemed surprisingly positive. The Council meeting may not have resulted in any concrete decisions, but it gave the Commission the green light to continue developing more detailed policy proposals. The road to an Energy Union may be long, but for the time being it remains open.

The relationship between Government and the non-governmental organisations in Montenegro

On 13 March 2015 TACSO office in Montenegro organised a round table titled *"The relationship between Government and the non-governmental organisations in Montenegro."* The aim of the meeting was the exchange of opinion between representatives of non-governmental organisations and the public sector on the current level of cooperation between the Government of Montenegro and NGOs, in expectation of amendments to the Law on Non-Governmental Organisations and with regard to the Strategy for development of non-governmental organisations. The round table was opened by: **Goran Đurović**, the head of TACSO office in Montenegro, **H.E. Mitja Drobnic**, head of the European Union Delegation to Montenegro, **Marija Vučinović**, Minister without portfolio in the Government of Montenegro and president of the Council for development of non-governmental organisations. The introductory presentation on the topic *Participation of NGOs in the creation of public policies, and the financing of NGOs from public funds* was given by **Ana Novaković**, executive director of the Centre for Development of Non-Governmental Organisations (CDNGO), followed by **Vanja Čalović**, executive director of MANS, who spoke about *Transparency in the work of state institutions towards NGOs* and **Daliborka Uljarević**, executive director of the Centre for Civic Education (CCE) who talked about the *Cooperation between Government and NGOs in the European integration process*. The four-hour discussion resulted in a series of conclusions, recommendations and comments on the upcoming amendments to the Law on NGOs, as well as those aimed at improving the overall framework for the work of the non-governmental sector in Montenegro.

With regard to the *information and participation of NGOs in the development of public policies*, the participants stressed the need for the Government to ensure that the Office for NGOs and contact offices in public institutions have the sufficient number of professional and expert employees, and that information about them is easily available to all interested NGOs. It was also stressed that the invitations to public debates should be timely and well publicised, and that reports from the public debates should contain meaningful responses to the NGOs' proposals, which was not always the case so far. Also, the Government was asked to identify those responsible for the failure to implement the legal regulations on the work of NGOs, or their sporadic implementation always at the detriment of NGOs, and to establish functional mechanisms of apportioning responsibility for the implementation failures to date. It was stressed that the Government must not interfere with the work of the NGO sector or attempt to erect a parallel non-governmental sector.

As regards *financing*, the participants stressed that the new system for the financing of NGOs from public funds should pay more attention to all types of organisations, especially the less developed ones. Some of the recommendations concern the need to ensure participation of NGOs in all phases of IPA programming; redefine the current method of distribution of funds; provide

It was stressed that the Government must not interfere with the work of the NGO sector or attempt to erect a parallel non-governmental sector.

automatic co-financing from public funds of those projects which received support of the European Commission; ensure adherence to the Law on games of chance and allocate at least 1% of the current budget for the financing of NGOs; create tax incentives for NGOs; ensure that all monetary and non-monetary support to NGOs is provided through transparent procedures in communication with the NGO sector instead of behind closed doors, which opens the possibility of abuse and influence on the NGOs. The participants agreed that decentralized financing from the EU funds for civil society would not be welcome in the upcoming period under the present conditions, as the country does not meet the technical or the political requirements for their successful management. The Government was urged to establish a system for the allocation of office space, land and equipment to non-governmental organisations and ensure that the same rules apply to all NGOs, and that access to these benefits is governed by a clearly prescribed, transparent and non-discriminatory procedure that would not undermine the reputation of NGOs (as happened with the non-transparent project "Homes to civil society"). The participants warned that any such assistance to NGOs without a clear legal basis and transparent procedures can be interpreted as an attempt by the Government to undermine the development of an autonomous NGO sector.

Regarding *transparency*, the Government was urged to improve implementation of the laws and other legal acts and ensure even and transparent functioning of this framework by ensuring that the NGOs which are monitoring the work of public institutions have adequate access to information, by rigorously adhering to the Law on free access to information and publishing a much greater number of documents on its and the Ministries' websites. Moreover, the Government was asked to allow full access to information which may be necessary to uncover illegal activities, especially corruption and organised crime; to organise public debates on privatization of strategic companies; and to appoint without delay NGO representatives to the Council for Privatization, as stipulated by the Action Plan for the Partnership of Open Governments. Finally, the participants stressed that the Government has the responsibility to assume a pro-active approach to building an environment in which the NGOs can work free of fears or retribution, as well as to prevent and terminate campaigns against civil society activists that often involve abuse of public resources, institutions and media. Such campaigns are typically undertaken in response to the critical attitudes of these NGO activists towards the manner and quality of the decision-making process and have a deeply negative impact on the cooperation and reasoned discussion that are in the best interest of the public.

S.P.

“Youth build Montenegro” project completed



The project “Youth build Montenegro” implemented by the Centre for Civic Education (CCE) with support of the Embassy of the United States of America has been completed this March. The concluding activities included a visit by the XX generation of Human Rights School to the Committee for Human Rights and Freedoms of the Parliament of Montenegro and a diploma award ceremony to the participants of the School on 26 March 2015. On that occasion, the participants were greeted by the president of the parliamentary Committee **Dr Halil Duković**, who gave them a detailed overview of the responsibilities, organisation and activities of the Committee and stressed that the strengthening of human rights is not the task for a single institution: *“If we wish to strengthen the human rights, we need cooperation – by domestic*

as well as international institutions and organisations”. Deputy US Ambassador to Montenegro **B. Bix Aliu** said he is *“proud that the US Embassy could be part of this project and would like to thank the Centre for Civic Education for doing such important work, as well as the Parliament for hosting us here today”*. According to him *“no citizen is too young to fight for human rights, by holding the authorities and the society accountable, and by showing respect towards others.”* **Daliborka Uljarević**, executive director of CCE reminded that the CCE’s Human Rights School is the oldest still running programme of alternative education for human rights in Montenegro and said that the very fact that the diploma award ceremony is taking place in the Parliament of Montenegro has a powerful symbolic weight, given the importance of the legislative branch for development of human rights. She said that human rights were “the primary responsibility of public institutions” and that “in all efforts they undertake to genuinely improve the state of human rights they will have an ally in the authentic NGO sector, just like they will be criticised by them when they fail to act adequately.” XX generation of the Human Rights School has been successfully completed by 29 high school students from all over Montenegro: **Aleksandar Kaluderović, Ivana Bošković, Emin Niković, Jelena Pavlović, Ljubomir Jokić, Marko Radulović, Anđela Minić, Mirko Đukić, Petar Radulović, Radovan Novaković, Sajma Purišić, Amra Tahirović, Boško Bulatović, Itana Bojović, Samra Pepić, Mileta Ščekić, Ana Miljenović, Ivana Dasković, Kanita Šabanović, Jovana Ivanović, Luka Martinović, Irma Osmanović, Sajma Pepić, Petar Glavčić, Iva Tuponja, Balša Popović, Dimitrije Batričević, Lazar Pejović and Ivan Bošković**.

Moreover, participants in the XIX and XX generation of Human Rights School organised two activities: one aimed at the promotion of the importance of youth volunteering in the secondary mixed school “Bećo Bašić” in Plav, and another on the rights of persons with disabilities in the Cetinje Gymnasium. The goal of these activities was educate high school students about these important topics using peer education and strengthen pro-active activities of youth in Montenegrin schools. During both activities, the organisers donated a significant number of publications to the schools’ libraries.

Support to the library fund of the University Library and the Little Library in the Open

On 25 March Centre for Civic Education (CCE) donated 40 publications (82 copies) from the CCE’s recent publishing activity on democracy, human rights, European integration and active citizenship to the University Library, in order to support the quality of higher education in Montenegro. The publications deal with the current challenges in the Montenegrin society, focusing on different aspects of the process of European integration, as well as the protection of human rights and freedoms and effective fight against corruption. CCE believes that it is important that the faculty of the University of Montenegro, as well as the students, have access to the publications of the non-governmental sector, and especially of those NGOs that are critical towards the quality of public policies and the overall work of the government, as this can only strengthen the academic community at the University of Montenegro and promote critical thinking at the University. CCE also called onto other non-governmental organisations to donate their publications to the University Library.

Also in March, CCE donated 78 publications to the project of opening a Little Library in the Open in Podgorica, implemented by NGO “Our action” and Foundation Our Podgorica in cooperation with NGO “AUT” – Alternative Centre for Youth, thus contributing to the reading, writing and publishing and to the local initiatives that promote such activities.

Visit to Komanski most

As part of its programme School of Human Rights of persons with disabilities, on 19 March 2015 Centre for Anti-Discrimination EKVISTA organised a visit to the public institution for accommodation of persons with intellectual disabilities “Komanski most” in Podgorica. During the visits, the students had a chance to visit a number of areas where the persons with disabilities live, spend their free time and partake of other activities organised by the institution. After the visit, the participants met with **Vaselj Dušaj**, director of the institution, who spoke about the history of the institution, its current activities and cooperation with other similar institutions in the region, as well as the standards the institution must meet in its work. **Željka Četković**, CCE programme associate and **Miloš Knežević**, coordinator of the CCE Youth Group also participated in the visit.

“Zero tolerance to corruption”

MANS Research Centre organised on 19 March 2015 a training directed at the representatives of non-governmental organisations and the media, as part of the project “Zero tolerance to corruption”, supported by the EU. During the programme, **Ines Mrdović**, MANS coordinator, presented the mechanisms and basic tools that can be used to research specific cases of corruption and organised crime. The goal of the training was to present the research tools of the MANS Research Centre, and to provide continuous mentorship to the participants on the specific cases or problems their NGOs are dealing with. CCE programme associate **Svetlana Pešić** participated in the training on behalf of CCE.

Public policy writing and advocacy

Centre for Development of Non-Governmental Organisations (CDNGO) organised between 13 and 15 March 2015 a training for 15 representatives of NGOs from Podgorica and Cetinje, titled “*Public policy writing and advocacy*”. The training was organised as part of the project *Civil society also decides!* that is being implemented with support of the EU, in partnership with the Network of Institutes and Schools for Public Administration in Central and Eastern Europe (NISPAcee) and NGO Bonum. During the training with instructors **Jovana Marović** and **Lidija Knežević** the participants had a chance to study public advocacy through practical examples, its key elements and characteristics, as well as strategies for advocacy, as well as to develop an advocacy action plan through the groupwork. The second part of the training was dedicated to public policies and development of public policy briefs. **Jelena Nedović**, CCE programme assistant, participated in the training on behalf of CCE.

Corruption risks in the defence sector

Centre for Monitoring and Research (CeMI) with support of the Embassy of Canada, organised a round table titled “Corruption risks in the defence sector” on 4 March 2015 in Podgorica. The event was introduced by presentations by **Bojan Šarkić**, secretary of state in the Ministry of Defence, **Kevin Rex**, chargé d’affaires in the Embassy of Canada in Belgrade, **Savo Kentera**, president of the board of managers of the Atlantic Alliance of Montenegro and **Vlado Dedović**, director of the CeMI’s legal department. The host also presented its public policy study “*Assessment of corruption risks in the defence sector*”, a comprehensive analysis of the risk of corruptive activities in the Montenegrin defence sector.

Participants in the first panel “*Corruption risks in the financial management of public procurement*” were **Luid Ljubo Škrelja**, member of the Committee for Defence and Security; **Tomo Miljanić** from the State Commission for Monitoring of Public Procurement; Major **Vladan Martić** from the headquarters of the Montenegrin army, **Stevo Muk**, president of the board of managers of Institute Alternative (IA) and **Ana Selić**, director of department for public policy research in CeMI. The second panel “*Corruption risks in the process of employment, rewards and promotions – implementation of the codes of conduct*” featured presentations by **Svetlana Vuković**, director of the Human Resource Office and **Sanela Dozgić**, Ministry of Defence head of cabinet.

Jelena Nedović, CCE programme assistant, participated in the event on behalf of CCE.

A.V

Antall József Summer School in Budapest, Hungary

Antall József Knowledge Centre of Political and Social Sciences is a young think tank organization independent of political parties, founded in 2010 in cooperation with the Corvinus University of Budapest. The Knowledge Centre organises its third international Antall József Summer School between 6 and 17 July 2015 at Eötvös Loránd University. The program focuses mainly on the economic, political and cultural relations of the Central European region in general and the Visegrád Countries (V4: Czech Republic, Hungary, Poland, and Slovakia) in particular. International students and young graduates (Master and PhD students and young professionals aged between 18 and 35 with a university degree in the field of political and social sciences) will be provided an intensive praxis-oriented two-week-program focusing on the most clearly profiled Central European cooperation. The program enables students to learn more about the Visegrád Cooperation in the form of lectures and workshops held by prominent academics, diplomats and experts. Some of the topics discussed will include: current economic, foreign and security policy issues as well as questions regarding national identity and topics related to culture. One of the ideas behind the school is to promote intercultural dialogue as well as to give an insight for the international students into Hungary as such through various trips and accompanying programs. **Deadline** for applications: 1 May 2015.

For more information please visit: www.ajsummerschool.com

Transparency International School on Integrity

Transparency International School on Integrity (TISI) is an annual state-of-the-art anti-corruption and accountability training for future leaders that will take place from 6-12 July 2015 in Vilnius, Lithuania. The School exposes its participants to the latest developments in the field of anti-corruption and accountability and offers real opportunities to try and implement their ideas in practice. School lectures, seminars, training and field trips provide TISI participants with a unique blend of international and local know-how, while also challenging the students to approach the subject from outside the box and offer novel, previously untested solutions. Open to: senior students, graduates and young professionals under the age of 35

Deadline for applications: 1 May 2015

For more information please visit: <http://transparencyschool.org>

Published by: Centre for Civic Education (CCE)

EIC Bulletin - European Pulse - is an electronic magazine which comes out with the support from Friedrich Ebert since 2005. From February 2015, European Pulse comes out within "EU news - be informed!" project which is financed out of communicational budget of EU Delegation to Montenegro, and co-financed by Friedrich Ebert foundation. Project is conducted by Daily Press Vijesti and Centre for civic education (CCE). It is filed in Ministry of culture under number 578.

Editor-in-chief: Vladan Žugić
Editorial board: Vera Šćepanović, Daliborka Uljarević, Svetlana Pešić, Ana Vujošević, Vladimir Vučković
Translation and proofreading: CGO
Design and illustrations: Dragana Koprivica
Production: Centre for Civic Education (CCE)

Address: Njegoševa 36/I Tel/fax: +382 20 665 112, 665 327 ep@cgo-cce.org, info@cgo-cce.org
You can download *European Pulse* at www.cgo-cce.org
or subscribe to our monthly e-mail by contacting ep@cgo-cce.org

Content of the publication is the sole responsibility of Centre for civic education (CCE) and it does not reflect the views of European Union nor should it be deemed in that manner.