



FOCUS OF THIS ISSUE

Are Montenegrin politicians ready to start learning again in order to be able to follow successfully developments of the complex accession process to the European Union

INTERVIEW

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State Counsellor for
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the Government of
the Republic of
Macedonia

ANALYSES

Does Montenegro have to join Partnership for Peace and NATO Alliance in order to become EU member state

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FOREWORD

European integrations, the main strategic goal of the Government of Republic of Montenegro, seem likely to reconcile the irreconcilable. Arguing that it may be necessary to expand the fronts and to engage all the relevant forces which could contribute to a successful journey of Montenegro towards European Union, the ruling DPS has been cautiously probing the terrain for a big surprise initiative. After the elections, taking place on the 10 September, it might invite into its governing coalition SNP – the biggest opposition party. Naturally, under the condition that DPS manages to stay in power.

Prime Minister Đukanović nearly made it a direct announcement a few days ago, and SNP so far has not say no. If the plotting of DPS comes true, Montenegro might be set for the so-called "broad coalition" in autumn. The proclaimed goal is honourable, no doubt, but the big question is whether these two parties, which until 1997 were one, are in any shape to lead Montenegro towards European standards. Is this to be the true goal, or are they to forgive each other all their misdeeds behind closed doors which is not unthinkable, given the experiences from our recent history. The smaller parties, which could also find their way into the broad post-electoral coalition, would remain mere spectators, unable to change anything at all.

The European perspective of Montenegro is not exactly the key reason for pondering such a broad coalition – it is an attempt on the part of the ruling party to drag SNP into the government, in order to "reconcile" Montenegro, to lure the hard line opposition supporters into accepting the results of the referendum and endorsing the Montenegrin independence. Another goal worthy of sacrifice. In any case, whoever makes it into the Government – DPS with its current allies, of DPS and SNP plus a handful of smaller parties, the EU must be ready to pressure the new government into conducting some genuine reforms. This is precisely the recommendation of the EU Institute for Security Studies (EUISS) in Paris, prepared by the Balkan expert, dr Judy Batt, after a brainstorming session at the Institute in late June.

Due to the holiday season, Ms Batt will continue writing her regular column for EIC Bulletin in September.

N.R.

THE COUNCIL OF MINISTERS APPROVED, IN SHORT PROCEDURE, THE REQUEST BY MONTENEGRO AND EC

Montenegro to continue negotiations on SAA

Although it was uncertain whether they will manage to consider the proposal before September, the Council of EU Ministers approved, on the 24 July, the continuation of negotiations on the Stabilisation and Association Agreement with Montenegro.

The Council of EU Ministers has confirmed a new mandate for negotiations with Montenegro and a modified mandate for negotiations with Serbia, which are to continue once "the government of Serbia has established full cooperation with ICTY".

Justice and Home Affairs ministers adopted the two mandates without discussion, just as they were proposed by European Commission in early July.

European Commission adopted, on 6

July, a modified mandate for Serbia and a new one for association negotiations with Montenegro, explaining that now that Montenegro has voted independence, it was necessary to continue with separate negotiations "based on the results achieved so far".

The officials in Brussels, among which the European Enlargement Commissioner, **Olli Rehn**, previously announced that the Council of EU ministers will only adopt a new mandate in September.

Rehn welcomed the fact that the mandate was adopted long before it was expected, and emphasised this was a proof of EU's commitment to the European perspective of the Western Balkans.

N.R.

EUROPEAN COMMISSION ADOPTED RECOMMENDATION FOR MONTENEGRO, SERBIA AND BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA AND FORWARDED ITS OPINION TO THE COUNCIL OF MINISTERS

The beginning of visa facilitation procedure

European Commission adopted last week a recommendation to the Council of EU Internal Affairs Ministers to issue a mandate for the beginning of negotiations on visa facilitation with Montenegro, Serbia, and Bosnia and Herzegovina. According to the EC assessments, the Council should approve the beginning of negotiations in September or October, which means that we can expect the agreement to be signed by the end of 2006. or the beginning of 2007. The Council of Ministers shall then, in line with the procedure, approve this agreement and forward it for ratification to the EU member states.

The text of the mandate document is, according to the reporters in Brussels, very general and very broad. Only a few details have been specifically defined: visas free of charge for students, scientists, researchers and teachers, and a 35 euros fee for all other categories of the population, as well as simplified, quicker procedures for approval, with the collection deadline 10 days after the application date.

Other recommendations include reducing the number of the required documents, which should automatically cut additional visa expenses for the citizens. Multiple entry visas for longer periods are also on the agenda. Citizens carrying diplomatic passports will be able to travel without visas.

There are two reasons for such open-ended approach of EC. The first lies in their wish not to limit the number of possible visa benefits, which could, in the process of negotiations, become greater in scope. The second

is, that EC does not wish to alarm certain member states who are traditionally sceptical towards throwing wide open the doors of Schengen, and these could cause some trouble in the Council of Ministers, as the negotiations mandate has to be endorsed unanimously. France first of all, which already undermined, at the very start, an attempt to relax the visa regime under the presidency of Luxembourg in the first half of 2005.

"We are not talking about liberalisation here, just relaxing the visa regime focusing on certain categories of the population, the price of visas and the procedure – number of documents, length of the procedure... We fear much enthusiasm has been created around this act, which could return as a boomerang once the people realise that it's not about liberalisation", one of the EC officials said for the journalists in Belgrade.

In the very text of the mandate it says that this is only the first step towards liberalisation of the visa regime. The progress towards the real liberalisation will depend upon the speed of reforms in the area of public administration, fight against organised crime, corruption, illegal immigration, strengthening of the administrative capacities as regards efficient border control and issuing new document which are not easily falsified. Except for those conditions, which are set out in the EC document, another key element is to persuade the current EU countries that these three Balkan states are not to threaten them with a huge wave of immigration.

N.R.

ARE MONTENEGRIN POLITICIANS READY TO START LEARNING AGAIN IN ORDER TO BE ABLE TO FOLLOW SUCCESSFULLY DEVELOPMENTS OF THE COMPLEX ACCESSION PROCESS TO THE EUROPEAN UNION

If there is no will, the pride will force them to learn

Members of the Slovenian Parliament had no interest in learning about European integrations in the early stages of the transition. The first discussions on European integrations in the parliament of Slovenia took place only in mid-90s, once Slovenia had completed the negotiation process on the Stabilisation and Association Agreement. Montenegro too, once the Agreement is signed, will get to the phase where both the Government and the Parliament will have to get interested in the debate on European integrations.

This is how professor dr. **Rado Genorio**, who was in charge of almost the entire process of Slovenian inte-



From the session of the Parliament of the Republic of Montenegro

gration into EU, described the road that the Parliament of Slovenia has travelled on its way to Brussels, the

same one that Montenegrin Parliament and its members are yet to tread.

Genorio explains that the issues which are going to be set in the Stabilisation and Association Agreement will have to be implemented word for word.

"When Montenegro signs this document, joint bodies with EU will be formed and their task will be to monitor the implementation of the SAA. It is not only the Government which is included in that process, but the Parliament since the joint body for the monitoring of SAA implementation will be formed with European Parliament, as well. Montenegrin parliamentarians will have to learn about and discuss European integrations, if not for any other reasons, then to save themselves from appearing ignorant and uneducated in the eyes of their colleagues at the European Parliament" stated Genorio.

Whether for want of expertise or because they deem it politically more profitable to just ramble on about general topics, often descending into populism, the members of the

WITHOUT QUARRELS ABOUT EUROPEAN INTEGRATIONS

One of the explanations of Slovenia's success in the EU accession process lies in the fact that all parties in the Parliament of this sub-Alpine state endorsed the European prospect and made no quarrels about it.

Mr Genorio explains that the parties have signed an agreement in the early 1997, following the conclusion of Stabilisation and Association Agreement between Slovenia and EU, where they pledged to leave aside their differences in the matters of European integrations.

"This agreement is observed to this date. Every year the Parliament adopts a Declaration on the activities of Slovene representatives in EU institutions, and this year it has been adopted unanimously", states Genorio.

Speaking about the experiences of the Slovenian Parliament during the integration process, Genorio reminded that already in 1996 he had launched and founded a project, titled "Coordination of European Integrations in Slovenia".

"This project had three elements – coordination of European integrations process within the Government and the Parliament, then a campaign to inform the public about integrations and finally a reform of the public administration. I managed to use that money to involve actively the parliamentary committee for European integrations, as well as the administrative bureaus at the Parliament in the process of monitoring European integration, to analyse the laws that the old member have been adopting, and the way they are implementing them. The result has been that the Parliament found it natural to be involved in all processes of European integrations, regardless of the outcome of the elections", Genorio explains.

IT IS NOT THE BRAINS, BUT THE WILL TO WORK THAT WE LACK

Representative of the People's Party in the Parliament, **Dejan Vučićević** has no doubts about the intellectual capacities of the Montenegrin MPs to take upon them the new responsibilities coming with the process of European integrations, but he has reservations as to their readiness to apply them in practise.

"However, instead of talking about the intellect or will, I would rather view this issue as a matter of requirements and commitments, which we will just have to face. The European issues will thus be imposed upon the MPs as an obligation, regardless of their personal will or desires", says Vučićević.

Asked whether his colleagues and he have any fears as to the burden of work they will have to face in the future, Vučićević responds that "fear" is not the right word.

"Of course we will have to work a lot harder, but in a way this is a challenge, because we will encounter a lot of new things", he said.

He added that the MPs will need further education in the area of European integrations, which is why he would welcome more seminars and trainings.

"The seminar in Kumbor was a very good experience. We had interesting lectures and we obtained important information", Vučićević says.



Parliament of Montenegro are not at the moment particularly concerned with the issues relevant for European integrations.

An illustration of the worryingly low level of interest and knowledge of EU among the representatives of Montenegrin citizens is the last year's survey conducted by daily newspaper "Vijesti". It demonstrated that most parliamentarians could not explain the function of different EU institutions and quite a few could not even name them.

Results of various opinion polls show that more than 80% of the citizens support Montenegrin accession

to EU. However, their representatives prefer to spend their time in the Parliament's lobby rather than go in and join discussions on European integrations. The MPs which could be deemed ready to conduct intelligible debate on laws containing elements which are relevant to Montenegro's journey towards Brussels can be counted on the fingers of one hand.

This poses some grave concerns as to the readiness of Montenegrin MPs to question or amend certain legal solutions where the ruling majority would prefer "to smuggle" some compromises to their own benefit, regardless of the real national interests

or requirements from Brussels.

A very good example is the Law on the Prevention of Conflict of Interests, which the ruling coalition passed quite "painlessly" through the Parliament. The European and pan-European institutions responded immediately with criticism and demands for improvements, and now again we are wasting time and energy, and slowing down on our way towards EU.

The very example of this law is already a good reason to force the public to question the capacities of the Montenegrin Parliament, bearing in mind that the MPs will have to (at least) read almost 100.000 pages of various laws which are necessary for the harmonisation of Montenegrin legislation with the legal framework of EU.

One member of the Parliament whom nobody can reproach for the lack of zeal in doing his work is **Mehmet Bardhi**, from the Democratic Alliance in Montenegro, who has been proposing amendments to almost every draft law in the Parliament.

According to him, the current composition of MPs is under-qualified. As one of the reasons for this he points on the way they are chosen, as the "parties in power and other bigger ones" do not pay much heed to qualifications or capacities when drafting their party lists.

"They rather focus on making sure that the influential people from each area find their way into the Parliament, and all they do is transform the parliamentary clubs into voting machines", says Bardhi.

He suspects that only a few MPs ever read the draft laws. Therefore, he proposes that perhaps it would be better if, instead of the Government, the MPs of the ruling coalition were in charge of presenting the laws.

"That should make them work", Bardhi says.

As a member of the Parliamentary Committee for European integrations, Bardhi estimates that the meetings of this Committee, as well as the round tables, seminars and various consultations on the subject of European integrations which are organised by either Parliament or the civil sector should

be more frequent.

One such seminar, which gathered among its participants about 30 MPs, was organised recently in Kumbor by European Movement in Montenegro, with support of the German Friedrich Ebert Foundation and in cooperation with the Montenegrin Parliament. The seminar, as part of the project "Parliament for Europe", is drawing on the experiences of European Integrations School, which has been successfully conducted for several years already by the Centre for Civic Education, Centre for Development of Non-Governmental Organisation and the European Movement in Montenegro, with support of foundation Open Society Institute, Representative Office in Montenegro.

Judging by the impressions of both the lecturers and the participants of the seminar, with respect to the European issues in Montenegro, the things are, however slowly, getting better.

One of the lecturers, Dr. **Tanja Mišćević**, Head of the European Integrations Office of the Government of Serbia, said she was "positively sur-

prised" by the Montenegrin MPs.

"They demonstrated high levels of understanding of the subject, and I have to admit I was quite pleasantly surprised, as we are trying to organise the same thing in Serbia for our own MPs, but we never managed to reach such a high level", emphasised Dr. **Mišćević**.

To quote the MPs of DPS and SNP, **Miodrag Vuković** and **Vuksan Simonović**, it was not "degrading" for them to go listen to the lectures, nor did they feel uncomfortable to be sitting in a classroom again.

President of the Committee for European integrations in the Parliament of Croatia, **Neven Mimica**, said they have chosen two ways to involve their Parliament in the process of European integrations.

"The first step was to create political consensus on European integrations. The Parliament thus adopted two resolutions. The first one was adopted in the early 2002, and it contained a general statement that all sides shall be working towards European integrations. The second resolution was adopted in 2005,

before the opening of the negotiations with EU, and it meant defining in precise terms our priority goals. Then we formed a National Council for the negotiation process with EU and introduced an obligation of mutual dialogue between the Government and the Parliament on all European issues", explains Mimica.

The second way to involve the Parliament in the integration processes, he said, was through its legislative function, harmonising the national laws with those of EU.

"We changed, for instance, the Rules of Procedure of the Parliament in order to accelerate the legislative processes. The laws concerning European integrations are dealt with separately. The Government can ask for them to be placed on the agenda as a priority, and the Parliament, unlike in other cases, has no right to refuse such request from the executive power", says Mimica.

He adds that when it comes to the European integrations issues, regional cooperation and cooperation with the European parliaments in order to exchange experiences is an important field.

But he also complained that Croatian MPs "do little" for their own education in the matters of European integrations.

"Few representatives are truly active in the area of European integrations, and it mainly depends on their individual interests and inclinations", states Mimica.

Asked whether the Croatian Parliament has any offices for professional assistance to the MPs interested in European integrations, Mimica explained that, within his committee, there are three people working as professional assistants, but that the cases of MPs asking for their help are extremely rare.

"We also have an information system in the library of the Parliament, with a couple of employees who can help the representatives find the information they are looking for", underlines Mimica.

Vladan ŽUGIĆ

ADVISORS NEEDED



photo VIJESTI

Mehmet Bardhi

According to Mehmet Bardhi, the financial assets are among the factors limiting further education and improved performance of the MPs.

"The Parliament of the Republic of Montenegro should ensure the best possible conditions for the work of the MPs, give them offices and provide advisors in certain fields, as is the case in the modern European parliaments. Realistically speaking, with the current economic situation, each parliamentary club should have one advisor who could help them out in the matters of European integrations. These people could be paid by the Parliament", suggests Bardhi.

DRAGAN TILEV, STATE COUNSELLOR FOR EUROPEAN AFFAIRS OF THE
GOVERNMENT OF REPUBLIC OF MACEDONIA

It is important to find the way to use all EU funds



photo DNEVNIK

Dragan Tilev

Global settings display a changing economic environment. In ten years, the world economy will look a lot different than it is today. Now the big powers are the United States and perhaps Japan, but soon their place will be taken by some very fast growing economies, such as China, or maybe even Brazil, which we tend to forget sometimes. European Union is a strong player today, but with the changing global environment, it will also have to change, and adjust to the new global scheme. EU will therefore have to grow and integrate in order to remain among the most competitive economies of the world. This is why there is no doubt in my mind that the expansion, the enlargement, must continue, in order for EU to achieve this goal. It is up to us, of course, how fast this will

happen, because EU also needs fully functional members, said in the interview for *EIC Bulletin* Dragan Tilev, State Counsellor for European Affairs of the Government of Republic of Macedonia.

● **Macedonia was the first country in the region to conclude the Stabilisation and Association Agreement with EU. Which, according to you, are the concrete advantages from the signing of this Agreement?**

There are enormous advantages, because once you complete the negotiations, you will have the basic framework set, but the trade agreement which goes independently aside from Agreement will be defined into the smallest detail. The entire Stabilisation and Association Agreement will have to go through a process of ratification, which may last

– for Macedonia they took three years to ratify it – but the trade agreement comes into force immediately, up to six months after the agreement is signed.

Thus, for Montenegro, if you sign SAA by the end of this year, it will already come into force by beginning of 2007 or, at the latest, June 2007, and you will be able to use all the advantages of this asymmetrical agreement: to export your products to the European market freely, while still keeping your market protected from the influx of European products which are, by definition, of a better quality and more competitive. This will give your economy and extremely positive climate for exports. Also, this agreement is to define the financial assistance which Montenegro will receive from EU for

WE HAVE TO LEARN FROM THOSE WHO ARE AHEAD OF US

● What are your perceptions on the future of the Western Balkan countries in the EU association process?

We all know that there is a debate going on whether any other country will be able to join any time soon once Bulgaria and Romania become members, whether Croatia will be able to join by 2010, whether Macedonia will be able to catch up with Croatia, and whether the rest of the Balkans can follow in Macedonian footsteps. There are a lot of questions, and ten times as many answers, and I would say a million of different opinions. We don't have a crystal ball and we don't know what will happen, but we know the criteria and we all have our homework to do. Unless we do it, nothing will happen.

Macedonia today is a candidate state, and I would say it can be considered a success story, although there have been many doubts as to our readiness. But we have made it, and we have shown to other countries that Macedonia, and any other state of the region can succeed if it only invests heavily in the process. You can do it too. Small states on the Balkans have really no other choice but to integrate, because they cannot survive the global and internal pressures on their own. I would also say one thing which we in Macedonia tend to forget: we are neither the cleverest nor the most beautiful, in the world or in the region. There is a lot we can learn from Brussels, and from one another, but especially from those countries who are a step ahead of us.

the association process. Here we are not only talking about IPA programme, but of all other programmes of macroeconomic assistance. In the critical areas, you can even get some budgetary support, and you will also establish a clear relationship with the EU financial institutions, namely the European Investment Bank, where Montenegro can apply for loans on very favourable terms, for big infrastructural projects of great importance for small countries (such as Macedonia or Montenegro), which do not have capacities to fund such projects on their own.

● Considering the situation in Montenegrin economy and the relatively low export capacities, how would you judge the real benefits from such trade regime?

Well, of course it is up to you to get the maximum out of this Agreement. The financial assistance depends on the capacity for absorption of these funds. EU has allocated huge sums through IPA for the Western Balkans, mainly because it had a surplus from other projects –

Turkey, for instance, has an extremely low rate of absorption, some 7 euros per capita and that is very little. You have to find the way to use these funds.

Macedonia now has the possibility of exporting to EU under very favourable conditions, but we have a problem in finding the right products that could be competitive on the European market. We also had to face the problem of financing the accession process. The candidate country has to fund itself some 90% of the accession process, and that is why you need strong coordination mechanism in order to ensure that the money is allocated where it is most needed.

Nevertheless, once you have the agreement, when you define your relations with such an economic giant, it gives you some time to take a deep breath. The Government will, on the one hand, be able to use this break to build a legal system which would be conducive for business development and attracting the foreign investors to Montenegro. This is

something that the Government must do – create the right climate, but it has to be done in cooperation with the Chamber of Commerce, in order to help your enterprises to adapt and to improve their capacities: increase the quality and introduce new technologies and standards, which are recognised in the European market. The asymmetry of the agreement gives you enough time to do that, providing you with a space for investments without additional burdens to your producers and administration.

● How long does it take before the ordinary citizens start feeling the benefits of this Agreement?

Unfortunately, it is difficult to say. You simply have a situation where the improvements are not felt. This is a process that brings small advantages every day, and only in the end, when you get one step to the membership, they become obvious. Until that day, you will only have a mosaic of small advantages which, individually, could mean nothing to your people. Once you put them in the right place in your mosaic, you can get a very pretty picture, which, in the end, everybody can feel. There is no process without winners and losers, and European integration is no exception. It is up to the state to balance it out, so that majority are the winners. There will be some losers, though, and they will feel threatened by this process, but I can tell you from the experience, that the biggest losers will be the criminals, or those who abuse their privileged position in an environment which is cosily guarded from all sides. When you expose yourself, when you open up to the European market, you have to be ready to play by the rules: to work professionally, according to the standards, to build your capacities in such a way that you can not only communicate normally with EU, but also compete on their market.

Vera ŠĆEPANOVIĆ

DOES MONTENEGRO HAVE TO JOIN PARTNERSHIP FOR PEACE AND NATO ALLIANCE IN ORDER TO BECOME EU MEMBER STATE

Shortcuts less travelled

If it follows in the footsteps of Baltic and Central and East European countries, the road is set – before applying for membership in the European Union, which should happen in some ten years at the earliest, Montenegro must first join the Partnership for Peace (PfP) and then the NATO alliance. On the other hand, there are some EU members who did not have – or did not want to – join any military alliances. Malta is one, and some of the older EU members are still steering clear of NATO – Austria, Ireland, Finland and Sweden.

The EU documents concerning the accession conditions never mention PfP or NATO – therefore, the Government of Montenegro has no formal commitments in that respect. However, it seems it has made the decision already, announcing Euro-Atlantic integration as one of its strategic goals. Simply put, Montenegro wants to join NATO.

This is also clear from the government's decision to keep the army and to establish a Ministry of Defence, although these may represent a huge financial burden for a small, impoverished country. Every soldier is to be clad and armed according to the NATO standards, and even their barracks will have to be built identically to those in other NATO countries, the special polish for the floors included. If it doesn't succeed in benefiting from its NATO membership in the same way that the Czech Republic, Hungary or Poland did, Montenegro could run into a financial trouble.

The Central European Countries managed to cash in their NATO membership with a significant short-term influx of foreign investors who brought new jobs and industry. The life of an ordinary citizen improved thanks to the



From the Government session

photo: VIJESTI

fact that their countries stepped under the NATO umbrella, and thus automatically ceased to be considered risky investment places. Will the level of foreign investment increase in Montenegro once we join NATO, or do we already have our investors coming,

regardless of the fact that Montenegro is not even a member of the Partnership for Peace? The government already did its numbers, and they judge that joining the NATO will return whatever they invest in the army, once they managed to balance the thin line

WHAT IS PARTNERSHIP FOR PEACE?

The Partnership for Peace (PfP) programme is a NATO initiative, opened in 1994 for the purposes of extending military cooperation among the western countries to the countries of Central and Eastern Europe, in order to coordinate crisis management, as well as civil security, control of air traffic, etc. Membership in the Partnership for Peace, unlike NATO, gives no guarantee of defence in case the country is attacked. However, this is essentially the waiting room for NATO. Members of this programme can choose the activities in which they wish to participate with their own forces.

Biannual plans encompass some 2.000 different activities in 21 areas of cooperation – anything from large military exercises to small working groups, from education in geo-strategic matters to foreign language courses.

The members are free to choose between the programmes according to their own policies, special requirements and budget.

The programme was established at a NATO summit hoping to fill the security gap which arose with the dissolution of the Warsaw pact in 1991, and in order to present East and Central European states with a clear set of conditions for joining the NATO.

According to the government of Montenegro, our country has already fulfilled all the political conditions for entering the Partnership for Peace, as we have no unsettled disputes with countries near or far, and they are sure that "soon enough" the army will be able to assume its duties. These include trainings, operative and action preparedness of the army according to the NATO standards, equipment, and a transparent military budget which is easily controlled.

between NATO and Russia.

If they manage to keep friendly relationships with Russia, which are undoubtedly proven by the abundance of (un)questionable Russian investments, while at the same time becoming a member of PfP and NATO, the government of Montenegro will manage quite a feat. Especially considering the fact that certain authority representatives have very cordial relationships with Russians, who already suggested they might be interested in building marine bases on the coast. The NATO found this out very quickly and wasted no time in informing the Montenegrin public about it.

The government insists that the membership in NATO and EU is still the main goal for Montenegro.

"Independent Montenegro has fulfilled all the conditions to apply for a membership in Partnership for Peace, deputy Prime minister **Dragan**

Đurović recently said.

According to him, Montenegro has no unsolved commitments to the Hague tribunal, it already has its own Ministry of Defence, it began reforming the Army, and finally, it became an internationally recognised state and already a member of UN and OSCE.

"We believe we have met all the conditions for Montenegro, as an independent state, to initiate the procedure and become a PfP member soon. Montenegro is fully committed to the PfP goals – transparency in its defence strategy and budgetary allocations, ensuring democratic control over the armed forces, and development and maintenance of our capacities to participate in peace missions", Đurović said.

The NATO has no doubts either – they are the real future of the region.

Director of Euro Atlantic integrations and PfP, dr **Jaroslav Skonječka**



Dragan Đurović

claims that now is "an excellent opportunity, after the independence has been won, to think about NATO, PfP and future integrations"

"Those of us in Brussels, working for NATO, or the Euro Atlantic Council, we all firmly believe that the future of the region lies in Euro Atlantic integrations, and we think this is the only way to ensure progress. People in Montenegro have decided their destiny at the referendum, and now is our turn to get down to work", Skonječka said.

The very procedure of PfP accession is not complicated. Once the government submits its application, the NATO will send an invitation, and then Montenegro has to present its national programme encompassing political, economic and military aspects. Montenegro has to explain what it will do in order to fulfil the NATO standards in all those segments, and which resources it can offer for participation in the peace support missions in the region and around the world...Finally, we will sign a bilateral agreement between Montenegro and NATO, and a whole set of other bilateral agreements.

These agreements should allow Montenegrin military to receive education abroad, in order to get acquainted with the NATO standards. They also specify trainings with foreign troops, trainings for the special peace operations units, and the financial assistance in all aspects of reforms of the national defence system and the Army.

WHO ARE THE PfP AND NATO ALLIANCE MEMBERS

Partnership for Peace (PfP) was established by NATO in 1994 as a programme of concrete bilateral cooperation with individual PfP members, who pledged to protect democratic standards of their societies and respect international law, refraining from the use of threats and force in relation to other countries; respect for the existing borders and peaceful conflict resolution.

The purpose of PfP is to ensure stability, reduce threats to peace and strengthen relationships between NATO and the members of this programme, as well as those between the members themselves.

PfP members set their own biannual projects according to their ambitions and abilities, defining the scope of military reform, military policy and strategy, civil-military relations, education and training, PVO, communicational and informational systems, crisis management and civil protection, which they are ready to undertake.

All Central and East European, as well as Baltic members went through PfP before joining NATO, in two enlargement waves of 1999 and 2004.

Since 1994, partnership for peace includes Albania, Armenia, Azerbaijan, Finland, Georgia, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Moldova, Russia, Sweden, Turkmenistan, Ukraine and Uzbekistan. Austria, Byelorussia, and Macedonia joined in 1995, and so did Switzerland – in 1996. Ireland joined in 1999, and Croatia in 2000. The only European countries which are currently not in the partnership are Serbia, Montenegro, and Bosnia and Herzegovina.

After their membership in the Partnership for Peace, Czech Republic, Poland, and Hungary joined NATO in 1999, followed by Slovakia, Slovenia, Bulgaria, Romania, Latvia, Lithuania, and Estonia, in 2003. Among the older members of NATO are the USA, Canada, Belgium, Denmark, France, Greece, Italy, Iceland, Luxembourg, Germany, Netherlands, Norway, Portugal, Spain, Turkey and Great Britain.

Neđeljko RUDOVIĆ

Julio in party jaws

by Brano Mandić

May I have the honour, before I plunge into sophisticated Eurocentric analyses, to introduce myself to the respected reader as a journalist who had his first passport issued at the age of 27. No big deal, it's an ancient wisdom of all writers: you don't have to be pregnant to be able to write about pregnancy. Europe, after all, is just as well seen through the eyes of Wenders' screen hero who rides from Germany to Portugal, watching the landscapes shift in his rear mirror, with only the change of stations on his radio to warn him that he has passed another border.

Unfortunately, our TV never shows films by **Wim Wenders**, and a decent DVD player costs half an average salary, leaving us mortals at the mercy of our news channels to absorb all the education available on Europe. Which is the very news channel that raged and thundered against the Croatian Ustasas fifteen years ago, and presented us all with pictures of a friendly gathering of **Stjepan Mesić** and **Filip Vujanović** last week. And not a word about Prevlaka. Is it possible that it has ceased to be the very gateway to Boka Kotorska, was there not a Serbian monastery somewhere in those parts? Shush...

When **Naser Orić** asked his colleague, **Vojislav Šešelj**, whether he still believed in a Great Serbia with borders running Karlobag–Karlovac–Virovitica, the latter replied:

"If I were to admit that I stopped believing it, I would cease to be šešelj". The touching reply of the wannabe duke brought tears of happiness to the eyes of us all who suddenly felt like blessing thankfully our local boyars who had mercifully decided to stop being Šešeljs. The European Union can be proud of us.

After the referendum, the fascist feelings have somewhat retreated even



from those nightly SMS messages in the sub-lines of private TV stations. Some wiser heads are quickly being recruited by the political system of a country which, ages back, in 1992, abandoned dozens to the enemy's knives, their sole crime being that they, or their ancestors, believed once that Allah was one. In those times even DPS was one, and the rumours would have it that, under the auspices of Brussels, it may become one again.

It's not a bad thing for the process of identifying the culprit: to have all the officials on the same address once again, should anybody remember to send them a blue envelope one day, with at kind invitation to an informative-retrospective interview. You put them on a couch like **Freud** used to do, and you ask, in the voice of **Mića Orlović**: "Tell me about your childhood...the one in politics".

(As this article is to be translated into English, let me explain to the European reader that **Mića Orlović** was a star figure of Serbian and Yugoslavian TV journalism, the man who appeared in the first Yugoslavian news programme, and that in Montenegro, there is still nobody convicted for the police deportation resulting in deaths

of some thirty Bosniaks/ Muslims fourteen years ago).

But let us go back to the current affairs.

They go by the title of "Serbian list". They are young leaders, and they are committed to European integrations. "Serbia to Brussels", is a handy slogan which can be carefully distilled from their European eloquence – after the last week's briefing with **Tomislav Toma Nikolić**.

Nobody can predict the number of votes they will win in the upcoming elections, as their national target group has proved to be rather volatile. In the 1981 census, Montenegro had 3% of Serbs, ten years later there were 9% of them, and in 2003 they already accounted for 33% of the population...

Pardon me, it is rude to speak of people in numbers – especially in a country with app. 650.000 citizens.

It's perhaps lucky that Montenegro (and the mountains) wouldn't need more than an elderly **Julio Iglesias** to gather us all at a farewell stadium concert – by the measure and the quantity of it, every chauvinism here is necessarily reduced to a pitiable caricature – a joke with a few thousands voters.

Not that it should in any way degrade Montenegro and its "master filter" which had sifted through as much ideological litter in the history as the big powers could manage to produce.

There's an ingenious observation commonly ascribed to **Branimir Štulić**, that the war in the old Yugoslavia was lead by Montenegrins and Herzegovians, which is not far from truth if we look at the historical destiny of these two peoples who carried the banner of Serbianhood (or Croatianhood), and if we study carefully the genealogy of generals and criminals of the past war.

This is why I find liberating the referendum decision to finally put Montenegro off the trip of being someone's Sparta. Europe knows that, but the honourable Mr Iglesias would also know that in Podgorica he could not gather even a 1.000 people for his performance, unless he sang from the stage set by either Democratic Socialist Party of Socialist People's Party...Partyocracy!

Here we fall for quite another kind of Casanovas...Expiry date fifteen years, Mr Iglesias.

"Than go and vote for the Movement for Changes!", Julio would tell you, if by any chance he had pondered the stormy seas of Montenegrin politics.

The Movement for Changes was recently proclaimed from Cetinje, under the corny trade union symbol of a clock whose hands are set in a sharp angle at five to mid...day.

Let us agree, it is at least polite to grant the new political party these five minutes before we start doubting their lack of creativity based on a single marketing blunder. Still, five to twelve? Whoever came up with that one? And precisely among those who are the forerunners of a movement to pledged to break away from the iconography of mass rallies...May they take this as a friendly suggestion, because the campaigns are just about to begin, and the ballot box is looming nigh...



Life in Montenegro is what happens as we think about the elections, to paraphrase one best-selling author which has recently made it in the guise of pages lite onto the bonnets of vehicles commonly employed as bookstands...Which is some progress, to be sure: fifteen years ago we were still selling referendum "lite", choosing the future for our country from the bonnets of pick-up trucks.

Ever since, same politicians are changing hands, although some new faces are springing up too. To make a cartoon sketch of them on the pages of this pro-European magazine feels a little blasphemous, but shall I defend myself betting that they will all spend the next few months brainwashing journalists who will brainwash the citizens, with a handful of sclerotic phrases threatening to reduce our struggle towards civilisation to some other form of self-government.

There goes a fact: to say "European and Euro-Atlantic integrations" is to bore to death a regular guy. Citizens have no clue what it stands for, as was evident from the results of last year's research by the Montenegrin Media Institute.

And the MPs are no better informed, I found out with much sorrow, when I shoved a recorder in front of them and saw gasp silently, when I asked them to name the key EU institutions or at least explain the difference between the Council of Europe and the European Council.

True, I had fun – I found their discomfort at least as amusing as I find their ignorance dangerous.

True, they have shown some willingness to learn since, and began attending seminars the like.

But it doesn't change the fact that their pathetic Europeanism is only clouding the sights (whether the mists came from Kremane or Kremlin is beside the point), distracting our attention from the little individual stories which were the corner-

stones of Western empires, who prudently set aside the poisonous megallolypops of revelations. I kindly beg you with all the humbleness of an abstinent – spare us your pre-electoral discoveries of America...pardon, Europe.

Before you turn to your voters with grand speeches on human rights in Montenegro, remember those young mothers on the news channels of the Television of Montenegro, who give interviews with their backs to the camera, because their husbands have made them first pregnant and then single. Remember that student girl who spoke on the second public channel with her face obscured by the negative, and with a hat and a scarf on top of it, talking about the unfairness of her professors as if she were witnessing against **Mladen Naletić-Tuta**.

When our students become free to speak in their true colours, when our single mother speaking in prime time turns around to face the audience with a smile – it will be Europe.

And after the news, they will show the Lisbon Story, by Wim Wenders.

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



by Vlado Dedović

Back in the days when the history was being made, when every word was taken as a word of destiny, when many things were set "for eternity" (no less), I was wondering if I, myself, by the mere fact of being born in these times, and in this overly historical mountain land of the Balkans, have become a part of that history and that eternity? Essentially, I don't believe anything is eternal. We cannot create a world under the auspices of something eternal and immutable. And the nature, too, placed limits on the human aspirations towards the eternal existence. I don't believe in making the history either – history happened, and all we are now free to create is the future: a "European future", to quote those "who make history and eternity". In the lines that follow, I will only try to explain my views of this concept, of this emblem, as it were, which is claimed all around, all the time, often with no reason and without support, almost as a figure of speech.

"European future" – multiple meanings of the expression are evident at the first glance. Is it to mean the future of a continent which in the ancient times was considered "a place where the sun

Why do I want to be a citizen of Europe?

is setting"? Is it the future of this Community created in the midst of the last century, which carried a prefix "European" in all of its guises (European Steel and Coal Community, European Community for Atomic Energy, European Economic Community and European Union) – a community of European states which, however, never coincided with the geographical terms of the continent? And finally, what we usually mean when we use this emblem in this country is to predict and wish for a new, modern, prosperous future – to tell somebody that he has a "European future" ahead of him/her is a compliment unmatched of late by any other. It's not about a happy family, success in business...Europe has become a synonym for all that. To bid a "European future is to bid a happy marriage (singing the EU Accession Treaty), beautiful family (25 of them), and no worries about professional success – it can be bought any time, with all the money you will have – being European, of course. Wither lies the sense of all this? If in the irony, it may well be.

However, the words of "those who make history" are radiating certainty and belief that "a European future lies ahead", that "it is the only road we have left", and that "the European future will make everything better". Words that no one can disregard. Words of immeasurable weight, a self-evident sign that we have finally rid ourselves of the shackles of conservatism and hopped onto the right road towards becoming a modern and, obviously, "European" society –

sweet music to our ears. Following the words there comes a great applause, displaying our enthusiasm, our faith based on...never-mind. An argument to prove these words true is simple – "well, geographically, we do belong to Europe". Indeed, unfortunately geographically only.

This society needs EU. First of all, because a society like ours should always have a clear goal to keep us on the track, an idea and a vision of our own future. For a society like this, which in the past years has lost the touch with all valuable, progressive things, the contemporary European society is a role model. Now, there is the fact that we pay little attention to genuine implementation of European ideas, principles and values on the ground. In fact, it seems to me we are improvising with European standards, as if desperately trying to prove to somebody that we are on the road towards Europe after all (example: haphazard introduction of Bologna programme at our University, etc.) A particularly irritating thing for a young person who has tied his own future to Montenegro and its prosperity is the fact that the first declared "Europeans" among us were precisely those champions of demagoguery who are using every opportunity to paint us a picture bright Montenegrin future ahead in Europe. Those have recently come from that Europe to check it all out have quite a few objections to raise – concerning our administrative capacities for accession, concerning the necessity to form younger elites

in Montenegro for this process, etc... No way that Europe too has turned against us? No way that does not fit into "action plan" for creation of our European future?

Bearing in mind that more than 80% of Montenegrin youth is perfectly ignorant of the way EU functions, and that some 28% do not even think about the need of being better educated in these issues, we may well question the oft proclaimed certainty of the "bright European future" lying ahead. Yes we all agree that joining EU is a priority and a need of our society, but very few Montenegrins can boast of any clear understanding of what it means to be a part of EU. I am speaking from the standpoint of that generation which should reach its intellectual climax precisely in these years when our country will be on the brink of joining the great European family – my generation, which shows not the slightest interest in learning about the processes that are about to take place in the upcoming years.

Obviously, we are far from having all the characteristics of a mature, responsible society. To begin with, some sense of reality, some seriousness in approach should suffice – to understand and accept the well intended suggestions and objections raised by Europe. Only after we have passed the stage of the famous "social consolidation", we may proceed towards Europe. Before that, we can only play improvisations....who knows, maybe we make it anyhow?

What do I mean by being a citizen of Europe?

I mean constructing a new identity – European identity. Understanding and accepting the European identity does not mean casting aside the national one. I believe this new identity to be almost as a good suit, which fits everyone, no matter where they



come from and what they feel like. The cloak of the national comes as an ornament to that suit, as a trait that we all carry inside, with pride, and with a sense of devotion for our country. If we really want to become a part of Europe, the idea of Europe should be our guiding star, which brings together everyone in our society. That's the way to forget the years of our past, those years when all the basic values of an individual were subdued to his/her national, party or other form of affiliation. To be European is not to belong to somebody, to stand out and thus prove yourself different (which our mentality is particularly prone to). Just the opposite, it means being everywhere at all times, feeling the simple, perfect sense of freedom that comes along in accepting that identity.

The freedom inherent in the privilege of being "European" is precisely why I wish to be a citizen of Europe. My wish to become a citizen of Europe is in fact my wish to see the borderlines dissolve, those among the people just as much as those between countries. Europe – a vast playground offering to a young person a myriad of opportunities, challenges, adventures, and

innumerable memories. This is precisely my own cradle of freedom, a freedom whose winds have been blowing for centuries, but which only in the last couple of years has become part of the everyday life of its citizens.

The future is – in Europe, I'd rather put it that way. This is the future I would bid all of our politicians, sportsmen, artists, academics, journalists, students, and all those (un)improvised Europeans living in Montenegro. It is only up to us to make this future come true. Insofar as we accept the challenges that are coming up, insofar as we grasp the fact that we are no priority for that Europe, whereas the Europe is priority for us, we will be able to make that future ours.

Many would say that the history was made in the days that now lie behind us. It is now our turn to forge a future for this society. I hope we will not have to wait for another referendum make it happen.

The author is President of the European Law Students' Association in Montenegro (ELSA Montenegro). He attended III generation of the European Integration School.

NEVEN MIMICA, PRESIDENT OF THE COMMITTEE FOR EUROPEAN INTEGRATIONS OF THE PARLIAMENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF CROATIA

Brussels should not be an alibi for reforms

In Croatia, we are often asked by the public why we need all that, what are the real advantages of EU accession, what shall be better in Croatia once we reach that goal. Too often, you will hear that "there is no other alternative". It is not true that we have no choice, but you must weigh your alternatives. As an alternative, the membership is probably less expensive than others. Staying alone, staying isolated, not having access to the big markets, not being competitive enough – these are very expensive alternatives, and therefore, I would say, not quite realistic. But in the end, this is a matter of choice – says in the interview for *EIC Bulletin* **Neven Mimica**, President of the Committee for European Integrations of the Parliament of Croatia.

"There are evident advantages in the accession process: political and democratic stability, long-term sustainable economic competitiveness, and finally, social and legal order that protects individual interests. For a country which had a very difficult history, went through war and aggression, these advantages seem to me convincing enough to seriously embark onto the process of European integration", underlines Mimica.

However, he warned that this process would require total and not merely rhetorical commitment of all state institutions.

"European integration is at least a threefold process: it encompasses negotiations, reforms and communication with the citizens. Sometimes the Government is too focused on the negotiations – Montenegro made a very good start, just as Croatia did, and the governments can be pleased with their successes. But soon the issue of reforms will come up, and if the reforms are delayed than negoti-



ations will be delayed too. And if we're not good in communicating with the public, than the public will not see the real benefits of European integrations. At the beginning, we had a very idyllic picture that EU will resolve all of our problems, and we had more than 80% of the people in support of the integration. As soon as we tackled the more concrete details of the reform, more and more questions were posed by the public – and now the overall support is below 60%", states Mimica.

According to him, it is necessary to sign the Stabilisation and Association Agreement as soon as possible, in order to give Montenegro a sound legal basis for cooperation with EU.

"This is in a way a list of commitments to begin the process of harmonisation with European standards. This contract brings great advantages in the area of trade, as this is essentially a free trade document – a way to prepare you for participating in the European market. Another advantage is that it marks the beginning of serious, systematic work on legal harmonisation, as the agreement will define the priority chapters for harmonisation, which will probably concern – just as in the case of Croatia

and Macedonia – the issues relating to the legal framework for business standards, which, essentially, means creating the right potential for attracting foreign investments to Montenegro", explains Mimica.

According to him, this Agreement will also initiate the solution for some priority political issues, among which is the regional cooperation which should "put Montenegro in the position which it had before, and could have again, in development and stabilisation of the region".

"However, the SAA is unfortunately still an Agreement which defines relationships on the level of state administration and institutions, leaving aside those matters which are of interest for the everyday life of the citizens, and those that could have a direct impact on individual concerns. Thus, the graves mistake the government can make is to use EU as an alibi for reforms", considers Mimica.

"The worst thing is to blame all the reforms and the hardships that come along them on EU policy, to say "Brussels asked us to do that". If such signals are coming from the government than the whole idea of getting closer to the European Union would not be accepted in the public. The policy has to be very clear: we're doing reforms because of ourselves, not because of Brussels. The reforms are, of course, very difficult, there are problems, there are negative reactions from the public, but in the end this is something that we have to do because of our development. The question is not "when will we join the European Union?", but "when will we be ready to join the Union?". Once you are ready, everything else is just a formality", estimates Mimica.

Vera ŠČEPANOVIĆ

AFTER AUSTRIA, FINLAND TOOK OVER THE SIX-MONTH PRESIDENCY OF THE EUROPEAN UNION ON 1 JULY

To focus on innovation and the environment



Matti Vanhanen

Finland took over the presidency of the European Union on 1 July, for the second time since it joined the Union, in 1995.

The Austrian presidency ended in the same way it began – with Mozart. The Finns marked the beginning of their term in office with less of a concert and more of a bang – with the band Apocalyptica playing at the Grand Place Brussels. Although everybody hopes they will carry this level of

energy throughout the presidency, few would believe that the following six months are to be marked by revolutionary reforms.

Austria set out quite a few ambitious targets at the beginning of its presidency – delivering "concrete results", economic growth, furthering the process of EU enlargement, etc. At the end of its presidency, the analysts believe that, despite some successes, the progress has been rather modest,

especially insofar as it concerns unemployment and liberalisation of the labour market, which has affected the new member states most of all.

On the other hand, Austria managed to avoid major crises of the previous two presidencies – the budget crisis, which was finally resolved, and the crisis over the constitutional treaty, rejected by France and the Netherlands.

Whatever the results of the previous presidency, Finland now has the chance to "cool down" the tensions and to abandon the grand discussions in favour of the little, everyday issues in the functioning of the EU. The constitutional debate has been postponed until 2008, and the issue of energy security, which rocked EU at the beginning of the Austrian presidency, was solved with Russian promises that they will continue with steady supplies to the European continent.

It seems that Finns are well aware of this, as they began their presidency with a few less controversial projects, such as the promise that they will restore the credibility of the Union in the eyes of its citizens, focusing on transparency and efficiency in the absence of a comprehensive institutional reform.

The Finnish Prime Minister,

LATIN IN, THE EU JOBS OUT

Except for plotting a successful and memorable presidency over the Union, Finland is also having fun, publishing every Wednesday an update on European news – in Latin. The first news bulletin on the webpage was written by university professors, and it read "Finnis Unioni Europaeae praesidentibus in morem venit" (The Finnish presidency of the European Union has started), explaining that "the use of Latin is to pay homage to European civilisation and a reminder of the roots of European society, which go back to classical ancient times". The officials, however, admit that the whole thing is just a joke.

The witty Finns have, however, also announced some less joyful moves which are bound to wipe smiles off the faces of the representatives of Brussels' administration. For the purposes of increased efficiency, the Finnish presidency proposed to reduce EU budget in various areas, with the administration bearing the largest blow, as nearly 1700 eurocrat jobs are to be cut over the next seven years, resulting in some 56 million euros of savings.

European budget commissioner **Dalia Gybauskaitė** reacted angrily to the proposal, saying that it will automatically cancel the projected 800 recruitments from new EU members for next year. This would reduce a total of 3900 staff members, projected for when the EU enlarges from 25 to 27 down to 2200.

Poland, Spain and Italy were quick to raise objections, as negotiations on the budgetary spending are to continue after the summer. Other proposed measures include, among other, cuts in regional aid for Europe's poorest areas and reductions to farm budgets.



Finland taking over the Presidency from Austria

Matti Vanhanen, said he would work towards more transparency of the EU's workings and institutions, and the promotion of innovation and competitiveness as well as the defence of the environment.

According to the analysts, Finland would indeed be able to teach the rest of Europe a thing or two about running the economy – Finland spends more than 3% of its GDP on research and development – which is much more than in Italy or France, and its education system has been assessed as one of the best in Europe by the UN agencies.

The first step towards improving transparency was to introduce live Internet broadcasts of the Council of European Union meetings, reserving the possibility to switch off the "audience" in certain sensitive moments requiring secrecy or discretion. The first meeting which had the honour to be "performed" before the eyes of the millions of EU citizens was the 11 July gathering of the EU's finance ministers. However, except for a few high-

lights, like discovering that the finance ministers casually call each other by their forenames, few things from this meeting could be of any interest to the wider audience.

Dutch finance minister **Gerrit Zalm**, said that live broadcasting of such "boring" meetings could be counterproductive, unless "a couple of nice topics" were announced in advance for future open sessions.

"Nobody will watch this kind of debates unless it gets really exciting," he said, adding that the chances are that those "exciting" discussions would remain behind closed doors.

Given its geographical position at the very northeast of the continent, as well as the fact that EU imports more than a quarter of its energy from Russia, it is expected that the Finnish presidency will devote significant attention to its relations with Moscow. An official EU–Russia summit is scheduled for November, and President **Vladimir Putin** has been invited to attend some of the informal EU meetings

already in October. The current EU–Russia Partnership and Cooperation Agreement ends next year, and Finland will do its best to make sure that everything is in the meantime ready for signing a new one. Except for cooperation with Moscow, Helsinki hopes to revive the so-called Northern Dimension, an EU policy directed at north-western parts of Russia, which has been established by the EU in the late 1990s, but has been largely neglected by the union's recent presidencies.

The Prime Minister Vanhanen also announced individual briefings with EU member states about the enlargement policy, in order to test the attitudes of individual members and remove doubts about the "absorption capacity" of the EU. Other priorities include reopening the negotiation with Turkey, which have been stalled because of its troublesome relationship with Cyprus.

Vera ŠĆEPANOVIĆ

CAN MONTENEGRO BENEFIT FROM EUROPEAN INTEGRATIONS?

The freedom of travel is not the only advantage



by Sebastian Saam

How does a EU citizen feel when coming for the first time to Montenegro? The answer is, in my case, quite at home. Not because of the Montenegrin government's pro-European stance but more on a symbolic level. Paying your everyday coffee in one of Podgorica's many cafes or bars in Euros is just one expression of this symbolism.

When it comes to defining European identity and giving arguments why it should be further deepened an often given answer is symbolism. The power of European symbols and the narrative power of the benefits of a united Europe have turned into strong arguments for European integration itself in the last decade.

Anti-Europeanism is a part of everyday life in EU countries, as could be seen for example in the French and Dutch referenda on the European Constitution. The European Parliament itself hosts parties, which openly campaign for the retreat of their country from the Union, like the United Kingdom Independence Party. Finally, in my home country Germany, the fear of Brussels taking away "our" sovereignty is a recurrent theme as well. "We" are one of the biggest net payers to the Union's budget, so it is rather easy for politicians to discover scare mongering as a means of political

mobilization by asking: "What do we get back from the EU?"

Given the ongoing crisis of the EU, should Montenegro, which just regained its independence, be keen on joining at all? The recently founded Green Party of Montenegro is not the only one in the country sending warning signals by saying "such a EU is of no good to us".

Skepticism is usually grounded on growing inequalities within the EU member states, the Brussels bureaucracy, the divide between interests of the largest EU countries but as well between long-time members and just recently admitted countries, the loss of national sovereignty – the list could be continued.

True, this divisions and shortcomings are often reality. We are still dealing with a European Union of nation-states and not with the United States of Europe. At the beginning of the 21st century, the strength of the idea of a united Europe lies somewhere else – namely, in the symbolic narrative power of European integration and its effects. "We should unite, because it is good and beneficial to unite". This credo has been filled with content over the last decades and it has built quite some momentum, to a point of shifting away from mere free-market economy demands as a precondition for membership in the Union to also political and social requirements allowing for common standards in the fields of human rights protection and human development.

The free flow and exchange of ideas, lived pan-Europeanism, the feeling of belonging together as well as the promotion of togetherness, the definition of common shared human values – these are the fields in which a united Europe is taking place also and in which a united Europe has something to offer already today.

The unification of Europe is, so to speak, not only a political process but

also a dynamic social one, which has become reality quite some time ago. Even if the Green Party of Montenegro opposes EU membership given the current state of affairs inside the Union itself, it still seeks to tie itself closely to the movement of the European Greens and receive their moral as well as financial support. It draws its inspiration from their beliefs, and is influenced by debates going beyond the domestic level.

Besides the classical benefits of EU membership, such as financial support for necessary reforms and visa-free traveling, the unifying strength of stressing equalities in contrast to underlining differences, on a continent shaken by terrible wars and division throughout its history, Montenegro has quite some reasons to take part in the political and the social process of European integration.

In a country, where the average salary in June 2006 was around 250 Euros and which faces quite some social problems, the symbolism and the narrative power of European integration may even have a bigger impact than visa-free traveling or adapting its economy to EU standards, which might in the short-term lead to even more social hardships.

Communicating with Europe, taking part in the debates relevant for all European countries, and also thinking European will not only help to put Montenegro and its citizens back on the map of Europe, from which it was removed during the years of Milosevic's Yugoslavia and its aftermath, but also contribute to shape the newly independent country's identity which is still in the making.

The author is a postgraduate student at the University of Sarajevo and University of Bologna in the field of human rights and democracy in South East Europe. He is currently intern at the CCE.

EU REGIONAL POLICY – FINANCIAL MEANS FROM STRUCTURAL FUNDS FOR REGIONAL DEVELOPMENT AND COHESION ARE NOT ONLY AVAILABLE FOR THE MEMBER STATES, BUT ALSO FOR THE COUNTRIES IN THE EU ACCESSION PROCESS



by Emil Kriještorac

There is a special clause in the European Union regional policy requiring every state to adopt a long-term plan for regional development. This speaks in favour of a conclusion that regionalisation is in many ways an important policy and a condition for access to the EU structural funds. This is precisely why a series of countries, which themselves never had a tradition of regionalism, began creating regions, primarily to be able to gain access to these funds. An important thing for us is that the EU funds for regional development and cohesion are not limited to the member states – they are also available for the countries in the EU accession process.

Therefore, as in European Union, in the South East Europe, Montenegro included, the perspective of a European future should not be reserved for the governments alone: it is also an opportunity for the local communities to build partnerships and create strategies for the future.

Regional and euro-regional for-

A chance for local communities

ms of cross-border cooperation are both aspects of a humane, but also of a possible practical solution to all issues which were left open in Europe as a legacy of the two world wars. We are speaking of course, of common interests in certain regions which are naturally bound together. It is the way to create a new, entirely and truly regional, identity – awareness of the common interests and of a synergy which would bring better future for all parties involved.

Closer cooperation between two or more regions, i.e. local communities in the border areas split apart by the national boundaries, resulted in the creation of Euroregions, which turned out to be a good model for establishing cooperation in the aftermath of great conflicts. A glance at the current map of Euroregions would undoubtedly show that a significant majority

of them is localised along the river Rhine, the site of some of the bloodiest clashes of the last century.

Today, these regions are cooperating in various ways, being held up as a role model of cross-border cooperation in Europe and around the world. In the years after the war, a number of Euroregions sprouted all across Western Europe, including the border regions encompassing territories of several countries. Numerous Euroregions, some hundred of them, joined forces to create a network for cooperation in various fields, such as culture, transport, police control etc.

The entire enterprise began taking into consideration the need of the citizens who inhabit a given social community. This is particularly true for the local communities, or local self-governments. Regional and euro-regional cooperation makes part of this natural and log-

IT ALL BEGAN 40 YEARS AGO

Of all European institutions, it was the Council of Europe who first realised the advantages of cross-border cooperation, clearly endorsing the importance of local and regional democracy from the very beginning of its existence. Its support gave impetus to the first Euroregions and the initial steps towards cross border cooperation. Arguing that the regional and local democracy must address the needs of all Europeans, both in the cities and in the countryside, those at the centre and those at the periphery, as well as those across the borders, the Council of Europe made the first step in establishing the necessary climate and preconditions for linking and representing the local authorities. This initiative was made already in 1957, and ever since its impact can be felt across the European continent, from Island to Russia and from Norway to the Balkans.

The Council of Europe partially institutionalised some aspects of this cooperation, through European Outline Convention on Trans-frontier Co-operation between Territorial Communities or Authorities, adopted on 21 March 1980 in Madrid, and published under the no. 106 in the series of European treaties. An additional protocol was adopted on 9 November 1995, and came into force on 1 December 1998.

ical composition of individual needs and interests, as well as those of communities and the entire local society. This manner of cooperation has a long tradition, although in the last two centuries its impact has been significantly obscured by the dominant process of consolidation of the nation-states.

Today, nearly a third of the EU budget is directed towards less developed regions. Some 90% of it are channelled through structural funds which are primarily used to level the rate of development of the richer and poorer regions through various assistance programmes to the latter. Certain subventions are available for all regions whose GDP per capita is lesser than 75% of European average, but also for other regions, e.g. those that are going through a process of economic and social restructuring, or those that suffer from high unemployment.

European Union regional policy



also prescribes a commitment for all members to introduce administrative regional divisions according to a NUTS classification (Nomenclature of Territorial Units for Statistics). This division takes place on several levels, of which the NUTS 3 is deemed most important (requires division in territorial units with 150.000 to 800.000

citizens per each), being the precondition for gaining access to the structural funds.

Most of the time, the Euroregions are created on the initiative of municipal authorities in the border regions of the states that wish to participate in the project. They form distinct associations, which are then merged with similar associations in other countries in order to establish cross-border cooperation, usually with at common Secretariat to serve as an administrative tool for maintaining cooperation. Some of these Euroregions are established through international treaties, while are merely registered as non-profit organisations. There is also no rule prescribing that cooperation must be conducted among equivalent authority levels in different states. It is not uncommon that one region should encompass a few counties in one state, and entire municipalities or provinces in another. In practice, it is even possible that a whole state (e.g. Luxembourg) is a member of a Euroregion. Areas of cooperation may also differ according to the needs.

The author is a high official of the People's Party. He attended the IV generation of the European Integration School.

GOAL – SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC COHESION

European Union founded its regional policy (encompassing, in the terminology of EU, both regions and other territorial units) upon financial solidarity and desire to balance the level of development in different regions, with the goal of attaining full economic and social cohesion within the Union. For this purpose, European Union created the Committee of the Regions (CoR), established by the Treaty of Maastricht in 1992 for the purpose of representing interests of regional and local authorities on the European level.

Prior to that, recognising the lack of adequate regional and local representation in EU, the Assembly of European Regions was formed as a free regional association in Strasbourg, in 1985. However, once the Committee of the Regions began its work in 1994, the Assembly lost much of its impact, although it still acts as ferment for association of different regions in EU member states.

The key concern behind these initiatives was the fear that the citizens are being left behind in the integration process, and that development of European Union will only further alienate the citizens from direct participation in this process. Bringing into the process another level of governance, which is the closest to the citizens represented an important step in the direction of "creating an ever closer union among the peoples of Europe, in which decisions are taken as closely as possible to the citizen", as is stated in the Preamble of the Treaty on European Union. The concept of a "Europe of Regions" gained importance in the mid-eighties, and the demand for regional co-decisions entered the political practice. It was in this period that the regions were transformed from "objects of European policy" to actors in the process with an equal right to participate in the decision making on European issues.

INTRODUCING THE EU INSTITUTIONS

European Investment Bank – EIB



European Investment Bank is a non-profit financial institution of the European Union, founded in 1957. Its mission is to contribute to the balanced development of the common market, to the benefit of the entire European Union. This task of the EIB is to be fulfilled through providing loans and guarantees on most favourable terms, directed towards a range of projects in different fields:

- **Projects important for development of the less developed regions.** Financing the projects that contribute to the regional development and to economic and social cohesion within European Union is one of the key tasks of the EIB. For this purpose, EIB has already delegated more than two thirds of its assets in individual or general loans to the regions which are facing certain difficulties in economic development (insufficiently developed industry, agriculture, etc.)

- **Projects important for modernisation, adjustment and establishment of new businesses.** Financing projects that, as a result of their scope and nature, cannot be entirely covered by national funding resources. This particularly concerns development of small and medium enterprises which are recognised as an important element of stability and one of the most efficient strategies to combat unemployment.

- **Projects of common interest for several members states.** Financing projects which cannot be entirely funded by sources available to single Member States.

The EIB enjoys its own legal personality and financial autonomy within the Community system, with own capital and property, as well as distinct organs of authority, representatives, and certain privileges and immunities. In order to fulfil its tasks adequately, EIB must be able to act independently in the interna-

tional capital markets. However, its activities are conducted in close cooperation with other EU institutions. The European Commission appoints one member to the EIB administrative committee, applications for loans have to receive an opinion from EC before they are forwarded to the Bank, and the director of EIB can be held accountable by member state or the Commission for decisions taken within the Bank.

In order to meet the financing criteria of EIB, a project must fulfil the conditions dictated by the principles of regional development and common interest of EU members.

The above principles include: improving the quality of life, industrial and rural development, development of a communication network among the EU countries and with third countries, protection of energy resources, protection of environment, support to urban revitalisation, development of small and medium enterprises, as well as educational and health infrastructure.

The beginning of EIB involvement in countries of Central and Eastern Europe date back to the 1990. Following the initial stages of transition towards democracy and market economy, the EIB directed its mission in east European countries towards their preparation for EU accession. For this purpose, it cooperated closely with European Commission (especially within the PHARE programme). It has also established a regular, systematic collaboration with the World Bank, as well as European Bank for Reconstruction and Development (some its shares are also the property of EIB).

EIB activities in this region are focused on strengthening the infrastructural base, which is of key importance of the overall economic development in this side of Europe. A significant portion of its loans have been directed towards the strengthening and development of relations with EU, mostly in the area of transport, energy and telecommunications.

More information about European Investment Bank can be found at: www.eib.org

Dragan STOJČIĆ

NON – GOVERNMENTAL ORGANISATIONS IN EUROPEAN UNION

CONCORD

CONCORD is a European NGO Confederation for relief and development. Its main objective is to enhance the impact of European development vis-à-vis the European institutions by combining expertise and accountability. CONCORD is made up of 19 international networks and 21 national associations from the member states of the European Union and the candidate countries. All together, more than 1600 European NGOs are represented in the confederation.

Split into specific working groups depending on their experience, they carry out the work of CONCORD. The task of these groups is to feed the political debate and to contribute towards improving the formulation of European policies affecting development co-operation and humanitarian aid.

A certain number of priorities have been identified for the next few years. According to the confederation, these "were set with respect to their relevance and to the principles of good governance in order to achieve concrete results that favour developing countries".

Good governance describes a system in which public institutions conduct public affairs, manage public resources, and guarantee the realization of human rights in a manner essentially free of abuse and corruption.

Among these priorities are:

- Active monitoring of member states to ensure that they respect their commitment to spend 0.7 % of GNP on development aid
- To reformulate the role of Northern development NGOs towards their Southern partners in order to reinforce the capabilities of Southern partners and meet their needs
- Monitoring and safeguarding the EU commitments to developing countries during the process of enlargement and EU Reform

CONCORD views its role notably in monitoring and defending coherence between development and EU policies regarding trade, security, or agriculture. The confederation also monitors the institutional structure and the place of the EU development policy in the Union's external relations.

On the educational level, CONCORD tries to provide what it calls "development education" and to create public awareness about development-related issues such as the new EU micro-credit policy, which is targeted at people unable to obtain bank loans in the normal way and which, by thus, aims at giving them the means to set up their own micro-enterprise.

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SUCCESSFULLY COMPLETED CALL FOR APPLICATIONS BY CCE, CDNGOS AND EMIM, WITH SUPPORT OF THE ROYAL NORWEGIAN EMBASSY, FOR A STUDY VISIT TO EU INSTITUTIONS

Selected Brussels delegation

Centre for Civic Education, Centre for Development of Non-Governmental Organisations and European Movement in Montenegro, with support of the Royal Norwegian Embassy in Serbia and Montenegro, published an announcement on 25 April 2006, regarding a study visit to EU, within the "Learn about EU personally" project.

Upon a careful consideration of all applications and conducting interviews where necessary, a Committee made up of representatives of the organiser, in cooperation with the donor, selected an inter-sector delegation of ten members, who will have the chance to learn about the EU institutions in Brussels, and represent Montenegro in this visit. The selected participants are: professor Dr **Vjera Begović Radović**; professor Dr **Danijela Jačimović**; professor Dr **Maja Kostić Mandić**; **Aleksandar Damjanović**, MA; **Olivera Vukadinović**; **Vidak Latković**; **Ljiljana Pjerotić**; **Damir Šehović**; **Vidosava Kaščelan** and **Srdan Šuković**.

The delegation will be received by the European parliament members, and attend a series of meetings in different Directorates of the European Commission, Council of the EU, European Economic and Social Committee, Committee of the Regions, as well as in the permanent mission of Finland, and a few leading non-governmental organisations in Brussels.

A total of 142 candidates applied for this programme, coming from various

educational backgrounds – among them 5 PhDs, 7 people with Masters' degrees, 97 with Bachelor degrees, 2 with a completed high school education, 3 high school pupils and 28 students.

Most candidates for the study visit to EU came from the government institutions and from among the student population (19,72% each), followed by the NGO activists (14,79%), entrepreneurs (9,86%), and finally those working for international organisations and local governments (7,04% each). University and the media were represented in 4.93 % of all applicants, while 4,23% came from among the political party representatives, who expressed their wish to learn about the EU in this way. Among the other applicants were also representatives of the judiciary and independent professions.

The selection committee was guided by the following criteria: substantial prior knowledge of European integrations, asserted motivation and ability to implement the acquired knowledge relatively quickly and a functional knowledge of English language. The intention was also to bring on a trip to Brussels those members of delegation who would be visiting the city for the first time. Due to high number of applicants and their considerably high profile, the selection turned out to be very difficult, and organisers hope to be able to organise a similar event again, in order to give another chance to all those who did not make it to the final round of selection.



Regional cooperation for European standards

Centre for Civic Education, in cooperation with Educational Bureau of the Republic of Montenegro, and with support of the Organisation for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE), organised a study visit to Bosnia and Herzegovina for 30 elementary school teachers of Civic Education. Also, significant support for this activity came from CIVITAS, partner organisation in BH – who has been working on the establishment of Civic Education and related training programmes in BH already for a decade.

During the three-day visit to Sarajevo, teachers from Montenegro had the chance to meet their colleagues from BH, and to exchange their experiences in teaching this recently introduced subject, initiated by the Council of Europe within the project "Education for democratic citizenship". Together, they attended the training modules "Methodology of Civic Education", lead by prof. dr **Nancy Haas**, from Arizona West University (USA) and "Democracy", facilitated by prof. dr **Vedrana Spajić Vrkaš**, a Council of Europe and European Union expert, from the Faculty of Philosophy of the University of Zagreb (Croatia).

The last day of the visit was dedicated to identifying the common obstacles for successful implementation of Civic Education in Montenegro and the region, and defining recommendations for development of regional cooperation.

The programme also included introduction to the cultural and historical heritage of Sarajevo and Mostar.

Considering the success of this project, the organisers have announced further, intensified cooperation with CIVITAS, emphasising the importance of regional cooperation for the process of European integration.

CEDEM CONTINUES WITH SEMINARS FOR JUDGES, PROSECUTORS AND LAWYERS

Trainings for the judiciary

From 22 to 24 June, CEDEM organised a training in žabljak for young judiciary cadres – a training in the field of human rights and freedoms. The priority target group of the programme were the young people working in courts, lawyers' or prosecutors' offices. Facilitators at the seminar were eminent Montenegrin jurists: judges of the Supreme Court, Mrs. **Julka Badnjar**, Mr. **Petar Stojanović** and Mr. **Miraš Rado-**

vić; President of the Basic Court in Podgorica, Mr. **Zoran Pažin**; Mr. **Nikola Martinović**, a lawyer; and the coordinator of the Centre for Human Rights, Mr. **Siniša Bjeković**. They introduced their young colleagues to the importance and ways of implementation of international standards in the field of human rights and freedoms. The seminar was implemented with support of the Balkan Trust for Democracy.

Starting from the need for participation of all social forces in the process of Montenegrin integration into the system of values and standards of the European Union,

Convinced of the need to intensify the development of democracy, rule of law and civil society,

Believing that the non-governmental organisations and the media must recognise new opportunities for more intensive action and involvement in the processes of democratisation,

Encouraged by the fact that the final resolution of the statehood issue of Montenegro will broaden the space for the public dialogue and action concerning democracy, economy, social policy and other matters of citizen's life,

Considering that it is our obligation to continue pointing at the important social issues and problems, offering alternatives and solutions and influencing those who have formal power and legitimacy to effect social changes,

we are addressing this

INITIATIVE

to the representatives of the legislative, executive and judiciary powers, political parties, University of Montenegro, trade unions, media and other civil society organisations, business sector and the entire Montenegrin public

to engage in the necessary measures and activities in the following areas:

THE STATE AND THE CONSTITUTION OF THE REPUBLIC OF MONTENEGRO

◆ We appeal to all the political parties and social actors to endorse publicly, but also in their programmes and political platforms, the results of the referendum held on the state-status of Montenegro as legal and legitimate.

◆ We urge the Government of the Republic of Montenegro and the Parliament of the Republic of Montenegro to efficiently and entirely implement the recommendations of the European Commission and to express their full dedication to the process of European Integrations in Montenegro,

◆ We urge the Presidents of the Parliament and Government of Montenegro to open the process of defining the new Constitution for adequate participation of political parties, University of Montenegro, and civil society organisations,

◆ Starting from the fact that the current strategies of each sector are limited to their respective goals and are lacking harmonization, we appeal to the Government of Montenegro to create a comprehensive National Development Plan (NDP) as soon as possible, which would represent an integrated vision for Montenegro, stressing the need to accompany the economic reforms with democracy, overall social development and decrease of social tensions. We particularly stress the necessity to set, within the NDP, a long-term plan for sustainable development in order to protect two most valuable resources of Montenegro – its environment and its people. We urge the Government of Montenegro to open the process of drafting the NDP for participation by both the civil and the business sector.

DEMOCRACY AND THE RULE OF LAW

◆ We urge the political parties to revise their programmes to address the current social and economic problems, to offer their view on the solutions of these problems and to give their contribution to the creation of wide social consensus with respect to the overall development of Montenegro and its road towards European integrations,

◆ We call upon the political parties to acknowledge, without reservations, the importance of the role of non-governmental organisations for the promotion of democracy and the culture of human and minority rights in Montenegro,

◆ We call upon the University of Montenegro, students and student organisations and groups to open up the University of Montenegro for intellectual debates on all social issues and concerns,

◆ We appeal to both the Government of the Republic of Montenegro and the Parliament of the Republic of Montenegro to enable all necessary organisational, technical and financial conditions for a free, independent, responsible, and effective functioning of the Council for Civic Control of the Police,

◆ We call upon all the political parties, the Government of the Republic of Montenegro and the Parliament of the Republic of Montenegro, as well as the religious communities, to approach, in good faith, consensus-building on the new Law on religious communities, which would regulate the legal status of all religious communities, the legal security of their property and the freedom of religious practice,

◆ We urge the Government of the Republic of Montenegro and the Parliament of the Republic of Montenegro to prepare and adopt the Law on Transparency and Prevention of Media Concentration in the sectors of printed and electronic media,

◆ We demand urgent changes of the Law on Public Broadcasting Services "Radio Montenegro" and "Television Montenegro", in order to secure as quickly as possible strong guarantees of the independence of the RTCG Council and genuine representation of the broadest Montenegrin public,

◆ We call upon the public broadcasting service of the RTCG to initiate, through its programmes, regular shows which would involve a broad circle of political, social and academic subjects, in order to promote intellectual debate on the burning political, economic, social and other issues,

◆ We appeal to the private media to strengthen critical, research journalism and thus give their full contribution to the fight against corruption and organised crime, as well as to the public accountability of the civil servants.

HUMAN RIGHTS AND MINORITY RIGHTS

◆ We urge the Government of the Republic of Montenegro and other relevant bodies to apply in full extent all international and national standards regarding the protection of human and minority rights, enhance participation of the minorities in public service, and contribute to the creation of a sustainable and widely accepted vision of multiculturalism in Montenegro, contributing to the positive interaction of ethnic groups in Montenegro,

◆ We appeal to the Government of the Republic of Montenegro to devote itself in a concrete manner to the inclusion of disabled in the Montenegrin society, especially in terms of financial stimulation and support to the education and employment of this marginalised group, as well as to legally and financially stimulate and support adaptation of physical environment to the needs of this population in line with the European standards,

◆ We appeal to the Government of the Republic of Montenegro to devote itself in a concrete manner to the inclusion of Roma in the Montenegrin society, especially in terms of financial stimulation and support to the education and employment of the representatives of this ethnic group,

◆ We urge all social actors to engage in the process of facing with the past, and we appeal to the relevant judiciary bodies to conclude efficiently all the cases concerning deportation of the citizens of Bosnia and Herzegovina in 1992, as well as Strpci and Bukovica cases,

◆ We urge the Government of the Republic of Montenegro to devote itself in a more intensive manner to the solution of problem and securing rights of the refugees and displaced persons in accordance with international standards.

GOOD GOVERNANCE

◆ We urge the Government of the Republic of Montenegro and the Parliament of the Republic of Montenegro to make the process of the creation of the national budget open for the civil society organizations and to provide the relevant information in a way that it would be available and understandable for the entire public,

◆ We call upon the judicial bodies and the Ministry of Justice of the Republic of Montenegro to apply, consistently and efficiently, the Law on Courts, especially insofar as it concerns random assignation of cases, functioning of the Administrative Bureau, accountability of the Presidents of Courts and the right of the Ministry of Justice to oversee the workings of the courts,

◆ We call upon the Government of Montenegro to dedicate the maximum of its efforts to implementation of the Action Plan for Fight against Corruption and Organised Crime, and to adopt/implement as soon as possible the Law on Public Procurements, Law on the Conflict of Interests, Law on the Financing of the Political Parties, and to urge the adoption of a Law on State Electoral Commission,

◆ We urge the Government of the Republic of Montenegro to begin with profound reforms of the Agency for National Security (ANS), and we appeal to the Parliament of the Republic of Montenegro to exploit to the maximum its right to monitor the work of the ANS, as well as to prepare and adopt a Law on Access to Dossiers which are kept with ANS,

◆ We urge the Government and the Parliament of the Republic of Montenegro to prepare/adopt a Law on the Protection of Personal Data and a Law on State Secret, in order to implement as efficiently as possible the Law on Free Access to Information,

◆ We urge the Government of the Republic of Montenegro and the authorities of local self-governments to work towards consensus on the further steps in implementing genuine and sustainable decentralization of competences,

◆ We call upon the Government of the Republic of Montenegro to start implementing its commitments from the document on the bases of cooperation with non-governmental organisations, to appoint coordinators for cooperation with NGOs on the level of both the Government of the Republic of Montenegro and the public administration bodies, and to prepare and adopt a Strategy on Relations with NGOs.

SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT AND SOCIAL COHESION

◆ We appeal to the Government of Montenegro as well as to the local self-governments to devote themselves entirely and through an active social policy to fight against poverty and social inclusion of the vulnerable groups, in accordance with the previously endorsed commitments set forth in the Strategy for Development and Poverty Reduction, and to work for the more paced regional development of Montenegro,

◆ We urge the Government of Montenegro and the local self-governments to dedicate their full attention to the best interests of the state of Montenegro and its citizens in protecting the natural resources, and to implement in their entirety principles of sustainable development, introducing new, and strengthening the existing regulations on the implementation of ecological standards,

◆ We appeal to the Government of Montenegro and trade unions to start drafting Law on Trade Unions that will accomplish to the genuine pluralisation and better effects of trade union organisations,

◆ We appeal for the creation of a Law on Transparency in Privatisation, which would guarantee genuine transparency in all privatisation contracts, disclosing the ownership of the companies participating in the privatisation, and preventing unknown companies from participating in the privatisation of Montenegrin enterprises,

◆ We urge all the private companies and entrepreneurs to endorse the concept of social responsibility of their enterprises in increasing their participation the activities regarding charity and development, increase the quality and responsibility in their treatment of the employees, the environment, and the community in which they operate.

From their side, the signatories of this Initiative oblige themselves to commit the maximum of their human and intellectual resources in contributing to the fulfilment of the above stated goals, both in cooperation with the relevant actors, as well as through monitoring of the results achieved and issuing recommendations for their improvement.

Stevo Muk, Executive Director

Centre for Development of non-governmental organisations (CDNGOs)

Daliborka Uljarević, Executive Director

Centre for Civic Education (CCE)

Momčilo Radulović, Secretary General

European Movement in Montenegro (EMiM)

Đuro Stojanović, President of the Governing Board

Centre for Monitoring (CEMI)

Srđan Darmanović, President

Centre for Democracy and Human Rights (CEDEM)

Aleksandar Saša Zeković, Executive Director

Fondation for Roma Scholarship (FRS)

Ivana Vojvodić, President of the Executive Board

Youth Cultural Centre Juventas

Šerbo Rastoder, Editor in Chief

Almanah, association and magazine for reasearch, presentation and protection of cultural and historical heritage of Bosniaks/Muslims of Montenegro

Biljana Zeković, Executive Director

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European Law Student's Association in Montenegro (ELSA)

Ruždija Strujić, President of the Executive Board

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Darko Pajović, Executive Director

Green Home

Dragan Stojović, Secretary General

Association of Political Scientists of Montenegro

Fadil Mučić, Executive Director

Union of Blind People of Montenegro

Zoran Rajković, Executive Director

Association of Paraplegics of Montenegro

Avdul Kurpejović, President

"Matica Muslimanska"

Sanja Elezović, Executive Director

Fondation Open Society Institute, Representative Office Montenegro (FOSI ROM)

FOR THIS ISSUE WE RECOMMEND:

NEW EUROPE
NEW CHALLENGES

JEF Serbia will organize seminar this year for the first time. We would like to gather 30 young people in Belgrade, to talk with them about Europe, to teach them about Serbia and all together to show importance of understanding and cooperation.

All you need is to contact the organizers on seminar@jef-belgrade.org.yu and send your personal data (name, age, address, passport number...) and sort motivation (5–10 sentences). They will send you short Application form and Programme of the seminar on your request.

Application will last till **end of August**. First few days of August you will be informed about results.

Eligible participants: all young people from Europe who are interested in these topics can apply. We specially encourage people from Austria, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Bulgaria, Croatia, Greece, Norway and Slovenia to apply, although we have few places for you coming from other countries.

Participants from Serbia should contact us as well to be informed about different conditions for them.

Place and date: Seminar will be organized in Belgrade, Serbian capital from

6–10. September 2006. Selected participants will be informed about all details.

PHD VACANCIES IN
TRANS-NATIONAL
EUROPEAN HISTORY IN
THREE AREAS:
INFRASTRUCTURES,
CONSUMPTION,
TOURISM AND MOBILITY

The Foundation for the History of Technology sponsored by the Technical University Eindhoven, Department Technology Management and in partnership with Charles University, Prague (CZ) and the University of Plovdiv (BG), is inviting applications for four to five PhD positions for students from the Central, Eastern and South Eastern European countries of the former Soviet Bloc. The objective is to incorporate research from those regions into larger, ongoing research projects focused on Trans national European history, in particular the role of technology in constructing www.histech.nl/tensions/.

VISITING INTERNATIONAL
FELLOWSHIP IN SOCIAL
RESEARCH METHODS

The Institute of Social Research at the University of Surrey, Guildford, United Kingdom, has established a Visiting International Fellowship to foster the development of sociological research methods. Between one and three Fellowships are awarded by competition each year. The university is located thirty-five miles south-west of London. The awards are open to those who would value the opportunity to advance methodological understanding, for example by reflecting on methods used in previous empirical research, by validating existing or new methodological procedures, or by reviewing and synthesising methodological approaches. 'Methods' may be interpreted widely, to include, for example, statistical techniques and conversation and



discourse analysis. The department specialises in social research methods and has the highest 5** rating for research in the UK Research Assessment Exercise.

www.soc.surrey.ac.uk/isr_vif

GOTTLIEB DAIMLER AND
KARL BENZ FOUNDATION
FELLOWSHIP PROGRAM
"RESEARCH ABROAD"

The fellowships are intended to support a new generation of academics. The program therefore applies only to persons, not to projects. The program is open to all disciplines, subjects and countries. Germans wishing to pursue a research stay abroad and foreign students intending to work in Germany in connection with their PhD may apply. Candidates may complete their entire PhD thesis in the host country if they so wish. The support provided by the Foundation is for a maximum period of 2 years.

Deadlines for submitting complete applications to the Foundation are **March 1 and October 1** each year. The postmark is not valid! Applications arriving after these deadlines cannot be considered.

www.daimler-benz-stiftung.de/home/fellowship/en/start



European Information Centre



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