

FOCUS OF THIS ISSUE

What is written
in the Stabilisation
and Association
Agreement between
Montenegro and
European Union

INTERVIEW

Branko Lukovac,
ambassador of
Montenegro in
Zagreb and
former Foreign
Affairs Minister

ANALYSES

How reliable are the recent
prognoses that Montenegro
could join EU from 2015





FREEDOM?

All open-minded individuals in Montenegro who contribute to the youngest member of the United Nations and a potential EU candidate member joining the company of countries that at least have respect for human rights received a "warning" last week, not to meddle with the "state interest". Gloomy threats to **Aleksandar Saša Zeković**, researcher of human rights violations and member of the Council for Civic Control of Police, to give up his public appearances in order not to be publicly discredited by the alleged recordings from his private life, and subsequently eliminated, are not only directed at Zeković. They are a threat to all civil society activists whose behaviour is not to the liking of those who have the power of the state apparatus in their hands. This, of course, assuming that those playing with Zeković's life are members of the secret police, an assumption that by now seems to be well grounded. Who else could afford an entire machinery of several vehicles, video cameras, and tapping equipment, and why, if we know that Zeković is dealing exclusively with cases concerning the "state", or more precisely, the police. From investigations into abuse of authority during the arrests of Albanian terrorism suspects, through advocating compensations for the families of Muslims deported and murdered in 1992, to the case of policemen Muratbašić, who publicly confessed that he was pressured by DPS to convince his acquaintances to vote for the ruling party on the eve of the elections. For the Montenegrin police, who only three days later discovered that they should maybe take some action, there is only one way to prove that they do not stand behind this – finding the perpetrators and submitting enough proofs to the court to convict them. Not that this will convince those who dared to target Zeković that it is in their interest too to live in a free country, because the rulers can be overthrown. And to realise that their employers are not various power hubs, but Zeković himself and other citizens of Montenegro with voting rights. And no employer will tolerate the employees abusing their powers. **N.R.**

AFTER THE SAA, MONTENEGRO IS READY FOR OTHER IMPORTANT TREATIES WITH THE UNION

New signatures on EU agreements



From the initialing of the Agreement on Readmission and Visa Facilitation

After having initialled the Stabilisation and Association Agreement (SAA) with EU last month, in April Montenegro initialled three further treaties with EU – agreement on visa facilitation, readmission and Interim Agreement on trade.

The agreement on visa facilitation is the first important step towards full liberalisation, i.e. visa-free travelling regime between Montenegro and EU. It stipulates a wide spectrum of benefits: a significant decrease in the number of documents necessary for visa application, such as proofs regarding the purpose of the journey.

Among other improvements are the multiple-entry visas valid for 1 to 5 years, placing a cap on the visa fee which is to be frozen at the current 35 euros, abolishment of fees for certain categories of the population, shorter and precise deadlines for receiving an answer to the application etc.

These advantages concern representatives of state institutions, members of official delegations, business people, journalists, students, civil society activists, scientists, artists, sportsmen, persons travelling for medical reasons, representatives of religious communities, drivers of international transport and haulage companies... Entitled to visas free of charge are students, persons with disabilities, citizens travelling for humanitarian purposes (including medical care), pensioners, journalists, representatives of civil society and religious communities...

Agreement on readmission stipulates that Montenegro must, at a request of an EU member state, or the EU member state at the request of Montenegro, accept its citizens who do not fulfil or do not any more fulfil the conditions governing the entry, sojourn or residence on the territory of the other state.

These agreements should come into force by the end of 2007.

Interim Agreement on trade and related issues establishes a free trade area between Montenegro and EU for a five-year period. Once it comes into force, the EU market will be open to almost all products of Montenegro.

The agreement was signed by the Head of the Permanent Mission of Montenegro in EU, **Slavica Milačić**, and by the Head of European Commission Directorate for Western Balkans **Pierre Mirel**. The agreement encompasses all articles of the recently concluded SAA regarding trade, as well as those directly relevant for the free movement of goods.

Among these articles are those concerning customs policy and cooperation, road transport ensuring unlimited transit through Montenegro and across the EU, payments and transfers, competition and economic regulations, as well as intellectual, industrial and commercial property regulations. Also included are public procurements.

This temporary document contains almost all annexes and protocols of the SAA.

Interim Agreement envisages establishment of an Interim Board to supervise its implementation, consisting of members of the Council of EU Ministers, European Commission and the Government of Montenegro.

Interim Agreement will come into force on the first day of the second month following the signature of SAA, which is expected in June. It remains in force until SAA becomes operational, which will probably take several years as it requires ratification by all parliaments of EU member states.

N.R.



by dr Judy Batt

It takes two to tango, as the saying goes. Successful EU enlargement depends on both sides; it is a partnership in which both the EU and the candidates must show political will and sustain mutual confidence. But here, each side must do better.

First of all, the EU has to resolve its constitutional impasse. Clearly, expansion beyond the EU-27, even to include Croatia, will require agreement on institutional reform. The EU, in its own interest, cannot afford further drift: surely a solution can be found within the next two years that will avoid a situation where the Union is not ready to admit Croatia when the country is ready, which it could be by 2009 or 2010. None of the other Western Balkan countries will be ready for accession for some years more. Thus the EU has the time to digest the recent enlargements and renew itself for those to come.

The EU has not, in fact, failed to reward the progress made in the Western Balkans. Since 2005, it has opened accession negotiations with Croatia, and accepted Macedonia as a candidate. The Stabilisation and Association Agreement (SAA) with Albania has been concluded, and SAA negotiations opened with Bosnia-Herzegovina, Serbia and Montenegro. But the EU has not maximized the impact of these positive messages. The visibility and impact of the EU on the ground in Western Balkan countries needs to be enhanced so that it becomes a more effective communicator. The formation of the European External Action Service, envisaged in the failed Constitutional Treaty, would have improved its effectiveness, but this is now on hold. Even so, the EU could achieve much more by increas-

A VIEW FROM EUROPE

It takes two for tango

ing resources and staffing on the ground. The new Central and Eastern Europe (CEE) Member States have valuable experience of transition and EU integration, as well as linguistic skills that enhance effective communication. The EU should exploit these assets more extensively.

EU enlargement to the Western Balkans is more challenging, and may take longer, than for the CEE countries. The limited capacity of the region's states means that the Union cannot just set conditions and provide incentives, but has to help build the states themselves. The EU accession process, offering a 'template' for economic and administrative reform backed by financial and technical support, is the best available solution. There is no reason why it cannot work for the Balkans as it did for other parts of Europe.

Public opinion, especially in older EU Member States, tends to see further enlargement as being mainly in the interests of the aspirant countries. It is neglected too often that the promise of EU membership for the Balkans was not made out of altruism, but for reasons of practical self-interest.

In its 2005 report, "The Balkans in Europe's Future", the International Commission on the Balkans argued that the target date for accession should be set at 2014-2015 – symbolically, a century after war broke out in Sarajevo in the summer of 1914. But the EU is reluctant to decide such dates: the European Council in December 2006 stated that "target dates for accession will not be set until negotiations are close to completion". The European Commission's experience is that uncertainty about the precise date of accession is an important part of the conditionality of the accession process. It argues that even an 'indicative' date may lead the authorities of an applicant country to relax, rather than reinforce, their preparatory efforts. In the recent expansion to include Bulgaria and Romania, the near-certainty of joining in 2007 seems to have reduced the leverage for reforms.

But EU candidates do need to set target dates for themselves for the pur-

poses of government planning, for setting priorities and sequencing reforms. A target date is also an important means of mobilising the broad national effort needed and can be used to hold governments to account for progress. Croatia has declared that its target for accession is 2009, in time for its people to vote in the next European Parliament elections. For the other Balkan countries, which have not yet opened accession negotiations, it is harder to make any predictions.

Yet people understandably feel the need for a firmer timetable in order to believe that accession will happen. So the EU's refusal to give target dates needs to be complemented by credible reassurances of its readiness to move candidates along the path to membership as soon as they are ready. The principle of 'differentiation' – that each country advances to membership at its own pace – must be upheld. There is good evidence that countries lagging behind are motivated to catch up when those advancing with reform more rapidly are duly rewarded by the EU.

Setting a target is, of course, no guarantee of actually hitting it. What now has to be done? The nuts-and-bolts of the process are already clearly laid out in the Stabilisation and Association Process, which draws on the successful experience with the CEE countries' accession. The key challenge lies elsewhere – strengthening the political relationship between the EU and the aspirant Member States in the Western Balkans.

Enlargement to the Western Balkans should be kept separate from the question of Turkey's accession. With a population three times greater than the whole of the Western Balkans put together, and a geographic location at Europe's outer limits, Turkey poses quite different challenges. For the Western Balkans, joining the EU is imperative – without the European perspective, they cannot hope to achieve stability and prosperity.

The author is renowned expert for Western Balkans from Paris based European Union Institute for Security Studies (EUISS)

WHAT IS WRITTEN IN THE STABILISATION AND ASSOCIATION AGREEMENT BETWEEN MONTENEGRO AND EUROPEAN UNION



by Vladan Žugić

The first contract between Montenegro and the European Union is supposed to set the pace of Montenegrin adjustment to the EU, but it also demonstrates that Montenegro will not have unconditional support from Brussels – rather, it will depend on Montenegro implementing EU recommendations set out in the European Partnership, a document which contains all medium and long term tasks that should be fulfilled by Podgorica.

"In order to fulfil the goals of the Stabilisation and Association Agreement (SAA), Montenegro is entitled to financial assistance from the Community, in the form of subventions and loans, including loans by the European Investment Bank. Community assistance will depend on the future progress in meeting the Copenhagen political criteria, and especially on the progress achieved in fulfilling special priorities from the European Partnership", reads the Financial Cooperation chapter of SAA, which was initialled on 15 March 2007 in Podgorica by the European Enlargement Commissioner **Olli Rehn** and Montenegrin Prime Minister **Željko Šturanović**.

The SAA further states that assistance will depend on the results of annual reports of the Stabilisation and Association Process, especially

Disciplined attitude for loans and credits

concerning recipient's obligation to implement democratic, economic and institutional reforms, as well as on the conclusions of the Council regarding specific adjustment programmes... "Financial assistance to Montenegro can encompass all cooperation sectors, with special attention being directed to justice, freedom and security, legal harmonisation, economic development and environmental protection" states the SAA.

The agreement has not been made public yet, because, according to the Deputy Prime Minister for European Integrations, **Gordana Đurović**, the Government has not yet approved the document which in the meantime has received final

proof-reading. According to her, the Government should approve the SAA text by 26 April.

After initialling the SAA, it will take until late June for it to be signed, before the end of German EU presidency. Once signed, the Parliament of Montenegro and the European Parliament will approve SAA, and forward it to ratification to all 27 parliaments of EU member states.

Finally, the ratified agreement comes into force, a process which can take several years. If the Stabilisation and Association Agreement with Montenegro comes into force after three to four years, as in the case of Croatia and Macedonia, authorities in Podgorica

UNDER THE EYES OF COUNCIL

The Agreement envisages establishment of a Stabilisation and Association Council, entitled to "monitor implementation of the SAA". The Council will consist of representatives of the Council of EU and the European Commission, as well as of the members of the Government of Montenegro. Its decisions are "binding" for both signatory parties.

"Stabilisation and Association Council may issue recommendations when necessary. The Council makes its decisions and recommendations based on agreements between the signatory parties", states the SAA.

This joint body of EU and Montenegro will meet regularly, but also "if a particular need arises".

It is also stated that the Council will discuss all important issues that appear in the context of the SAA or any other bilateral or international matter of mutual interest.

In addition to this, SAA envisages establishment of a Parliamentary committee for stabilisation and association, consisting of members of the European Parliament and the Parliament of Montenegro.

"This will be a forum for the members of the Parliament of Montenegro to meet the European Parliament MPs and exchange opinions", states the SAA, adding that the Committee is free to determine its meeting schedules.



Olli Rehn and Željko Šturanović on the occasion of initialing of SAA

will have some 8 to 9 years to, for instance, guarantee protection of intellectual, industrial and commercial property on the same level as in the Community.

According to the SAA, Montenegro committed itself to harmonise its legislation in the realm of electronic communication with EU standards within three years from the date the agreement comes into force.

The timeframe accepted by the Government in Podgorica for adopting adequate legislation on the protection of personal data is three to four years, before the SAA comes into force.

Within four years from the date the SAA comes into force, Monte-

negro will submit to the European Commission data on GDP per capita adjusted to the NUTS II level, in order to ascertain relative needs of Montenegrin regions and thus the maximum financial assistance they will receive.

In the next few years, the Government will also have to focus on a "more efficient taxation and improvement of fight against tax frauds", as well as on "gradual harmonisation of legislation concerning working conditions, especially in terms of health protection, protection at work and equal opportunities".

With a preamble and concluding remarks, the SAA consists of nine chapters with 139 articles alto-

gether, plus seven annexes and eight protocols.

Chapter on "Justice, Freedom and Security", states that cooperation between EU and Montenegro will "primarily aim at strengthening independence of judiciary and improving its efficacy, improvements in the functioning of the Police and other law enforcement organs, providing adequate training and fighting corruption and organised crime".

According to the SAA, signatory parties will cooperate in fighting and preventing criminal and illegal activities such as economic crimes (especially falsifying cash and non-cash means of payment, illegal transactions in products such as industrial waste, radioactive materials and other transactions involving illegal, falsified or pirated products). Other areas of cooperation will be fight against corruption, both in private and public sectors (especially in relation to non-transparent administrative practices), fight against illegal trade in drugs and weapons, as well as smuggling of and illegal trade in goods, including cars.

The "Political cooperation" chapter features prospects for coopera-

EASY ACCESS TO REAL ESTATE

Once the Agreement comes into force, Montenegro will grant national treatment to the citizens of EU member states with regard to acquisition of real estate on its territory, states the SAA.

According to the current legislation in Montenegro, foreign legal persons have the same treatment as the nationals regarding real estate ownership. On the other hand, private individuals cannot own real estate in Montenegro, although this is only a paper law, as they usually manage to acquire ownership right by registering a company. In practice, therefore, Montenegro has already implemented European standards with respect to real estate ownership rights.

tion in the field of public administration, mainly focusing on "institution building, including development and implementation of transparent and impartial employment procedures, human resource management, promotions, continuous training and enhancement of professional ethics".

Regarding environment, probably the most expensive and legally the most demanding EU policy, the SAA states that "signatory parties will be developing and strengthening cooperation in the field of environment, the key goal being to prevent further degradation of the environment and to initiate improvements in order to ensure environmental sustainability".

"Signatory parties will especially focus on cooperation aimed at strengthening of the administrative structures and procedures in order to ensure strategic planning of environmental issues and coordination among the relevant actors, through harmonisation of Montenegrin legislation with *Acquis Communautaire*. Cooperation could also encompass development of strategies to decrease air and water pollution on the local, regional, and cross-border levels, establishment of a system for an effective, clean, sustainable and renewable production and consumption of energy, as well as assessment of their impact on the environment. Special attention will be given to ratification and imple-



mentation of Kyoto Protocol", states the SAA further.

Cooperation in the field of agriculture and agro-industrial sector will "aim at modernisation and restructuring of agricultural and agro-industrial sector, particularly in terms of fulfilling the sanitary requirements of the Community, improvement of water management and rural development, development of forestry in Montenegro, as well as gradual harmonisation of Montenegrin legislation and practices with Community standards and regulations".

Regarding fisheries, the SAA focuses on priority areas related to the Community *Acquis*, including observance of international obligations related to the rules of International and Regional Fishing Organisations on management and preservation of fishing resources.

In the field of energy, Montenegro committed itself to focus on the "promotion of energy saving, energy efficiency, renewable energies, and research on the impact of energy production and consumption on the environment".

The agreement also tackles in great detail competition policy, public procurement, establishment of economic associations, movement of workers, services, regional cooperation...

NO QUOTA FOR OLIVES

The most positive aspect of the first contractual relationship between Montenegro and the EU is the opportunity for the Montenegrin producers to market their goods free of tariffs on an enormous market with 500 million people.

Although the ratification of SAA may take years, Interim Agreement will immediately come into force, containing the trade part of the SAA agreement between Montenegro and EU.

The Community will abolish all customs tariffs for Montenegrin products, even though certain goods will be subject to export quotas. In the meantime, Montenegro will gradually abolish its customs for EU products, over a period of three to five years. Interim Agreement comes into force immediately after the Parliament of Montenegro and the European Parliament have ratified the SAA, which is expected to happen in the second half of this year.

It appears that the Montenegrin side has conducted negotiations well, with an optimistic view of the future, as the quotas for most products are way above the current production capacities.

According the Agreement, Montenegro will be able to export to EU 16 thousand hectolitres of wine in the next five years, free of tariffs, while the current rate of export is hardly three thousand.

On the other hand, the 27 EU members will be able to export to Montenegro 1.5 thousand hectolitres without tariffs, with an annual increase of 500 hectolitres, up to a maximum of 3.5 thousand.

Regulations on baby beef allow Montenegro to export up to 800 tons to EU market free of customs. Until now, Montenegro did not at all export this product.

Similarly, Montenegro will be able to export 20 tons of sea and river fish without tariffs, or 200 tons of sardines and anchovies. There are no quotas on olives and olive-based products. Domestic producers in this field are obliged to adjust their products to the EU requirements and to identify partners from 27 states that will provide further sale. On the other hand, Montenegro will (concerning olives) start to open slowly its own market and to decrease the tariffs.

Iron can also be exported to EU market free of customs up to a certain limit, but the quotas are hardly achievable with the current production capacity.

HOW RELIABLE ARE THE RECENT PROGNOSSES THAT MONTENEGRO COULD JOIN EU FROM 2015

By the time our political class matures, Brussels should consolidate itself

If the prognoses of the most renowned European and world companies dealing with financial services and analyses are to be trusted, Montenegro should join the EU in 2015. What makes these prognoses a little less reliable is the internal situation of the EU, whose leading members are trying to agree on institutional rearrangements of the Union, which is a precondition for further enlargements. The second dimension, on which the accuracy of this prediction will depend and which is of a greater importance for Montenegro, is the maturity and willingness of the Montenegrin political class to genuinely tackle all the problems of Montenegrin transformation into a state of rule of law which will be based on European standards. The practice so far confirms that the Montenegrin parties prefer to deal with "cosmic" issues, regarding, for instance, protection of supposedly endangered national interests, in order to broaden their scope for demagoguery and manipulation, instead of engaging with concrete problems.

From 10 to 16 April 2007, Reuters conducted a survey among 38 well known European and international companies dealing in financial services and analyses of developing markets, whose results indicated that Montenegro could become an EU member in 2015.

According to the survey, in 2015 Montenegro, Serbia, Bosnia and Herzegovina and Albania will join the EU, while Turkey would have to wait until 2019. Croatia is in the best position at the moment, and it is expected to join the elite club by 2010.

Participants in the survey believe that Montenegro could become a member earliest by 2012, and latest by 2020. The same prognosis was made for Serbia, while the latest estimate for BH and Albania was 2030, the earliest being 2012.

In the European capitals, however, there is as yet no mention of further enlargements. During the last month's meeting with a group of East European and Balkan journalists in Berlin, hosted by the European Academy, one of the hottest topics was the complete absence of any words of encouragement for the potential new members of the "elite club" in the EU birthday declaration.

It was emphasised that the EU has promised Western Balkan countries a mem-



Angela Merkel,
President of the Council of EU

bership, but that there has been no mention of a concrete timeframe.

It is a fact that for the leaders of the EU-27 further enlargement is not exactly a priority. The main goal is to reorganise the EU by adopting the first Constitution for this community in order to make the decision making processes more efficient and to increase EU competitiveness on the global stage, especially in the "race" with the US, China and India. Internal re-organisation is also a precondition for further enlargements, as the current system was constructed for 15, not for 27 members with each of them capable of blocking or significantly slowing down important decisions.

The journalists were explained that the current Treaties from Maastricht and Nice are no longer enough to ensure adequate functioning of the EU, and that the system will cease to perform if all decisions have to be made unanimously and if every country has its own commissioner in the EC.

Everything seems to indicate that in the next five years the EU will be mostly preoccupied with its own issues and that the accession of new members will depend on the adoption of an EU constitution, whatever its title.

Speculations in the Montenegrin public regarding the date of EU accession are thus

completely void, and the message is that Montenegro should better focus on reforming its system to fit the EU regulations in its own interest, in order to become a normal, organised state.

This will help Montenegro get closer to the Union, by arriving at the white Schengen list (i.e. establishing a visa-free regime with most of the EU members). Gaining a candidate status will allow it to access EU funds, whereupon waiting for a full membership will become a more relaxed process.

The importance of a new constitution for EU is best illustrated by the "birthday" Declaration signed by the President of the Council of EU, German chancellor **Angela Merkel**, president of the European Commission **Jose Manuel Barroso** and president of the European Parliament, **Hans Gert Pottering**.

This is, in fact, the most important message of the Declaration, which states that the EU members are united in their intention to "place EU on common foundations", by the next elections for the European Parliament in 2009. "Renewed common foundations" are another name for a Constitution, but that term has lost its popularity after its failure on the referendums in France and the Netherlands some two years ago. Nevertheless, the air is rife with uncertainty regarding the success of this initiative, which Germany is to try to make come true on the June Summit of the EU leaders.

The EU is divided between a group of countries lead by Germany, who are intensively lobbying for further "unification" of the EU and introduction of majority voting to replace the practice of unanimity, and the rest of the members, among whom the United Kingdom and Poland, who are wary of this road, fearing greater losses to their national sovereignties.

As for Montenegro, once the debate on the future of EU has been resolved in the great European centres, we can always count on a benevolent EU attitude, provided that in the meantime we earn the status of a credible country with genuine commitment to the rule of law and a market economy free of monopolies.

N. RUDOVIĆ

BRANKO LUKOVAC, AMBASSADOR OF MONTENEGRO IN ZAGREB AND FORMER FOREIGN AFFAIRS MINISTER

Right now we need European values – when the time comes, we can have a referendum

I am readier to support accession to EU than accession to NATO. For me, the Partnership for Peace is certainly a need for Montenegro, but in case of both organisations it will be necessary in the end to test the will of the Montenegrin citizens, said in the interview for *EIC Bulletin* **Branko Lukovac**, ambassador of Montenegro in Zagreb and former Minister of Foreign Affairs.

He emphasised that for Montenegro it is first of all necessary to adopt European values and standards and to assess the direction in which the EU is moving during the association process.

"Even some bigger countries have their doubts regarding certain levels of EU integration. The biggest ones, which have most influence on the processes within EU could form a circle of their own whose decisions would be crucial, while other countries would not like to see that happening. We saw that immediately after the 2004 enlargement with 10 new member states wave France and the Netherlands experienced resistance due to fears that the new members who are on a lower level of development will enter the common market, competing for well paid jobs and endangering social relations in the old members...This created numerous dilemmas, and we must carefully follow future developments inside EU.

● Recently, we heard for the first time some voices warning that Montenegro, as a small state, would do well to recalculate costs and benefits of EU accession. Would you comment on that?



Branko Lukovac

Given the present situation, we should engage in this process with enthusiasm for becoming a part of the EU, and even more eager to adopt its values. The question is whether we will at all be able to compete on the EU market, not only in goods of which we produce very little, but also in services, banking or tourism, which we must bring up to the EU norms...

I believe that at the end of this road, which is to say in some 4 to 5 years, Montenegro should go through all steps of the process that other countries already went through. In the end, the citizens should be asked to decide.

We have committed ourselves to a European road, nevertheless, there were debates on whether Montenegro would perhaps be more attractive if it preserved a specific status, like Switzerland – to represent an attraction for others. Being a

small country, its voice will not have particular strength within EU, even if we were to ally with other small states. However, at this point I do not see why we should trouble ourselves with such ideas – our goal for the moment should be to fulfil high European standards. This will be the most important thing. Once we have tested the will of the citizens, we will be able to say check which route is the EU taking and whether it still has the same attraction for us.

● How are the governments of Croatia and Montenegro cooperating in the field of European integrations?

We have signed a Protocol on cooperation, and since then we have had two meetings to discuss implementation of this cooperation framework, and to define projects in the realm of cross-border cooperation.

Among the states participating in the association process, Croatia has high reputation as a country which

uses the EU funds most effectively. Even those countries that joined EU earlier had troubles preparing the projects to satisfy the complex procedure for gaining resources. Croatia is one of the best, and I believe they will be able to help us a lot in that respect.

● **Is there a definite confirmation from the government of Croatia regarding their readiness to give Montenegro some 30.000 pages of translations of European regulations? When will that happen?**

I believe the question of making Croatian translations of EU regulations available should soon appear on the agenda. This is huge, complex work, and Serbia and BH have also shown interest in using this translation. Obviously, there is a number of institutions who participated in this project with their authorship rights, therefore, the legal nitty-gritty is yet to be agreed on. This should be made clear, as the media could easily create an impression that something already promised has been subsequently denied. This is only a possibility, and needs to be negotiated further.

● **What is happening to regional cooperation, which has been emphasised by Brussels as one of the key requests for the new potential candidates?**

Regional cooperation is a priority for both the EU and the Council of Europe, and there are special funds allocated for that to each of the countries. However, there are special programmes for regional projects also outside these national quotas. Later this month, after several years of trying, we can expect the beginning of an organised effort to rebuild fallen bridges.

● **One of the rumours is that the EU would maybe like to push Montenegro to catch up with Croatia on its road to EU so that these two countries could join together. Do you have any informa-**

REGULATION OF WASTE MANAGEMENT ALONE WILL COST US 1.5 BILLION EUROS

● **Sustainable development in Montenegro is also your area of expertise. Which aspect of it do you think will be the most challenging for meeting EU standards?**

I was in Slovenia in 1999, and five years before joining the EU they emphasised two problems as being the most complex. First, they did not have a single judge who was trained to implement *acquis communautaire*. With only five years ahead, this was a great challenge. We have not even translated a single page of the *acquis* which has about 100.000, not to mention training.

Slovenia sent more than a 1.000 people every year for training in EU institutions. This is enormous work, educating people to be able to implement community laws and other EU legal acts, and to participate in common institutions in Brussels.

The other extremely complex and challenging issue was the protection of the environment. Their estimates stood at three billion dollars of necessary investments in industry and urban infrastructure in order to bring them up to the EU standards. We will certainly have to deal with this problem. Even today, the Aluminium Plant does not possess permit, and in many industrial and urban aspects the standards are not implemented. According to the estimates, we will need at least a billion and a half euros only to implement the Master Plan of solid and liquid waste. We are hoping that the new owner of the Aluminium Plant will respect the contract and invest in the next five years some 50 millions at least in the environment, either through direct investments or through new equipment. In that case, the situation will be significantly improved, at least with respect to the Aluminium Plant and the valley of Zeta... Then there is the problem of the Pljevlja basin, the wasteland in Mojkovac, sewage waters in the Boka Bay... Waste management alone will require substantial investments.

tion on this possibility?

Croatia plans to join the EU by the end of 2009. There is much optimism both in Croatia and in some European institutions, as well as plans to adopt a special declaration in this regard. There are clear efforts and timetables for Croatia joining the EU. Naturally, it will not depend on Croatia alone, but also on the situation within EU. Currently, some believe that the EU should adopt a constitution before any further enlargement, an argument that is not uncontested.

As for Montenegro, I believe that realistically we need more time. There is no chance that we could join together with Croatia in 2009, and I think that for us it is more

important to show ability to adopt values and standards, instead of speculating about dates. Unrealistic expectations could end up in disappointments.

There is much political readiness in the EU to offer support to Montenegro. If we manage to conclude the first Stabilisation and Association Agreement in the next several months, assuming contractual obligations to open and close 33 chapters of the *Acquis* one by one, we will have a lot of work ahead. If Montenegro succeeds in closing all of those chapters in the next 5 to 6 years, I would consider it a great success.

N. RUDOVIĆ

Together it stands

by Brano Mandić

Blessed are the atheist, for theirs is the kingdom of heaven. As for the sacred edifices in Montenegro, they belong to the proud titular: Serbian Orthodox Church. Once again it shows how important it is to have a good manager at the helm of a congregation. All the beards of this world, his included, cannot hide the fact archbishop **Amfilohije** is one of the best entrepreneurs that ever cropped up from the Montenegrin soil.

An event as if fashioned for the media: bustling and flag-waving, a cordon of special units, white prayer-cap, calling out of the name of **Krsto Zrnov**, raising the holy cross before the plastic visors of state conscience. A legion of blue Spartans stoically suffers abuse while listening to two liturgies a hundred metres apart. Facing the fire line of an anathema, the police did the job with dignity, a job not so tough after all, for they easily outnumbered the devotees of the Montenegrin Orthodox Church.

A blunder that may well mark the end of the MOC state-building mission of teaches us once again that together we stand, or better, together the Church stands.

If only Amfilohije would now retreat from the helm, following the example of his colleague **Đukanović**, and leave the throne of St. Peter of Cetinje to someone less likely to frighten the minority nations, the story would be over. Considering the number of charters for the millennium contribution to peace on earth, even Đukanović himself could become an honorary abbey of the reformed episcopate that leaves Montenegrin statehood idea eternally indebted to its holy murmur in the referendum campaign.

The puzzle is coming together,

except the traumas of church and state are again ravaging the gloomy town of Cetinje where not a single edifice arose in the past twenty years. A city that would need a Small Prayer for "Obod", for instance, or a dirge for the unemployed in the Capital of Culture. It is indeed the cultural concept of the young republic (which we do not have) that should step in between the two extremes, two totalitarian social forms: an Orthodox Jamahiriya and a neoliberal microstate.

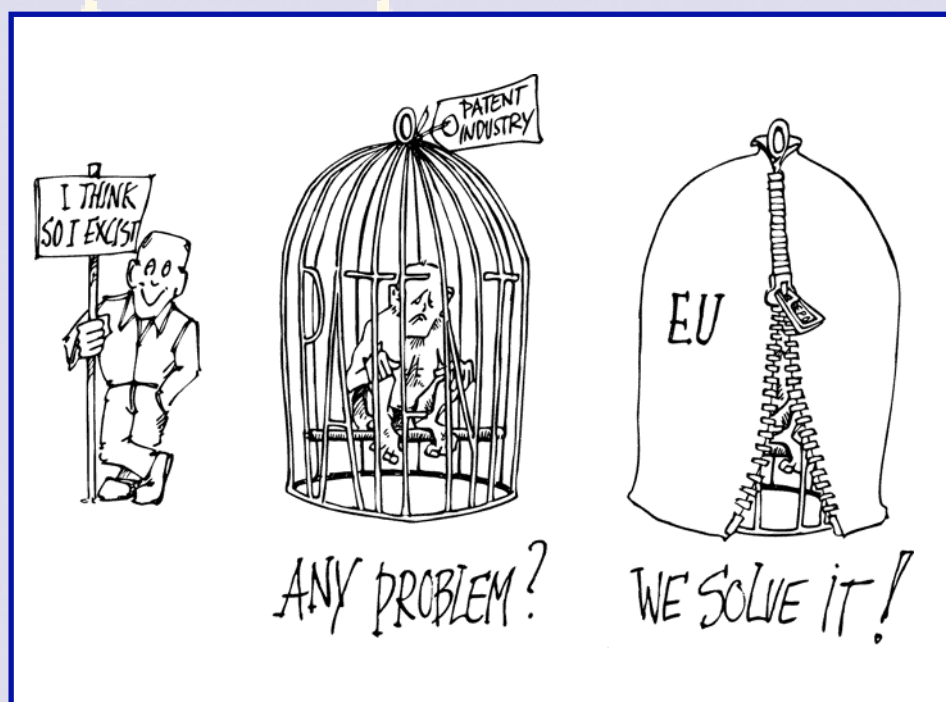
Without cultural navigation, it is logical that a society should easily slide into extremes. In the final consequence, on the one side we have Christmas celebrations to the tune of Kalashnikovs, and on the other a globalised swamp selling cheaply its beaches and girls in national dresses.

Until we turn to cultural unification, in vain are all the advertising videos of the Democratic Party of Socialists with these same dresses hugging each others' sleeves, which they anyhow borrowed from the Montenegrin National Theatre, or

from some dying cultural centre.

It should be noted, Plav, Gusinje, Mojkovac, šavnik, Andrijevisa are all eagerly awaiting the arrival of the Rolling Stones, no? This can only happen to the towns where a theatre performance or an exhibition are events worthy of prime time news reports of the public broadcasting service. On edges break the empires, warned great **Zbigniew Herbert**, writing about the Roman Empire. Then again, someone could say that the ancient Doclea is too tiny, and the edges are too close by for any real danger of a cultural breakdown to occur. You would think so, indeed, until you see a survey in which some twenty inhabitants of Kolašin tell you that Morinj is a place in Croatia. Let us admit that Boka Kotorska is light-years away from Ali Paša's wells, the road infrastructure being the greatest, although not the only problem. Note the roads as a cultural project in the narrow sense.

Except for roads, we could do better with a hospital or two, also a



cultural establishment par excellence. Let us only consider a very complicated surgical intervention aimed at the illness usually referred to as aneurism: if the abdominal artery of inhabitant of Podgorica decides to snap, his or her chances to survive are inversely related to the number of minutes it takes him or her to the emergency wing of the Clinical Centre, under horrible pains. Should this happen to an inhabitant of Berane, we can safely count him or her succumbing to the same horrible pains. Add to this the fact that the number of registered private dentists in the northern parts of the Republic of Montenegro can be counted on fingers of your upper limbs... The situation resembles that of acute jazz fans in Rožaje – they have no chances of surviving.

Thus, when we see Montenegrin flags burning in Pljevlja, and the streets of Plav ranting: "this is Turkey", let us not wonder in astonishment – this is merely a reply to the state. If the state starts responding like it did on Cetinje, with 200 frowning Robo-cops, it is all in vain, even if they get the EU stars shining on their helmets.

And doubly in vain the arrival of **Jagger Mick**, without a subtly crafter basic literature education for the Montenegrin youth eagerly awaiting the influential capitalists to stretch out their cable networks and offer them a chance to seek in the satellite plate a refuge from the political vaudevilles – the main diet of the local TV stations.

Nevermind that we have a political party port-parole heading the cultural sector, let us not lose our hopes – it could have been the other way around, to have the Minister of



Culture become a party speaker, and the tractates of **Svetozar Marović** find their way to the Faculty of Philosophy curricula. ("All is temporary, except the time, which is why everyone is so conscious of the time passing. Only the time pays no head to anyone, it merely passes and judges", cf. DPS Programme).

Creative writing could then feature as a mandatory course essays of **Miodrag Vuković** from the book "Witness as a witness", while archbishop Amfilohije could have his five minutes of fame in the morning programme, in a short educational series: "God help you, Montenegro". Sponsoring the series: The First Montenegrin Church. Motto: "Female womb is a factory of life".

And thus we come to women's organizations defending their right to abortion. That's how radical they are. The peripheries are want to adopt every teaching immediately in its most

extreme form, skipping the natural pace of cultural development and arriving as if from the sky, like Rolling Stones to the Jaz beach. If communism could do it, feminism can do it too. The politics of the European idea have come the same way, in a repulsive guise of a totalitarian sacrament, the untouchable truth which deserves a few soldiers to be sacrificed for it, in case we should need fresh meat for Irak.

For desserts, let us cite once again the DPS programme, suggesting that the road to Europe should be trod in the way perfected by Indian pariahs: erasing the footprints behind oneself.

"...We were aware of this already when we realised before anyone else that our task is not

to correct the past. There remains much that is dark and uncovered, seducing and taking toll on us. But not having time and not using one's time are one and the same thing. Ideas should not crowd out the reality. The road to future leads through the present".

Present: a few days ago one human rights researcher started receiving anonymous threats after having spoken in public about facing the political responsibility for deportation of Muslims/Bosniaks from Montenegro in 1992.

"You must adjust to state interests, do you understand?!" said the anonymous voice. "Watch out with what you say and write!"

This was supposed to be an article about the cultural concept of the young Republic. Investigation is under way.

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

INSIDER MONOPOLY, OR MONTENEGRIN "EUROSCEPTICISM"



by Mila Kasalica

EU is a political project with a focus on economic benefits accruing from large producer and consumer markets, and only unity in both dissent and implementation can ensure the feasibility of this project and its smooth functioning across decades. First of all, the slowdown of the Constitution some years ago was a clear directive of the broadest democratic type issued by the citizens of two solid, developed European democracies: the final goal of the project is not to make bureaucracy overrule the essence and to be transformed into aggression (politically speaking, power) to the detriment of quality. Secondly, Euroscepticism is an ideational framework of the current resistance among experts and a refusal to idealise the establishment – it defines observational platform for citizens, not authorities.

The expert public, which constructively follows EU processes in Montenegro, should have already concluded from the New Year's "message" of the head of the ruling party, **Milo Đukanović** (that one should not blindly follow EU rules) that the "carte blanche" has been withdrawn. The "Easter epistle" only confirmed the obvious – new rules are being set up for the already

Escape from European Rules

adopted, insider, "strategic" framework for development of the entire Montenegrin society. The neoliberal concept of management of national resources without careful deliberation of long-term development is contrary to the European principle of responsibility for future generations.

"Ability" and "skill" of the insiders to structure a monopoly in Montenegro through blind obedience will be endangered by European rules and norms which are the same for all participants. It is therefore necessary to promptly re-incorporate the "scientific" dogma by Mr. **Veselin Vukotić** into the Agenda for Economic Reforms – a state document defining development initiatives in Montenegro. It is, after all, "rational" that we should be on the level of Slovenian development today by 2030 (to cite the most recent assessments of economic parameters). Most segments which should determine a

society organised by the measure of its citizens are absent from the minds of followers of the official and unofficial "creators" of the Agenda, a document transparently defining all monopolies in the Montenegrin long-term development, i.e. a clear choice of social stratification which is so deep and structural that the road to Europe may take decades. Therefore we "Eurosceptically" add up the selected costs and receive a message from the circles around Vukotić and Đukanović that we should better check whether tiny Montenegro will gain anything by becoming an EU member.

The example of Estonia is taken as the key model in defence of Eurosceptic arguments by the neoliberal "scientists", and insider monopolists, although this country from the moment it joined EU (2004) had GDP rates twice the size of the Montenegrin ones. Regarding electricity prices, Estonia has the follow-

THE "SKILFUL" ARE RUNNING OUT OF LEGAL LOOPHOLES

The presence of EU imposes the uncertainty of a "new player". Accelerated implementation of the adopted laws (laws without intentionally created loopholes for the few to exercise their "skills") is at the heart of the "panic" reaction of our recently self-proclaimed Eurosceptics. They are in panic because the times of "well-acquainted" consultancies and local manipulation of low quality advisors from international organisations is now coming to a close. It is perhaps necessary, in the end, to be explicit in the following statement on the establishment of developmental models in Montenegro: there are no tigers on the Mediterranean, except in cages, for which reason they are ready to snap bloodthirstily at those who feed them.

Euroscepticism is a part of our future once we accept the European road, not if we refuse it. The need to articulate a necessary critical "break", especially with respect to a bureaucratic behemoth is a responsibility and a right of independent actors, experts and citizens. There is no space for backstage attempts by a couple of insiders to defend their monopolistic understanding of the economy and long-term development.

ing opinion: "The free market model does not apply to infrastructure sector services as the latter are governed by natural monopolies and companies dominating the market. Therefore, state regulation of the prices of services provided by infrastructure companies is necessary and should replace the free market pricing mechanism." (Source: national document on price calculations for electricity, published by EMI, regulatory inspectorate of electric energy in Estonia). So much about the neoliberal dogma founded on dilettante, insider arguments. So much of electric energy production qua business.

We should also take a look at the current hype of local "Euro-scepticism". Signing the SAA agreement is the only concrete, clear achievement of the newly elected public administration until now. Measurable, weighted in both its advantages and disadvantages, and an end to a period of intensive negotiating rounds that laid out the path for the future obligations, rights and duties. Most of those countries with tiny economies and limited resources that served us as a romantic-marketing fairy tale during the referendum are already part of this alliance. There remain Switzerland, Lichtenstein, Norway and Island, but there too the sophisticated administration, knowledge, education, tax systems, financial stability, market regulations are all



complex determinants of a unique approach aimed equally at the community and at the individual, not at a handful of "chosen ones". Had the argumentation of the insider resistance to EU dared to tackle these "financial havens", it would have been obvious that the declared Euro-scepticism is only another name for imprecision and for professional discrepancy between the wished and the achieved.

Consequently, we have a new terrain for a dogmatic talk on costs, as if it were possible to discuss whether the Euro-Atlantic integrations are cheaper than the European ones. Stories of immense costs of the European road obscure the reality of the mistaken investment choices so far. The Agenda purposely limits the development perspectives of

Montenegro, through a strategy of developing only what they chosen ones choose to develop, avoiding a serious, transparent calculation and detailed financial construction of the general economic and social potentials. The basic recommendation by the IMF and the World Bank, to "secure affordable and cost-effective energy supplies while preserving the environment", our local neoliberals have naturally forgotten, consciously, systematically introducing and pursuing brutal pragmatism of personal interests and interests of the few "skilful" ones, defending their choices by determinants of liberal principles.

Thus, the only costs comes from the fact that the EU representatives have a job of being present, and thoroughly, not only formally, informed. Standardisation of the formal, the proclaimed platform of the creators of the Agenda was always a choice of a easier, not of a more quality road. Permanent EU presence therefore threatens to limit the space for manoeuvre with unsubstantiated, biased ratios, indicators, and GDP rates, projecting a future without visible improvements for the community – which up to this point was a well established practice of the "scientific" and other official documents and projects implemented by the "creators" of the Agenda. It is costly indeed, but not in terms of financial burden born by the citizens through their taxes and duties. Inevitability of close cooperation with the European Commission office is seen as a "risk" for the "elite", and this is the core of the whole debate on "costs". Professionally speaking, it is amusing to see the economic and social reality being reduced to such calculations, as banality becomes a refuge for the monopolists and a "false" pride of "us, small and skilful", avoiding the space of clear and substantiated argumentation.

The author has a Master degree in Financial Management and she is the CCE associate

OVERNIGHT RICHES AGAINST QUALITY AND WORK

Some hundred thousand pages of EU regulations are not the primary problem, obstacle, or cost. This is necessarily a project of continued translation, reading, adoption, implementation for the next fifteen years. The concern of the Montenegrin "Euro-sceptics" is, however, not to regulate at all this natural habitat of the overnight, insider riches, thriving in the "casinos" of our capital markets and in the couloirs of public administration, against dedicated years of work and quality. This is why we should be made to believe that Europe is a problem, not a solution. Maybe we should also believe that the previous long-term choice of a "lesser evil" is more realistic than a conscious, firm decision to move towards the new horizons of transparent professionalism, existence, attitude.

THE FATE OF THE PROCLAIMED INTENTION TO DELEGATE RESPONSIBILITIES FROM THE NATIONAL TO THE LOCAL LEVEL



by Emil Kriještorac

Based on the decision of the Third Summit of the heads of states and governments of the Council of Europe (CoE) member states, which took place in Warsaw in May 2005, CoE Directorate for cooperation for local and regional democracy established a Centre for Expert Support to the reforms of local self-governments, whose primary goal is to assist local authorities in creating efficient local governance. In cooperation with other CoE agencies and external partners, the task of this Centre is to "identify, modify and develop means to improve governance capacities modelled after best European practices, and relying on the approaches which have been proven successful".

Following the establishment of the Centre, a conference was recently organised in Podgorica, titled "Development Programme for Responsible Management and Best Practices for Local Self-Government in Montenegro", which hosted **Giovanni di Stasi**, director of the CoE Centre for local governance and former president of the Congress of Local and Regional Authorities of the Council of Europe. Following the

Decentralisation only on paper

presentation of intentions and goals of the Council of Europe in this field, the key words dominating the discussion at the conference were once again "decentralisation" and "reform" of local self-governments.

Unlike Mr Stasi, citizens of Montenegro have been exposed to the above catchwords since 1998, when the Government adopted Strategy for the Reform of Local Self-Governance and decided on the dynamics of development of local self-governments as well as democracy on the local level. At the time, now almost ten years ago, the goals of the reform were defined through principles of decentralisation, democratisation, professionalisation, de-politici-

sation, autonomy and efficiency of local self-governments. The starting point was to become implementation of the European Charter on Local Governance, adopted by the CoE on 15 October 1985.

Ever since, chronologically speaking, great numbers of conferences followed, as well as advisory committees, seminars, workshops, numerous preliminary drafts and drafts of systemic laws in this field, to be finally adopted in mid-2003. Without the presence of the opposition parties, leaving out most amendments proposed by the Union of Municipalities, and without the approval of the relevant international institutions participating in the process.

TOOLS FOR THE STRENGTHENING OF DEMOCRACY

Seen that the European Union never bothered with the local governments, leaving the responsibility with the Council of Europe and simply accepting their charters and recommendations, adopting them as standards of its own, there will be no separate chapter on local governance in the EC reports on Montenegro. This should not, however, give a false impression to the government, for the adoption of European standards and values in this area is most closely monitored. The words of the head of EAR in Montenegro, **Rainer Freund**, should also be understood in this context: in late 2006, he warned the Government officials that "the EU considers decentralisation to be a tool for the strengthening of democracy and brining Europe closer to its citizens", explaining that the "entire process of EU integrations leads towards accelerated decentralisation and devolution of power from the national to the local level" – all in order to improve the living standards of the citizens and the quality of public services.

There followed a session of verbal gymnastics which unfortunately still lasts. At first, the government accepted without reservations a memorandum signed at the Regional ministerial conference of South East Europe organised in Zagreb on 25 and 26 October 2004, which stipulated concrete measures of decentralisation and accelerated reforms of local self-governments. A few months later, in February 2005, the Government adopted a Programme for Better Local Self-Governance. At the same time, in the early 2005 in Budapest, at a regional conference of ministers in charge of local governance, a new charter was adopted listing a number of commitments for further reform and implementation of decentralisation. Towards the end of last year, on 8 and 9 November 2006 in Skopje, the Second regional ministerial conference of the South East European countries adopted a number of conclusions on the same issue. Montenegro, however, completely failed to move towards implementation of the proclaimed principles, beyond declaratory and verbal support it duly expressed on each occasion.

At the conference in Budapest,



Giovanni di Stasi

Željko Šturanović, then the Minister of Justice and currently the Prime Minister in Montenegro, praised the newly adopted Programme for Better Self-Governance, saying that "recognising the challenges that local governments have to confront, through this document the Government takes upon itself responsibilities which confirm the importance of full implementation of the principles from the European charter on local self-governance and our dedication to the development of standards of democracy and good governance on the local level". As a reminder, each of the chapters tackled by the Programme contains concrete measures and activities to be implement-

ed, as well as responsible actors and deadlines for implementation. Most of it, however, remains only on paper.

Montenegro must realise that decentralisation does not come with verbal and written conference declarations – it must be created through changes in the systemic laws in the area of local self-governance and by harmonising them with other laws. The expert public has no doubts regarding the fact that the legislators envisaged some decentralisation and autonomy of local governance by the current laws on local self-governance. The Council of Europe itself, in the Decision on Principles, Priorities and Conditions which is a part of the European Partnership document, chapter on Improvement of Local Self Governance, had no objections to the body of legislation, but succinctly remarked: implement the law on local self-governance. However, the implementation remained partial and half-hearted, and in the subsequent legal acts the Government reversed the process, depriving of all meaning the existing "systemic laws".

For example, the new law on spatial planning undermines the current law, introducing strongly centralist elements and norms. Other drafts in preparation: the law on state property and the law on public construction, have the same tendency of pushing Montenegro to where it stood at the beginning of the nineties, when the most rigid centralisation was conducted. A separate problem appears in the lack of harmonisation between local regulations with other legal acts (law on forests, law on waters, law on mining, law on the participation of the private sector in public services, law on public broadcasting, law on telecommunications, etc.), which all contributes to a legal chaos in this area.

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

COE CENTRE OFFERS TRAININGS

Council of Europe Centre for expert support to the reforms of local governance offers a wide spectrum of funds and programmes for capacity building, depending on the needs of the local authorities and associations. Some of them have already been presented in a number of countries and can be developed further, while development of new instruments and programmes is yet to begin. Bearing in mind that programmes vary in their complexity and require different levels of expertise, the Centre offers its beneficiaries organisation of local workshops, tools for analysing capacities and possibilities of the local authorities and joint research by external experts who would work with local communities in order to form expert opinions. Other means of assistance involve creation of national training strategies, exchange of best practices and equipment for adequate resource management. Special attention will be given to citizen participation, communication strategies, capacity analysis, and capacity building for associations of local authorities, all in order to establish reliable and competent local self-governance.

HOW DIVIDED MONTENEGRIN SOCIETY REALLY IS?



by Dr Srđa Pavlović

The Conflict Studies Research Centre of the Defence Academy of the United Kingdom (DAUK) had recently published an article about the current political situation in Montenegro. The author of this text is **Miša Đurković**, a researcher with the Belgrade-based Institute for European Studies. Entitled "Montenegro: Headed for New Divisions?" this piece of writing is indeed a gloomy prediction of troubles to come. Despite the question mark at the end of the title the author speaks of future conflicts in Montenegro with a degree of certainty.

Đurković characterizes Montenegrin society as intolerant and violent, and as an environment in which "an ancient tradition of blood feud still exists". He paints the picture of Montenegro with bold strokes of the pen and accuses the current government of pursuing a "combine strategy of economic pressure and educational and cultural engineering, to reduce Serbs to less than 10%." As a reaction to this "forceful identity politics" the author warns us about "organized resistance within a significant part of the Serbian population." After reading this text one is inclined to see Montenegro as a deeply divided society and as an appropriate illustration of the stereotypical Balkan powder keg. The journalistic style and sensationalist statements go against the author's promise of an analytical approach. What makes the matters worst is the selection and treatment

The solution is to be found at home, not in outside intervention

of sources. A bibliography does not include seminal works on nationalism, identity construction, or the history of the region. Significant scholarly sources on cultures, ethnicities, identities, and general political history of Montenegro are notably absent.

Furthermore, the author uses a singular (identity) when referring to identities in Montenegro. This could be taken as his lack of recognition of a possibility of multiple levels of identification. One could also argue that the normative nature of Đurković's statements and his emphasis on sources of instability play into the hands of those forces who would indeed desire to radicalize the Montenegrin political space and maybe even initiate a conflict of some kind.

As an inevitable follow up to this pessimism, the author concludes that the

situation in Montenegro could only be solved by an intervention from the outside. His cry for help is a repetition of an old political strategy of inviting a higher power such as the OSCE, the Council of Europe, and various EU bodies to exert pressure on the local structure of power. This invitation emphasizes the absence of will and the limited ability of the local power structure to come up with a compromise solution. According to this analysis it is only the magic touch of Brussels's bureaucrats that could save Montenegro from an almost certain conflict. While there is some truth to the argument about the lack of will and limited ability of the Montenegrin power structure to engage its political opposition in searching for a compromise solution to many problems, it is also true that the solution is indeed in Montenegro. An

AS LONG AS THERE IS DEBATE, THERE WILL BE NO VIOLENCE

The central thesis of this analysis that "potential conflicts about the identity and rights of certain ethnic groups represent the greatest source of instability in Montenegro" is highly problematic. In addition to being overly pessimistic, such a statement is supported by weak and fragmentary evidence. Issues of fluctuating identities and minority rights as well as being categorized as a minority are, indeed, topics of passionate debates in Montenegro. Overly emotional discussions of these and other issues should not, however, be taken as sources of instability that would inevitably lead to violence. It is worth reminding ourselves that violence starts once the discussions and debates stop. For as long as people in Montenegro continue talking about these sensitive issues the prospects of a violent confrontation is minimal.

Đurković fails to recognize an important characteristic of the issue at hand: the passionate debates he sees as sources of instability are, indeed, politically induced and kept alive by both the ruling coalition and the pro-Serbian opposition parties as tools of their political survival. Lacking solid economic policies and unable (unwilling?) to abandon their authoritarian and/or nationalist minded modus operandi from the past, these political parties cling to the issues of ethnic, national, and religious as the last hope for survival. That is why the change of the power structure on the next election and the true application of the civic discourse and prudent economic policies would serve as the most effective pacifiers for the heightened political tensions in Montenegro.

imposition from the outside might worsen the situation.

Đurković's comment about social engineering resonates with unsavory nationalist stereotyping. By arguing that some historical forces (author leaves us in the dark about the origin of those forces) were engaged in social engineering to divide otherwise unified and uniform Orthodox population the author takes sides in a long-lasting and passionate debate about the Montenegrin nation, and compromises his declared objectivity. Claiming that Montenegro did "amalgamate with Serbia in 1918" clearly tells us where the author's political loyalties are. This claim goes against ample scholarly evidence in several languages pointing to the annexation of Montenegro in 1918.

With regards to the claim made about the 2003 Census, the author should have provided clear evidence to prove that the Census question was indeed designed to determine a desire for preserving one's identity. Failing to produce this proof classifies the argument of the author within a particular nationalist paradigm and chips away off of his credibility as an impartial observer.

Contrary to what the author of this



analysis would want his readers to believe, it is positively misleading to equate the pro-Serbian political block in Montenegro with the pro-Yugoslav political forces. To begin with, there were seldom any pro-Yugoslav political forces after 1990 unless one agrees with the false claim that **Slobodan Milošević** and

his party were indeed defending Yugoslavia!? Đurković also implies that political forces aligned with Belgrade fought for the preservation of Yugoslavia. Judging by the available sources on this issue nothing can be further from the truth. This equation is an integral part of the Greater Serbian nationalist discourse, and it was often used as justification for military actions in the period between 1991 and 1995.

The text offers the reader neither an analysis of the social conditions in Montenegro nor an overview (to say the least) of a significant role the non-governmental sector plays in shaping the policies and general political climate. There is nothing about political manipulations by all parties involved with the notions of identities, ethnic belongings, religious affiliations, and alike. The author offers us nothing about the most significant political change in Montenegro – the appearing on the scene of a new political force that adheres to civic discourse and occupies the middle ground when it comes to sensitive issues of language, identities, religions, cultures, and minority rights. Then again, Misa Đurković wrote his text within the confines of the national discourse and with a specific political aim in mind. It was, therefore, unrealistic to expect anything but a binary opposition that reinforces old divisions and can not but remain anchored in its own fading dream of national greatness.

In conclusion, it should be said that the most concerning aspect of all this is the fact that a political pamphlet such as the one written by Misa Đurković appeared in a reputable publication. One should assume that this text was peer reviewed, if not refereed. The question is why would any editorial board accept for publication a text of such poor quality? Should we conclude that experts on the Balkans and Montenegro associated with the Conflict Studies Research Centre of the DAUK agree with and approve of Đurković's methodology and his conclusions? Both Montenegrin and British policy makers and scholars should ask these questions.

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OPPOSITION PARTIES ARE NOT FREE OF RESPONSIBILITY

It is a matter of some concern that the author of this analysis assigns the blame for inaction and political rigidity almost exclusively to the ruling DPS/SDP coalition. Abolishing the opposition parties of all responsibility in this process does not speak well to the impartiality of the analysis. Furthermore, the author himself does not manifest any inclination towards reaching a compromise when it comes to satisfying the political appetites of the pro-Serbian opposition parties in Montenegro.

The point the author makes about "traditional pluralistic identity" indicates insufficient familiarity with both the scholarly sources on nationalism, nation-states, nation building, and identity construction, as well as the internal dynamics of the processes of identity construction in Montenegro. There are some factual errors as well. Anyone who aspires to be recognized as an expert in the issues of identities and nationalisms in the Balkans should, for starters, know the difference between the Roman Emperor Diocletian and the city-state of Doclea. Moreover, one should also be conscious of the fact that the Montenegrin nation and the notion of the distinct Montenegrin national identity are much older than either the Doclean Academy or **Milo Đukanović**. Furthermore, the issue of identities and divided loyalties in Montenegro animated and dominated its political space since the late nineteenth century. Contemporary debates of these questions, therefore, are continuation of old discussions but in a different economic, social, cultural, and political environment.



by Jelena Mrdak

Imagine: one day, hopefully not in too far a future, I will receive an e-mail by a friend telling me about a U2 concert taking place in Vienna within a couple of days, and that tickets are still available. I have not seen her in a while. While we were still studying together, we dreamed of a day when we could sing "One" together with Bono and thousands of others. The next moment, I am already searching the Internet for a flight to Vienna on that same day, I buy the ticket online (together with the concert tickets) and I start packing. One old dream is, simply, coming true...

On that day, I will not have to worry about the lack of time – if I got these same news about the concert today, I would need at least ten days to collect all the documents and to get the visa. I will not have to beg my superiors every day to let me out of the work for a few hours in order to collect ten or more different documents that are possible to get only during my working time. I will not have to spend some 100 euros for the insurance, visa, and reservation for a hotel room, plus at least as much for the travel expenses to Belgrade, which is where the Austrian embassy is. I will not have to, once in Belgrade, to wake up with the sun

Why do I want to be a citizen of Europe?

and crowd freezing with a hundred of other people in front of the embassy, hoping against odds that I will make it inside on the same day and that I will not have to come again tomorrow. I will not have to face the rude, listless officers at the embassy, who are only looking for an excuse to let me know that my visa depends on their own good will. Finally, I will not have to spend days in uncertainty, waiting for the answer.

Oktoberfest in Munich, Formula 1 races in Monza, Barcelona – Real Madrid derby, Disneyland in Paris, Jazz festival in Prague, touring Scandinavian countries by car, hiking in the Tatras... it all becomes only a question of time and money I have managed to save up to that point. For someone who loves travelling like I do, it is much easier to plan if you are a citizen of Europe.

I am not one of those who are eager to live or work somewhere else. Advantages of life in Montenegro, such as afternoon sun on the beach right after the end of the office time, Saturday pleasures in Virpazar with smoked carp and red wine of Crmnica, watching from the top of Žijova the panorama of Podgorica lying lazily in a sunny Sunday afternoon – they make my everyday life much brighter and much less stressful.

What I miss here, however, is precisely the lack of choice readily available to the citizens of Europe. If I would like to learn about the colours of everyday life somewhere else, today it costs me more time, more money, I have to prove that in few days or weeks I will, most certainly, return to Montenegro, and, worse of all – to the last moment I

tremble wondering whether I will finally get the visa or not.

Of course, being a citizen of Europe means more than just the visa-free relations between the member states. At this moment, I feel that as a very strong motivating force, but I expect that with time I will be able to see other benefits and opportunities. Opportunities of a greater market for our goods and services, for instance, opportunities to work and study somewhere else, opportunity to belong to a big family of different people whom their very diversity makes richer. All of these opportunities will be opened for us, and we will be able to seek our own way our own place in this world.

What I experience as a series of opportunities may not appear in the same light to those around me. Will my cousins in Kolašin, who produce a unique brand of puffed cheese and live off it, be able to fit their produce into the rigid European standards? Will legendary feasts of brewing home-made schnapps at my friend's, Miro, become history because his schnapps may not satisfy the requirements of the European market? Neither am I not so sure about the fate of that smoked carp and Crmnica wine from the beginning of this story. Will those and many other "peculiarities" of Montenegro pass the tests of the European standards? What is the price that Montenegrin citizens will have to pay in order to become citizens of Europe? Will we manage to preserve our own identity while becoming European? Unfortunately, I have no answers to these questions. Chances are that for many Montenegrin citizens the price of

joining the EU will be very high.

Several years ago, while staying in northwest Ukraine, Ukrainians assured me that we are much closer to Europe than it seemed to me. For Ukrainians I met, Montenegro was already the West, and not only in geographic terms. Although they knew the history and the current situation in Montenegro rather well, they insisted that we are more or less already at the doorstep of EU and that we have always belonged there. Such opinions surprised me, and I often thought about them since.

Montenegro has indeed always been a part of Europe, and that is where we belong. Europe could be found in the remnants of the Roman presence, in the printing press on Obod that was brought to Montenegro already in the XV century by Ivan Crnojević, in the abundant experiences brought home by the sailors of Perast, in the lives of tradesmen among the fortresses of Ulcinj, Bar, Budva, Kotor, Risan, Vir, Rijeka Crnojevića, in Nikšić, in Pljevlja and in other cities of today's Montenegro, at the coronary celebration of king Nikola in Cetinje, in the red SFRY passport that was always greeted with a smile...

Whatever happened in the last 16 years here and in the surrounding countries left us with the burden of always having to pass tests in



Europeanness. We ought to prove that we are willing and able to do everything in order to occupy our 30-something chair in the Council of Ministers. As a country which only just left one union wishing to finally take its destiny in its own hands, I wonder how much will we be able to protect Montenegrin interests in a much larger community. Certainly, the road will be strewn with thorns and we will have to make many sacrifices. However, I do think that the Euro-

pean Union is our final goal.

What is definitely of use in the process of EU accession, for all those who live in Montenegro and in other countries of the Western Balkans, are the improved relations among the neighbours. Fortunately, we have been "sentenced" to cooperation and forced to finally open our doors for each other in the Balkans. I hope that in this process we will shatter the prejudices we have for one another and realise that we ought to join the EU together. One day when we all become citizens of Europe, maybe we will think more often of taking a car trip down to the Albanian coast, to enjoy cheese from Gyrokastr and dried figs in the shadow of olive orchards. Even today, we do not need a visa for Albania, but

maybe we will visit each other more frequently once we are all citizens of Europe, maybe we will more often come to exchange our experiences and copy each other's answers on the exams in Europeanness.

The author is participant of IV generation of the European Integrations School. She is working on the Parliamentary Programme of Podgorica office of the National Democratic Institute (NDI)

DR ECKART STRATENSCHULTE, DIRECTOR OF THE EUROPEAN ACADEMY IN BERLIN

Every small country that remains outside EU will be a loser

European integrations offer particular protection to the small states. The big five can always pick up the phone, meet in Downing Street no. 10 and decide on something. The small states, however, and by that I mean every country between Montenegro and Estonia in size, would be a loser without EU. The smaller states are, the more they need access to higher institutions, and this is what the EU offers, says for *EIC Bulletin* **Dr. Eckart D. Stratenschulte**, director of the European Academy in Berlin.

According to him, even Switzerland is getting closer to EU.

"They paid a billion francs for the last enlargement round. They held a referendum on that. Besides, they are a member of the Schengen Agreement, as well as of the Single Market. Even Switzerland, which is both bigger and richer than Montenegro, sees its future in ever closer ties with EU", Stratenschulte stressed.

He urged Montenegro to make the best out of its chances in the EU accession process.

"You will certainly have to solve the problems you are facing today – with high levels of corruption, you will never develop. This is entirely obvious, and is certainly something you will have to deal with. The EU accession process can offer you support, knowledge and money to do it. My advice is – take it", said Stratenschulte.

Among the Balkan countries, he believes Croatia has the highest rating in the eyes of the EU, since they have already began membership negotiations.

"Number two is Macedonia. They are economically weak, they are plagued with all sorts of problems such as corruption, but they are pushing forward and expecting their reward for Ohrid Agreement. Everyone is aware of that. They are a candidate, and I believe that they will open membership negotiations within a year or two. Montenegro is number three – the country is relatively stable and relative-



ly rich. From our perspective, it seems to have a high level of enthusiasm to fulfil all the criteria, there are no ethnic conflicts, and it is thus in a better situation than the rest", considers the director of Berlin-based European Academy.

He reminds that Albania is still in a difficult situation, while BH is a form of protectorate, Serbia has a problem with The Hague and with its strong Radicals Party and SPS...

"Thus, Croatia, Macedonia, Montenegro, Albania, and then probably Serbia and BH, because the latter is not a functional state without external support", Stratenschulte stated.

Asked to give a recommendation to the government of Montenegro, he emphasised that the EU is a realistic perspective, and that the focus should not be on setting the deadlines for membership, but in concentrating on social and economic reforms which can be painful, but are meaningful for the state.

"You are a small state without strategic resources such as oil, gas, gold...you can therefore only lose if you fail to adjust to the international environment. EU integration offers you many opportunities, for example a market with half a billion people. I am not only talking about exports, but also about

tourism", Stratenschulte explained.

According to him, the greatest benefits of EU accession are access to the most important internal market of the world, full integration into a community of values and the Common Foreign and Security Policy.

"I do not believe that you could even think about a separate foreign policy. It would be ridiculous for a country of the size of Montenegro, even for a country the size of Germany. Outside of the EU, you could never have the same importance. In many decisions of the Council of EU, Malta with 400.000 inhabitants has the same influence as Germany. If the consensus is needed, the vote of a Prime Minister of Malta that has fewer people than a single district in Berlin is worth the same as the vote of a German Chancellor. Where can you have such influence on an equal basis?", asks Stratenschulte.

According to him, the next enlargement round will for the first time employ the regatta system.

"Until now, there has been no regatta system, we always insisted on it, but finally all the new members joined in batches. We keep calling it regatta, but even in the '80s it was a package. At the time, Portugal had to wait for Spain, and they were a little angry about it. However, we are more and more turning towards the regatta system. The European Parliament has clearly stated that the "political accession" to EU is now over, and that we should from now on judge every country by its achievements. The big bank of the 2004 frightened a lot of people inside EU, because all of a sudden we were no more 15 but 25. This is why I believe that the regatta system is much better. If we say that Croatia has become the 28th member, who would care, they would not even notice. And they would certainly not notice Montenegro", Stratenschulte emphasised.

N.R.

PROBLEMS FACING THE EUROPEAN UNION TODAY



by Maja Vujašković

Five decades after the creation of the European Communities, European Union produced Berlin Declaration which is in a sense an overview of European achievements so far and a look into the future. After the first reading and the first emotions, it is easy to see that the "birth-day" declaration of the EU is just like the organisation itself today – not very straightforward, difficult to comprehend, cautious and without the enthusiasm that was its trademark back in the 80s. Whether this is due to the difficulties in reaching a consensus among so many members, conflicting interests or a lack of ideas regarding the future path of EU is yet to be seen.

The strength of the EU is on a trial in several areas today. One of them is certainly its political leverage on the international stage and its role in ensuring the world peace. These issues are to be handled by the second pillar of the European Union, i.e. the Common Foreign and Security Policy.

Although today in the world there are fewer "classical" wars than in the past, terrorism, as well as weapons of mass destruction make security challenges more complex and numerous. The world is definitely not the same after the terrorist attacks of the 11 September, which frightened the whole of the Western countries. We have barely forgotten Iraq and the failure of CFSP regarding a common stand on the role of the EU in resolving this crisis, when a new challenge surfaced: the status of Kosovo. The voices coming from the EU remind one of Kissindger and his famous question: "Which number do I dial if I need Europe

Europe of States vs. State of Europe

in case of a crisis?".

In order to understand this problem, it is perhaps useful to remember that the history of EU can be analysed in different ways, among which is certainly the struggle between national and supranational, struggle for a "Europe of States" vs. "State of Europe". Although some would claim that the type of social arrangement known as the nation state has been outdated and that it can no more confront the challenges of the modern times, borderless terrorism, globalisation or transnational companies, the states are nevertheless – even the EU members, who already yielded some shares of their sovereignty (e.g. their national currencies) – sensitive to some basic characteristics of nation states, such as foreign policy. It is therefore understandable that the EU has a harder time balancing all these specific historical contexts, priorities and interests in order to create a unified response than the other (the first) major global actor, the USA. Besides, it seems that the EU is much more reluctant to employ force than the US – its approach is primarily based on insisting on diplomatic, peaceful solutions to conflict, as is confirmed by the Declaration. In the short run, this approach may not be as efficient, but is certainly less painful than using armed forces. In order to strengthen its identity, increase its influence and shed the attribute of an economic giant and a political dwarf, the EU strives to achieve a unitary stand in the domain of foreign policy, but the problem lies in the fact that the greatest forces within the EU – Great Britain, France, Germany – sometimes have

The other challenge facing the EU is the question of its borders and further enlargements. This is not even mentioned in the declaration, probably because of Turkey, which is not seen as a welcome future member by some member states. Although the countries of the Western Balkans have received full support for their membership aspirations, their success in this respect will depend partially on the internal reorganisation of the EU, which is inevitably ahead. The current founding Treaty does not envisage an institutional organisation to accommodate more than 27 members, and the current one is already too cumbersome

and inefficient. This is perhaps the only clear, certain task set out in the declaration, and stated as the "aim of placing the Union on a renewed common basis" which basically entails adopting the Constitution in some form. Although she announced urgent resolution of the constitutional crisis as the priority of her EU presidency, Germany and its chancellor **Angela Merkel** refrained from insisting on the issue, probably as a result of a compromise and understanding for the upcoming elections in France, as well as for the current situation in the Netherlands, whose government has made it clear that they will not organise another referendum on the Constitution, unless the text undergoes substantial changes.

The EU is also faced with discontent among the Europeans regarding the economic situation, low growth rates (especially in the older members) and high levels of unemployment. In an attempt to balance stable economic growth and high levels of social protection, the EU has difficulties keeping up with the global economic forces, as well as facing up to the newly arriving ones, such as China and India. This will require changes in order to achieve greater flexibility of the labour markets and improve competitiveness, as well as a higher level of technical and technological innovations.

Undoubtedly, the period ahead will demand solutions of serious internal problems in the EU. However, the EU remains an actor on the global scene, with a magical attraction for all those countries that fulfil the Article 49 of the Treaty on European Union (every European state can become a member of EU...), and in order to meet the requirements for membership they are ready to achieve unprecedented transformations of their political and economic structures. In this way, the EU continues to exert influence not only on its members but also on the countries beyond its borders, becoming an engine of development of the European continent, as well as its strongest factor of security, stability and prosperity.

The author is currently finishing MA studies in European Affairs at the Faculty of Political Sciences in Belgrade and she is associate of CCE. She completed III generation of European Integration School

INTRODUCING THE EU INSTITUTIONS

European Administrative School



The European Administrative School (EAS) came into existence on 10 February 2005 with the publication in the EU's Official Journal of the founding decision of the participating institutions. These are the European Parliament, the Council, the Commission, the Court of Justice, the Court of Auditors, the European Economic and Social Committee, the Committee of the Regions and the European Ombudsman.

EAS aims to promote cooperation between the institutions in the area of training, to support the spread of common values and harmonised professional practices, and to create synergies in the use of human and financial resources.

At the same time as the founding decision was taken, the Secretaries-General of the institutions set out our initial mandate which is to design, organise and evaluate training activities in the following areas:

- Management courses for staff who are, or may be, called upon to perform management functions. The current project targets middle management with a programme that aims to introduce a range of management concepts, allows participants to reflect on their own experience and skills, and creates an atmosphere of mutual learning among themselves. EAS also organises management training programmes for heads of various departments in all institutions, in order to strengthen the

participants' skills in modern human resource management. In addition to this, such seminars provide an opportunity for the participants to compare and contrast the different issues facing managers across the institutions and to make useful professional contacts.

- EAS provides induction courses for new members of staff, to help newcomers integrate and adapt to their new professional, as well as a culturally diverse environment, get to know the similarities and differences among the institutions, and develop contacts and networks that will be useful throughout their career.
- The training cycle for staff who have been identified as having the potential to move from the category of assistant to that of administrator – i.e. "certification", is a programme which involves mandatory instruction and a series of examinations. The programme lasts about 300 hours.

In addition to staff from the institutions themselves, EAS can admit people who work for the EU agencies and other bodies to our courses or organise specific training activities for them. EAS does not, however, organise "open" courses for people outside the institutions and agencies.

EAS belongs to the network of National Schools and Institutes of Public Administration in the EU and hopes to play an active role in this forum.

The mission of European Administrative School is to offer high quality training programmes and to provide an opportunity for learning suited to the needs of EU institutions and their staff, but also to support the spread of common values, foster cooperation among the institutions, through exchange of good practices and ideas in culturally different environments.

EAS two teams, one for the design and development of training activities and the other for planning and organisation. The total staff is 20.

More information on EAS can be found at www.europe.eu/eas

Vučić ČETKOVIĆ

NON – GOVERNMENTAL ORGANISATIONS IN EUROPEAN UNION



Amnesty International (AI) is a worldwide movement that works on the promotion of human rights enshrined in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and other international human rights standards.

Amnesty International's main goals are to:

- bring amnesty to all imprisoned on the basis of the objection of conscience,
- ensure fair and effective trial for all political prisoners,
- eliminate death penalty, torture and other cruel, inhuman and degrading treatment of the inmates,
- protest against political murders and "disappearances",
- protest against violations against opposition groups.

Amnesty International has numerous networks of members and supporters throughout the world. The recent data suggest that AI numbers more than 1.8 million members, supporters and donors in more than 150 countries and regions all over the world.

AI is a non-profit, independent, politically neutral organisation, consisting of citizens who believe that human rights are an international responsibility. This organisation neither seeks nor receives funding from governments, non-governmental organisations, political parties, and it is financed entirely from the contributions and donations of its members and supporters.

European office of AI in Brussels focuses on:

- Human rights in EU member states and EU candidate states,
- Human rights in EU foreign policy,
- Security and human rights,
- Protection of refugees and asylum seekers,
- Cooperation in Justice and Home Affairs,
- Human rights and arms trade,
- Assistance and cooperation programmes.

European Office was founded by the national AI section in EU member states, who are responsible for its funding and maintenance.

More about the organisation can be found at www.amnesty-eu.org

Prepared by: Vučić ČETKOVIĆ

FORUM OF EUROPEAN INTEGRATION SCHOOLS

Focus on the reforms



Panel discussion titled "A fresh view on EU and challenges in the accession process of new candidate countries" was organised on 12 April 2007 by Centre for Civic Education, Centre for Development of Non-Governmental Organisations and European Movement in Montenegro in cooperation with the Faculty of Political Science and with support of FOSI ROM, as a part of the Forum of European Integration Schools.

Forum's guests were: Dr **Judy Batt**, from the Paris-based European Union Institute for Security Studies, **Diego Cardenas Ramirez** and **Lora Borissova** from the Luxembourg-based European Institute for Public Administration.

In her speech, Dr Batt emphasised that the last enlargement had a considerable impact on the EU, opening the discussion on the "enlargement fatigue", which is in fact a function of "reform fatigue" within the member states. She spoke in great detail about the situation in the member states, both in the founders and the newcomers. In this context, she touched upon the perspectives of the countries which are now in various

stages of accession. Dr Batt recommended the candidate countries to focus on implementing the required reforms, which will be the key to their progress in the accession process, regardless of the current events within the EU.

Lora Borissova spoke about the possible parallels between Luxembourg and Montenegro, focusing however on the compliance with the Copenhagen criteria. She also emphasised the importance of full implementation of the Stabilisation and Association Agreement. Ramirez presented to the public the Institute for Public Administration and their activities in Montenegro. He also stressed the importance of citizens' participation in the European Integrations process.

The guests were unanimous in their insistence that the applicant countries must continue their reforms, while the EU takes care of its own house, expressing their assurance that once these countries are really ready for membership, the EU will be just as ready to accept them.

LAW ON CIVIL SOCIETY PARTICIPATION IN THE PREPARATION OF LEGAL ACTS

Civil society must be a part of the legislative process

On 24 April 2007, Centre for Development of Non-Governmental Organisations (CDNGO) organised a round table on the "Model Law on Transparency of Preparation and Implementation of National Acts", prepared in the framework of a project supported by the Balkan Trust for Democracy (BTD).

The goal of this law is to open the process of preparations of national legal acts and public policies to the citizens and civil society organisations, to regulate public debates, to establish precise responsibilities, deadlines and duties of the government in this process, especially regarding citizens' participation.

Participants of the round table were

members of the CDNGO working group who prepared this model law, representatives of NGOs and public institutions, international organisations and political parties. They agreed that there was a need to adopt such a law in order to promote participative democracy, greater participation of the citizens in public affairs, enhance quality of laws and public policies and improve transparency of public administration.

Detailed recommendations on the regulation of this issue are set out by the Council of Europe in the document on the "Fundamental Principles on the Status of Non-Governmental Organisations in Europe" and the accompanying explanatory memorandums.

EU and the Western Balkans

A conference titled "50 years of the Treaties of Rome and the Future of the Western Balkans" was held on 13 April 2007, in Sarajevo, with a goal of discussing the origins of European Union in 1957, its development since, as well as the chances of the Western Balkans in the EU.

In addition to numerous guests and lecturers, the meeting hosted the President of the Delegation for Relations with SEE Countries of the European Parliament, **Doris Pack**, who emphasised that the Balkans can move forward only with substantial reforms of public administration, education, and the judiciary, insisting that profound changes were necessary and emphasising the need to involve young, educated elites in the ongoing processes.

The introductory remarks were followed by three separate round tables, discussing Western Balkans from the EU perspective, regional cooperation in the Western Balkans and the involvement of civil society in European integrations.

The conference also featured speeches by two participants from Montenegro: Deputy Prime Minister of the Government of Montenegro **Gordana Đurović** and executive director of Centre for Civic Education, **Daliborka Uljarević**.

The conference was organised by Directorate for European Integration of BH, Konrad Adenauer Stiftung in Sarajevo and the PanEuropean Union of BH.

A week of human rights education

In the European Youth Centre Budapest, from 16 to 22 April 2007, the Council of Europe and the European Commission in cooperation with the Anna Lindth Foundation for Dialogue between Cultures organised a training seminar "Education for Human Rights for the Strengthening of Inter-Cultural Dialogue".

For seven days, 35 young people from more than 20 countries of Europe and the Mediterranean lived together and learned about human rights. The goal of the training was to give a chance to young people from different cultural environments to develop new ideas and common projects in the realm of human rights. The participants followed lectures by renowned experts on human rights education, among whom **Rui Gomez** and **Elle Keen**, authors of the famous "Compass" handbook, which has been translated to more than 20 languages, and is published in Montenegro under the aegis of the Centre for Civic Education. With a help of trainers and through practical work, the participants learned various techniques of transferring their knowledge on human rights in their work with young people. The indirect, albeit essential aim of this meeting was to offer these young people an experience of life together and cooperation with different people, and to feel the beauty of unity in diversity. **Petar Đukanović** participated in the training as a representative of CCE.



LL.M IN PUBLIC INTERNATIONAL LAW AND HUMAN RIGHTS GRADUATE SCHOLARSHIP (2007/08)

Scholarship/Financial aid: Full for selected students

Deadline: 11 June 2007

Open to: Students that hold an undergraduate degree in law or comparable degree and are nationals of the countries listed under the heading "Eligibility Requirements". Additional information is also available at: www.rgsl.edu.lv.

Purpose

The Riga Graduate School of Law announces Scholarships for an LL.M degree with a specialization in Public International Law and Human Rights funded by the Open Society Institute (OSI). Eligible students currently are being recruited to apply for the Riga Graduate School of Law (RGSL) Scholars Programme. The programme provides expertise in Public International Law and Human Rights and also offers courses in private European Law. The programme is competitive and very prestigious. The Programme is based at the RGSL located in Riga, Latvia. It is open to all persons who hold an undergraduate degree in law or a comparable degree, such as political science or international relations, or will be awarded a degree prior to admission to the programme. The 2007/08 Scholars Class starts on 3 September 2007.

The purpose of these scholarships is to support students who have demonstrated academic

FOR THIS ISSUE WE RECOMMEND:

excellence in law or a comparable field of study and have a demonstrated commitment to work in the field of public law, human rights, or public service.

Overview

Scholarships are available to students from Russia, Byelorussia, Ukraine and South Eastern Europe and Central Eurasia regions (see eligible countries below). Each scholarship recipient will receive amount covering tuition and fees for the LL.M study programme. An additional scholarship is allocated to travel, accommodation and incidental education expenses. Students granted a scholarship must write their master's thesis in the field of public international law or human rights. Priority will be given to students who commit to work in any of the following areas upon completion of the program: human rights, public law and public service. Furthermore, RGSL seeks to recruit students who have worked within an organization with which OSI has a relationship already, or students who are willing to work with such an organization upon completion of the program. In the application, students are required to provide specific detail on their expectations work in a related field upon completion of the program.

Eligibility

Applicants must:

Satisfy standard RGSL entry requirements (with respect to educational background and English proficiency);

Have experience in the fields of public international law or human rights for a minimum of one year;

Indicate in the application: current place of employment and specify in detail the applicant's plan to return to work in the field of public service after completing the LL.M programme.

Eligible countries:

Russia; Byelorussia; Ukraine; all countries listed in region of South Eastern Europe: Albania, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Bulgaria, Croatia, Kosovo, Macedonia, Moldova, Montenegro, Romania and Serbia; all countries listed in region of Central Eurasia: Armenia, Azerbaijan, Georgia, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Mongolia, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan, Uzbekistan.

Application process Checklist

Submit the following by 11 June 2007:

- the completed Application Form;
- a 2 (two) recommendation letters from a professional or academic contact describing the applicant's academic record, achievements and activities (research, community service, and programme development) in Public International Law, Human Rights or related discipline;
- a personal statement from the applicant that

describes the insights he or she gained from achievements and activities (research, community service, and programme development) in Public International Law or Human Rights. Limit is two pages, 1,5 spaced (Times New Roman).

Incomplete applications will not be considered.

Applications for RGSL Scholars Programme are available on-line through www.rgsl.edu.lv

By mail: Riga Graduate School of Law, Alberta iela 13, Riga LV 1010, Latvia.

Telephone: +371 703 206, +371 703 200.

18TH INTERNATIONAL SUMMER LANGUAGE SCHOOL (ISLS) IN PILSEN, CZECH REPUBLIC

will be held from 9 to 27 July, 2007. This event is attended by 700 participants not only from the Czech Republic but virtually from every corner of the world.

The ISLS is a three week language program offering 8 languages: Czech, English, German, French, Italian, Spanish, Russian and Portuguese. We also offer 3 special courses: TEFL, Legal English and a new course of Creative Writing. The lessons are taught by experienced native speakers and Czech lecturers.

The ISLS provides an exceptional opportunity to combine high-quality language instruction with a lifetime experience. A friendly international atmosphere promotes not only students' progress in language studies but also intercultural and international contacts in the spirit of tolerance and forms long-lasting friendships.

For more information about fees, accommodation and applications please visit www.isls.cz and complete the application form according to your language interest by May 31. We also offer a limited number of scholarships for students from Central and Eastern who study Czech Language. We ask you kindly to share this information with individuals who could be interested. Please, find enclosed more information.

Yours faithfully

Petra Prochazkova

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