



FOCUS OF THIS ISSUE New Public Procurement Law entirely harmonised with European recommendations, but the state still lacks the capacity to implement it

INTERVIEW

Lora Borissova, lecturer at the European Institute of Public Administration in Luxembourg

ANALYSES

How well based are Government's projections that Montenegro could join the EU already by 2009





MAFIA?

What is only rumoured about in Montenegro has been said loudly and clearly by the Italian prosecutors: the money taken out of Montenegro by the high government officials, their collaborators, friends and godfathers during the chaotic 90s is now coming back, in the guise of various investments. There are no proofs nor details yet, no verdict either, no guarantee that the cigarette smuggling case will even make it to the court, so the innocence assumption remains, but the fact that the biggest Montenegrin investors are off shore companies from the Pacific islands gives food to the doubts that everything of any value of Montenegro is being transferred to the hands and pockets of the people closely related to the government.

Last week's announcement from Italy that prosecutors from Bari, Eugenia Pontasuglia and Giuseppe Scelsi have completed investigation and decided to bring to the court the case against the former Prime Minister of Montenegro Milo Đukanović, former deputy PM Miroslav Ivanišević and the former head of the Montenegrin trade mission to Italy, Dušanka Pešić-Jeknić, as well as ten other persons, on the charges of organised cigarette smuggling from 1994 to 2002, did not come as a great surprise. But the fact that the investigators found an account in the Bank of Cyprus no. 03854109703948 with 500 million euros, which were allegedly used to finance investments in Montenegro is the first concrete clue that could shed some light on the most recent Montenegrin trends.

Đukanović and others, officially accused of mafia-like organising for cigarette-smuggling and money-laundering, may have hade a good reason to take such steps which brought back to life in the early 90s a country hard hit by international sanctions. They will never, however, find justification if it turns out that they appropriated a portion of this "transit" money, and that they are now finding ways to lauder it in order to become the masters of the whole of the youngest country on Earth. And a potential EU member. This is maybe the strongest reason for the progressive forces in Montenegro to rush ahead to EU. If they fail, they risk remaining in the iron embrace of the mafia. N.R.

AFTER THE EXHAUSTING BRUSSELS SUMMIT EU Leaders strike a compromise about the Future institutional arrangement

A good day for Europe



A good day for Europe! Those were the words heralding the news on the website of the German EU presidency on the 23 June that after 36 hours of exhausting negotiations at one of the most exciting EU summits the leaders of the member states have finally agreed on the future institutional arrangement of the Union making it more efficient and better prepared for future enlargements, firs of all to the West Balkans.

On Saturday morning, at 4:30 am, EU leaders agreed to initiate negotiations on the reforms of the 27-member block after they convinced Poland to lift the blockade that almost destroyed the marathon summit.

The leaders agreed to complete the bargain until the end of this year, so that it can be ratified by mid–2009 replacing the EU Constitution rejected by French and Dutch voters in 2005.

If ratified, the Treaty would provide Europe with strong leadership, simplified decision-making process, a stronger voice on the international stage and greater influence in European and national parliaments.

Leaders of several countries persuaded Polish president **Lech Kaczynski** to yield to compromise after several weeks' resistance and to accept the new voting rules in exchange for a long delay in their implementation.

Poland finally accepted the agreement envisaging a new voting system, where the Council of Ministers can adopt a decision if voted for by 55% of EU countries representing at least 65% of the population, under the condition that it does not come into force before 2017. Poland was also promised EU support in the case of an energy crisis, which is a great concern for Poland, heavily dependent on oil from Russia: its neighbour and the former Communist master. Initially, Poland resisted the deal, fearing German dominance.

The Treaty will contain key characteristics of a Constitution, such as appointment of a long-term EU President, and a new head of Foreign Affairs with extended competences. Eurosceptic critiques fear that national sovereignty will be further undermined, although most of the 18 countries who already ratified the Constitution expressed their disappointment with this watered-down document.

The leaders agreed on a new position to lead the EU foreign policy, but without the official Minister of Foreign Affairs that was proposed by the constitution.

This person will combine the existing roles of the high representative for foreign policy currently performed by **Javier Solana** and the Foreign Relations Commissioner, **Benita Ferrero–Waldner**, who is in charge of a large EC budget for assistance to third countries.

The new official will preside over the meetings of the EU Foreign Affairs ministers and lead a combined office for foreign relations, gathering diplomats from both the EU and the national level.

"After today, Poland is ready for a much better cooperation with France, Britain, and also Germany, because we experienced solidarity", said Kaczinsky for the journalists.

At the press conference after the summit, German chancellor **Angela Merkel** said that the agreement had opened the gates for the new enlargements, which would be impossible with current institutional setup. Prime Minister of Portugal, **Jose Socrates**, how will take over the EU presidency in July, said that he hopes the agreement will be ready by October.

"We avoided a crisis", said the president of the European Commission Jose Manuel Barroso.

N.R.

NIKOLAS SCHMIT, DEPUTY FOREIGN AFFAIRS AND IMMIGRATION MINISTER OF

Balkan enlargement is a victory for EU

Montenegro began the process of rapprochement with European Union by initialling the Stabilisation and Association Agreement. Our task now is to help Montenegrin society adapt to the EU requirements. Balkan enlargement would be a victory for us too, not only for you, because we need to stabilise and modernise this part of Europe, says **Nikolas Schmit**, Deputy Foreign Affairs and Immigration Minister of Luxembourg.

Views

LUXEMBOURG

In the interview for EIC Bulletin, he explained that EU has an interest in contributing to stability and a European spirit of conflict resolution in the West Balkan region.

"You are a part of Europe. You interrupt the spread of EU, in fact, because if I am driving to Greece, I have to drive through countries which are not yet part of EU, and which have experienced dramatic situations in their recent past. EU enlargement to the West Balkans would be good for the region, but also for us. We have seen that a war means thousands of refugees knocking at your doors and saying: "Hey, we are here"...They need a place to live peacefully, which is OK, but we do not want Europe to work like that. We want free circulation of people, not refugees", said Schmit, who recently paid his first working visit to Podgorica.

He emphasised that before the next enlargement the EU first must do everything to prepare itself, and to assist candidate countries in adopting all EU standards.

"We must solve our internal problems, and quickly, as otherwise we would have to face the problem of a dysfunctional EU lacking political credibility. We must begin this July and quickly proceed towards a solution by the end of this or the beginning of next year. This must be based on objective criteria, and the countries must be ready. I do not want to talk about the last enlargement, but the countries must be ready, and we must help them in this", Schmit said.

He emphasised that during his sojourn in Montenegro he discovered a beautiful country which wants to be a part of the European process.

"You certainly have a lot of positive developments, growing economy and investments, you have solid potential in tourism and other areas... The European road is a road to European values, a road to a strong administrative structure capable of handling European regulations. This is not always easy for small states. You must strengthen your administration, as well as judiciary, in order to firmly establish the rule of law and to become an equal, accepted member of the EU, ready to adopt and implement the Acquis", Schmit said.

He added that Montenegro must work on improving its image in order to be better recognised in the world.

"You are a part of a complex region and the people do not always realise that the things have changed, especially here. West Europe must first be acquainted with the changes in Montenegro, stability and establishment of a legal system that is a

You are a part of a complex region and the people do not always realise that the things have changed, especially here. West Europe must first be acquainted with the changes in Montenegro, stability and establishment of a legal system that is a guarantee of stability. This is the first requirement of all European investors.

guarantee of stability. This is the first requirement of all European investors", says Schmit.

According to him, the EU is the best solution for small states, such as Luxembourg and Montenegro.

"We have historical experience testifying to what Europe meant for small countries before the unification process began. Twice we felt its occupation and we knew that in a Europe of big powers small states could only be victims of disputes among the big ones. Now, in the last 50 years, Luxembourg is well recognised



and respected partner with a voice in the Council of EU, capable of defending its interests constructively, within the given framework. This is why I am ready to claim that all EU member states are winners of the unification process, but the greatest victors are the small states. Finally they are recognised as equal members of the European family", said Schmit.

He explains that small countries always need allies, but "those allies are not always small states".

"Sometimes those are big countries, or several of them, depending on the issue on he agenda. Not all EU countries have equal interests in all matters. If we talk about the financial sector, I have the same interest as Great Britain, for they are also a big financial centre. If we talk about restructuring of the wine sector, we have common interests with France. This is not a divide between the big and the small, it is an issue–based divide, and we need to seek common solutions, in other words, a compromise", Schmit said.

He emphasised that Luxembourg today is a very prosperous country, one of the richest in Europe and the world, thanks to the process of European integrations.

"And to open markets and free flow of people. Out of 450.000 inhabitants of Luxembourg, 40% originally come from elsewhere", says Schmit, announcing that the Government of the Great Duchy f Luxembourg is preparing to agree on a legal framework with Montenegro allowing Montenegrin citizens to legally live and work in this country.

3

NEW PUBLIC PROCUREMENT LAW ENTIRELY HARMONISED WITH EUROPEAN RECOMMENDATIONS, BUT THE STATE STILL LACKS THE CAPACITY TO IMPLEMENT IT



by Vladan Žugić

New Montenegrin Public Procurement Law, adopted in mid-2006, is "in line with EU requirements", but its successful implementation will have to await strengthening of the administrative capacities and the political will of the Montenegrin authorities to fight corruption, the standard complaint of all international organisations. Few laws are capable of demonstrating the administrative capacities of a state as clearly as the law on public procurements.

In order to minimise corruption, always rampant in the realm of public procurements, one needs well trained and well coordinated cadre, working together in a system consisting of public procurement officers, commissioners, employees of the Directory and Commission for Public Procurements, Public Audit Institution, police, prosecution, administrative courts, media...

For the time being, problematic offers are mainly food for media scandals, without epilogues in courts, which curtails optimism that Montenegro could soon become a lawabiding state ready for entry into EU.

The Report on the progress of Montenegro in the association process states that "reports on the existence of corruption and fraud in the allotment of public contracts must be carefully considered by the

A good law not enough to eradicate corruption

Governemnt", and that "training in public procurement issues for the entrepreneurs and public bodies will be most important", and concludes that the new law represents "certain advancement" in the area of public procurement.

The previous law, according to the experts, was copied from the Canadian model, and was therefore neither harmonised with the rest of the national legislation, nor imple– mentable.

All institutions of the state and local governments which benefit from the national budget, as well as companies where the state owns majority shares, are obliged to observe and implement the Public Procurement Law on every occasion of acquiring new goods or contracting or subcontracting services.

According to the new law, the beneficiary is obliged to conduct

HOW THE RULES ARE BROKEN

Despite of the fact that the Public Procurement Law contains fairly precise descriptions of the duties of each participant in the public procurement chain, and despite of there being included parts of EU directive, for the "creative" beneficiaries and contenders opportunities for abuse are plentiful.

Experts warn that one should distinguish between forms of abuse in three distinct phases of the process: before the call, during the call, and during the enactment of the contract.

The precondition for any public procurement is that the resources have already been prescribed by the budget. The question is then whether this particular procurement is necessary – does that ministry need five vehicles, for instance? The question is also whether the commissioning party will be realistic in setting the price of the commission.

One possible example of abuse in this phase is that the commissioning party wishes to declare the public call void in order to receive a permission by the Directory of Public Procurement to negotiate with a known partner without issuing a public call. In the early phase, the commissioning party can be imprecise in stating the requirements and criteria (e.g. in choosing "the best offer" failing to define "the best"), or to give concrete technical specifications in advance (e.g. the exact volume of a car engine), giving one concrete contender advantage over all others.

In this phase, the contender, or the interested party can at any point complain first to the commissioning party and then to the Commission, but the Commission has no powers over the final phase the procedure.

In the final phase, during the enactment of the contract, a possible instance of abuse would be a post-factum change of the contract through annexes through an agreement between the two parties, increasing the price of the goods or services relative to the initially contracted one. In order to prevent such abuse, this phase should be closely monitored by the public auditing bodies. public procurement procedure where the price of goods or services exceeds 10 000 euros, or 30 000 euros in the case of public works.

Lesser amounts allow the procedure to be conducted without a public announcement. For amounts up to 10 000 euros, the beneficiary may resort to the so called "shopping" method, or direct contract in the case of public works. Public procurement without previous announcement can be conducted in certain special cases, such as natural disasters requiring urgent reaction, or in the case of acquiring research non-serial good...

According to the law, the commissioning entity can initiate the procurement process only if such event is previously defined by the budget.

Every commissioning entity has to announce a public call on the website of the Directory for Public Procurement, where the total amount of goods, services or public works exceeds 100 000 euros.

In the European partnership for

Montenegro, Brussels emphasised the need to ensure "full transparency of the procedure, regardless of the value of the contract".

The offering entity, i.e. every interested person, including every taxpaying citizen, as well as the police or the prosecution, can at any point of the procedure submit a request for the protection of his or her rights.

According to the experts, this is a great advantage of the Montenegrin law, but at the same time it reveals the weakness of administrative capacities and the lack of enforcement of all legally provided advantages for the parties: less knowledge, greater the chance for abuse.

In the case where the beneficiary of the procedure rejects the objection, interested parties may complain to the State Commission for the Control of the Public Procurement Process.

Although this three-member commission is appointed by the Government, its impartiality is

217 MILLIONS SPENT IN 2006

In advanced economies, public procurement accounts for some 10–15% of GDP, while in the developing countries it rises to 25–30% GDP.

According to the available data, the total amount of funds allocated to public procurement in Montenegro in 2006 was more than 217 million euros, or 12% of the GDP. Public procurement suffers from corruption everywhere in the world. Transparency international estimates that losses caused by bribe in public procurement exceed some 400 billion dollars annually.

Public procurements are of great importance both for the economy and for the society as a whole, seen that they are usually conducted in socially sensitive areas, such as: infrastructure (roads, airports), health (hospitals, medicines), education (schools), police...Efficient and regular public procurement is therefore essential for both economic management of the resources and for the quality of roads, functional and well equipped health and educational objects etc. It also creates a basis for the state to minimise the tax burden on its citizens and companies, at the same time providing them with better public services.

Experiences of the countries with developed public procurement systems demonstrate that such effects are acquired through the following scenario:

The first step is to create foundations for transparent procurements, eliminating all barriers that obstruct competition among the contenders. In such conditions, the offering parties will first minimise the prices, and then increasingly start to offer other advantages: higher quality, improved functional characteristics...in order to win against competition and qualify for the job.



enhanced by the fact that its members are nearly impossible to remover from their posts. In the case of abuse, the law stipulates fines for both parties from 30 to up to 200 times the amount of the minimum wage.

According to Katarina Radović, Secretary of the Commission for the Control of Public Procurement Procedure emphasises the greater security that the offering party will have in process through clear allocation of responsibility to the commissioning party for all actions and the lack thereof during the process; greater transparency, greater accessibility for all interested parties in the public procurement process; shorter decision periods; improved and precise selection criteria, less documentation required from the offering party in order for their application to be valid; introduction of the public procurement procedure in electronic form...

"Public procurement and consistent implementation of legal regulation in this area are among the most significant barriers to corruption, organised crime and wasteful employment of public money. Bearing in mind high percentage of budgetary means allocated for public procurement in Montenegro, it becomes clear that rules of the game in the area of public procurement must be of the highest quality. This can be attained first of all through

equal treatment of all participants in the public procurement process, which would also stimulate a reduction in the amount of funds allocated for public procurements. In this context, the new Public Procurement Law is a great step forward in harmonising our legislation with the European standards, which is also a step in a positive direction towards the final, long-term and trying path of harmonising our legislation with the EU requirements. No less important from harmonisation of national public procurement regulations with EU laws is the establishment of efficient mechanisms for their implementation, especially as regards monitoring of the implementation, coordination and interpretation", Radović savs.

According to her, public procurement and its legal framework are of an essentially dynamic nature and require continuous changes and improvements which must always remain one step ahead of the sophisticated strategies of corruption and organised crime.

"Public Procurement Law is a basis for the establishment of a transparent public procurement system, whose institutional framework will consist of the Commission for Public Procurements and Directory of Public Procurements. I would like to emphasise that establishment of an effective, efficient public procure-



ment system requires continuous cooperation of these institutions with the management bodies representing the pillars of anti–corruption in the Montenegrin legal system: State Audit Institution, Directory for Anti– Corruption Initiative, Ministry of Internal Affairs and Public Administration and the Prosecutors' Association", explains Radović.

Public procurement, according to her, is a very dynamic field, amenable to continuous changes and improvements.

"However, progress in the development of legal procedures is accompanied by leaps in the development of evasion and abuse mechanism. For this reason, it is of paramount importance that we have independent institutions, with sufficient administrative capacities to

THE COMMISSION ANNULLED ONE FIFTH OF THE PROCEDURES

According to Katarina Radović, in 2006 the Commission received 108 complaints for the protection of participants rights in public procurement. The Commission accepted 41 complaints. In more than a half of them, we declared the entire procedure void and ordered repetition of the call.

Complaints were usually with regard to violations of the public procurement procedure, contents of the public call and applicant documentation, public opening of the offers, evaluation and comparison of offers, evaluations of the acceptability of the offer by the commissioning party and the legality of their decision on the best offer or annulment of the public call, explains Radović. enact their legally prescribed duties and to prevent such system deviations. In an effort to assist development of administrative capacities in this field we cooperated with European Agency for Reconstruction in organising training courses for public procurement officers, beneficiary institutions and media representatives", Radović says.

However, MfC leader, **Nebojša Medojević** claims that the main problem with regard to public procurements in Montenegro is the lack of political will to fight corruption.

"If you work on improving administrative capacities, and on the other hand you neglect to fight corruption, what will you achieve? – You will train corrupt civil servants to spot and use mistakes of the system", Medojević says.

As a proof of the absence of political will to ensure transparency and equal treatment of all contenders, Medojević explained that about a year ago the Government "decided" that Secretariat for Development should make a contract with one Slovenian company to procure software worth of nearly 1 million euros, without a public call.

In 2000, Medojević proposed a law on public procurement, but he failed to secure support from the then parliamentary majority – DPS, SDP and MfC.

He adds that public procurement must be accompanied with adequate anti-corruption measures, such as establishment of a body to observe the standards of the employees dealing with public procurement.

"There is not big philosophising when we come to harmonization of our legislation with the EU's – we are talking about four Directives here. However, as is the case with other systemic laws, problems arise when it comes to their implementa– tion, which is not in the interest of the current government", Medojević concludes.

HOW WELL BASED ARE GOVERNMENT'S PROJECTIONS THAT MONTENEGRO COULD JOIN THE EU ALREADY BY 2009

(Un)realistic ambitions

ne ambitious projection of the Deputy Prime Minister for European Integrations, Prof. Dr Gordana Đurović fired enthusiasm of the Montenegrin Europhiles, surprised the Eurosceptics and caused doubts among some sectors of the government and the diplomatic corps in Montenegro. Her announcement at the constitutive meeting of the Government Commission for European Integrations held in mid June that Montenegro could, if everything goes as planned, apply for the candidate status in EU in 2008 and, in the best of scenarios, be granted that status by 2009, even caused indirect protests from the Montenegrin ambassador in Brussels, Slavica Milačić. However, if one looks at the path of Croatia, for instance, from signing the Stabilisation and Association Agreement (SAA) to its current position of the candidate for EU membership, it turns out that Deputy Đurović's predictions may not be overstated.

Although the SAA was initialled only on the 15 March this year, is expected to be signed by autumn and will come into force in two or three years, after being ratified by the European Parliament all 27 parliaments of the member states, Đurović announced that Montenegro could, if everything goes right, apply for the candidate status by 2008 and officially acquire the status by 2009. According to her, by the first quarter of 2008 Montenegro could prepare the national integration programme.

"Every political goal or ambition is realistic insofar that it is accompanied by a decisive, encompassing and consistent package of measures for its implementation, which is what we are currently working on in Montenegro", said the head of the Montenegrin mission to EU in Brussels, Slavica Milačić, a few days after Đurović's announcement.

She noted that it is difficult to speak about deadlines in relation to Montenegrin European integrations, including the potential membership application next year, adding that it is not up to her to decide whether the 2008 prospect for candidate status application is realistic.



"Based on the experience of those countries that already travelled the road to EU, we can only conclude that the length of every step depends on the ability of each particular country to implement the commitments stipulated by the SAA as well as

Croatia had signed the SAA on the 29 October 2001. The fact that the SAA was not yet in force at the time did not stop Croatia from submitting the membership application on the 21 February 2003, nor from acquiring a candidate status in June 2004

the Copenhagen membership criteria. The most recent experience suggests that acquiring a candidate status does not automatically lead to membership negotiations with EU", Milačić said.

At the moment, three countries have candidate status for the membership in EU: Croatia, Macedonia, and Turkey. Croatia acquired the candidate status in June 2004, and began negotiations together with Turkey in October 2005. The newest candidate country, Macedonia, submitted its application on the 22 March 2004, and upon a positive recommendation by the European Commission, it officially became a candidate for EU membership at the 16 December 2005 EU summit. The date for the beginning of negotiations has, however, not yet been set.

Croatia had signed the SAA on the 29 October 2001. The fact that the SAA was not yet in force at the time did not stop Croatia from submitting the membership application on the 21 February 2003, nor from acquiring a candidate status in June 2004. Four new member states of the EU – Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania and Slovenia – had a similar experience, submitting their membership applications before their Europe Agreements came into force, and Estonia and Slovenia became candidates much earlier.

June, 2007

After Croatia submitted its membership application on the 21 February 2003, the Council of EU asked the EC to produce an opinion (avis) on the Croatian case less then two months later, on the 14 April 2003. In accordance with the usual application procedure, on the 10 July 2003, European Commission sent Croatia the so-called Questionnaire with 4.560 questions on various subjects: administration, institutions, economy... Answers to this questionnaire make up for a comprehensive picture of the situation in Croatia: responding to the document is a complex process which took some three months in the Croatian case. The reply was submitted to EC on the 9 October 2003. In December 2003 and January 2004 EC sent additional 184 questions.

If we compare the dynamics of the Croatian road with the projections of the Government of Montenegro, it is clear that the set task could be fulfilled, seen that Montenegro is a much smaller system, but only under the condition that the Government and the Parliament adopt a perfectly detailed scheme and implement it though a much more efficient state apparatus. In other words, it requires appointments to the key positions of people much more capable of following the deputy minister Đurović.

N. RUDOVIĆ

LORA BORISSOVA, LECTURER AT THE EUROPEAN INSTITUTE OF PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION IN LUXEMBOURG

The best EU support for the region is lifting the visa requirements

Montenegro has a great potential to achieve a swift integration path towards the EU. Successful EU integration is the preliminary and obligatory requirement in order to transform all Western Balkan states into stable and legitimate democracies, says in the interview for *EIC Bulletin* Lora Borissova, lecturer at the European Institute of Public Administration in Luxembourg.

Borissova has recently conducted a training for civil servants in Podgorica, in the framework of the Luxembourg Technical Assistance Project for Montenegro "Building Horizontal European Integration Capacities".

• According to you, what is the best way Montenegro legislation to put in line with EU standards?

EIPA seminars in general are not meant to provide authoritative legal interpretation of EU documents or quantitative analyses of the impact of enlargement on national policy sectors but rather to help Montenegro to draw relevant comparisons with previous enlargement experiences as to identify the main issues on its way to EU membership. Building up adequate administrative capacity and establishing effective national coordination mechanisms would help Montenegro achieving a better compliance record as soon as possible.

 The greatest problem for Montenegro is implementing the legisla-



tion. What is your proposal for improving the Government efforts in that field? Is the executive the only responsible party?

Although in these first years of integration, approximation of legislation mainly refers to enacting domestic legislation which is in conformity with the EU requirements, effective and correct implementation are the main stumbling blocks in front of the new Member States and the other Western Balkans countries. In this respect, Commission advices taking the form of guidelines or the widely advertised process of benchmarking could be of great help for applicant and candidate countries. Through the three phases of the legislative process (in particular difficul– ties concern EU directives), transposition, implementation and enforcement, the approx– imation of your legislation with the EU acquis would need to follow strictly the concordance tables and explanatory memo– randums EU instruments are provided with. Public servants should be trained in order to acquire necessary knowledge and relevant expertise in this respect.

• What do you think is the most efficient way to avoid political influence on the employment policy in public institutions and their decision making processes?

My answer would be a direct reference to one of the main short term priorities contained in the European Part-

nership with Montenegro. The most efficient way would be establish modern and efficient public administration (and also judiciary) by avoiding any direct political interference in the appointment of civil servants. The latter could be achieved by ensuring a transparent recruitment system, professionalism and accountability with objective and professional criteria for selection and career advancement. It is, furthermore, important to strengthen the European integration structures at all levels, as well as the mechanisms for coordination on EU matters.

• How do you see EU perspective for Montenegro and other Balkan countries?

REFORMS ARE EASIER WHEN YOU ARE SMALL



• What, according to you are the main advantages of Montenegro on its road to EU, and what are the shortcomings?

The main advantages relate undoubtedly to the small size of your country and, stemming from the latter, a supposed flexibility to swiftly implement reforms.

In this moment, the new Constitution is probably your greatest problem.

Of course, several other problems such as ethnic division, constitutional and statehood issues, as well as political instability, institutional and administrative weakness are common impediments in all the WB countries. These issues have different strength and importance in the individual

countries, which makes them being addressed in a prioritised manner in every state. The most urgent ones should be dealt with special attention because they obstruct the forward advancement of the countries on their way to accession. The EU, for its part, should strengthen its commitment to integrate the WB countries as soon as they firmly show their commitment to comply with the EU standards by achieving the most urgently required reforms.

The EU has repeatedly manifested its determination to grant the WB with a clear European perspective. Its approach towards the region is determined by the Stabilisation and Association Process (SAP), whose ultimate objective is to successfully integrate the countries into the Union. It is an ambitious programme, providing them with guidelines for carrying out the necessary reforms.

The SAP has eventually achieved to bring the region closer to the EU, but has not succeeded in overcoming all the stumbling blocks. The historical determinism continues to play a significant role in the region's political agenda, leaving statehood, ethnic and capacity-related issues unresolved. Such inherent characteristics are common challenges, blocking the way of the Western Balkans towards accession. There are also specific impediments in front of every state which have to be addressed with particular attention. These obstacles require the use of EU's broad range of externally employed instruments and an enhanced synergy between inter–pillar EU instruments: on the one hand, community programmes and, on the other, Second Pillar on the ground efforts under the Common Foreign and Security Policy and Third Pillar implementing initia– tives (as regards fighting cross border organised crime, etc).

• And how do you see the future of EU given the current debate on all levels regarding the institution-al reorganisation, adoption of the EU Constitution, internal EU problems and their impact on the future enlargements?

Indeed, the main stumbling block relates to the controversial concept "enlargement fatigue". From a more institutional point of view, one of the fundamental obstacles that countries willing to accede will face in the near future is referred to as the Union's "absorption capacity". This term reflects "EU's ability to take in new members while maintaining the momentum of integration" as stated by the Copenhagen criteria established in 1993. This requirement and, more in particular, recent debates as regards the concept of absorption capacity, refer to the identity crisis that EU is suffering as a result of the "big-bang" enlargement 2004, the accession of Bulgaria and Romania in 2007and the failure of the ratification process of the Constitutional treaty. It entails the necessity of urgent EU adaptation and institutional settlement in order to retain its effectiveness.

The European Union can not afford to leave the Balkans out. The geographical proximity and crucial importance makes the region a major challenge for the EU external rela– tions.

Setting up certain timetable does not mean indicating target dates, which the Union is reluctant to grant. It means properly rewarding the efforts, made by the aspirant countries by bridging the gap between signing an SAA and membership. The EU needs to confirm its commitment not only at a state level by pushing forward SAA conclusion and granting a candidate status. It has to give a tangible proof of the European perspective to societies in the Western Balkans.

Moreover, one of the most powerful incentives that the Union has to offer to ordinary people is lifting the visa requirements for citizens from the region which would have an enormous effect on their daily lives.

The EU has to retain visa facilitation measures with the Western Balkans countries on the top of its agenda.

N. RUDOVIĆ

How to wake up in the EU

Piše: Brano Mandić

If a local ticket collector, a prototype of the Polish railway worker who had recently woken up from a coma to find out that communism was long gone, would suddenly awake on the day that Montenegro joins the European Union...What would be his first questions, his major astonishments?

And it's now that I should get really funny – if one had exposed the pun at the beginning, the task is to sweat a little over the fresh comparisons and speculations, just like on Cetinje the other day, when in advance of the TV transmission one could see live on a hundred of slides why and how one church appears above the other.

Out of the blue, people came up with a plan for the construction of a half a million worth temple in a city where not a single apartment was built in the last twenty years. When the church gets its fingers into something, there is no place for mistakes. When, on the other hand, the state sets out to tackle the corruption, it first founds and institute whose abbreviation reads NCIAPIPFACOC, which stands for the National Commission for the Implementation of the Action Plan for the Introduction of the Programme for the Fight against Corruption and Organised Crime. 130 letters, 23 words, among which two adverbs, two conjunction and three articles do not make it into the abbreviation.

Now, to go back to out railwayman, what would he first do upon leaving the hospital, on the day we join the EU? He would go to Cetinje, to the Trinity Church to bow before the greatest Christian relicts. One could expect that much from a man who has been on the "other side", like once **Svetozar Mar(k)ović**, protector of the honeycomb and milt.

But when the man who was not stung by a bee, but slid noiselessly in his Chrysler as if surrounded by all ears and no eyes, when, that is to say, in the style of the Sheikh of Abu Dhabi Dr **Miomir Hadji Mugoša** ha–

When the state sets out to tackle the corruption, it first founds and institute whose abbreviation reads NCIAPIPFACOC, which stands for the National Commission for the Implementation of the Action Plan for the Introduction of the Programme for the Fight against Corruption and Organised Crime.

nds out 300.000 euros for the occasion as a surprise factor – that is a real miracle. A Christian conversion. Worthy of Saul's metamorphosis.

Not only he forgave the illegal construction of the Monastery of

Christ's Resurrection in Podgorica, but he is also capable of investing into the early Christian edifice, Anno Domini 2007, in his birthplace, the city of Cetinje, to quote one inspired government PR. For those with cheaper entry tickets, we are talking of "the Royal Seat of Cetinje". When I hear that "Royal Seat", I regret I were not a ticket collector in a deep coma; dreaming of handing a ticket to the Hague to Vaclav Havel and Milan Popović...

Yet one must wake up to return to the European path of this tale.

What if our awoken hero were of Mohammedan faith? He would probably take of to the European Bukovica to see joyful locals picking the fruit of village tourism surrounded by lambs and bloody of blueberries. The complete young team of governors retreated there from Podgorica humdrum, and already in their ripe years they lounge in summerhouses notching down their memoirs.



It is possible too that their matrons are buying them lovely woollen sweaters, handmade, to remind them that they loved them even once upon a time when only their parents and **Slobodan Milošević** believed in them.

"My sweater-boy, happy EU to you", says the naughty spouse to her beloved, handing him a sweater woolly as the beard of **Čeko Daković** from '93...Signed, postcard from Bukovica by Pljevlja, on the day of Montenegrin accession to EU.

Mentioning the 1993, please do not ask us to be precise about the date of Montenegrin accession to EU. It will come fast enough, surely before we awake from the coma.

Research suggests that people in such a blessed state should be spoken to, and that all these words remain engraved somewhere. Which is why we continue.

DPS is in a crisis. European institutions, fighting for the cadre of the best organised party on the old continent. National politics led by honest, but none too impressive figures. The best have moved to Brussels, where they are received by Miodrag Vuković Miško like the painters by Veličković in the City of Light. Grey haired Vuković presiding over the European Commission, in French, master of the ceremony, expert for the administrative nitty-gritty. The God of Small Things, to quote the gorgeous chronicler of the Indian troubles. And while the railwayman Jan Grzebski, waking up in the hospital, realised that the Russians were nowhere to be found in his Poland, his Montenegrin counterpart would realise that all the sleepless night of Goli Otok were not in vain. MBC became a Russian television, and instead of the good old Lajmet, the RTM broadcasts that chirpy language of Daniel Harms. Read Daniel Harms, he wrote about European integrations in the Balkans a century ago.

Which reminds me, DASA (Doclean Academy of Science and Arts) and MASA (Montenegrin Academy of Science and Arts) have



Academicians are joined again, agile like the Rolling Stones, they inform, they warn, they remind like the MONITOR. Montenegrin truth-loving academicians, reconciled in a grand idea of the European unity – a hallucination worthy of absinth with Tijuana.

united. Academicians are joined again, agile like the Rolling Stones, they inform, they warn, they remind like the MONITOR. Montenegrin truth-loving academicians, reconciled in a grand idea of the European unity - a hallucination worthy of absinth with Tijuana. Our Grzebski was, however, warned by the doctors to stay away from toasts and dope. It is shocking enough for our freshly resurrected that there is no more "wild" construction in Budva. Still hangover, he hears that already in mid-2011, during **Đukanović**'s term, a great clean-up action was conducted. Instead of a spiritual forgiveness of all Lovćen's spirits which found no echo in Dubrovnik, the executive offered Budva under the slogan: "Here's a hand, your turn". In a celebratory mood, the artillery of the National Army of the Republic of Croatia showered fire over the capital of Montenegrin tourism targeting coordinates previously set by the ministersfor-life **Vučinić** and **Nenezić**. A pragmatic solution to a twofold problem: burying the axe of an ugly past and getting rid of wild constructions. To make the picture complete, young cubs of the Democratic Party of Socialists set hundreds of truck tyres on fire beyond the walls of the ancient city of Butoa. Evacuated inhabitants of Budva and tourists from Jaz quietly watched A Bigger Bang...

Finally, something about the day itself when the ticket collectors rise blind from comas, see. and Montenegro joins the family of European nations. The speaker: Ranko Krivokapić. Still wearing the badge. Still a charmer. Asks whether freedom can ever sing like the slaves have sung about it, "to quote Nazor". Nevermind, president of the Parliament does not know it is not Nazor. A mis– taken quote is to be forgiven. Especially to the president of the forever rebellious SDP. Still, he said it in the Public Service, children watched... He should then apologise, maybe. But to whom? Let us better not draw the list of all the citizens to whom he and his colleagues should apologise. For the same money we would get the full census directory and updated electoral lists. Yet, one could wonder, should anyone apologise to people in coma? What about them, do we count them as voters, politically active individuals, citizens? Is there a possibility that they would wake up on the election-day? To toss into the ballot their vote for a new Montenegro, routinely, like a postman? And in support of whom? Such silly questions.

To wind up, let me remind you of the reply by the poet who really did write those lines about freedom and the slaves, **Branko Miljković**, when asked what he would first ask for if he were de–frosted after twenty years.

"I would ask them to freeze me again!"

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

ECONOMIC MODELS AND REALITY OF EUROPEAN INTEGRATIONS IN THE NEW CENTRAL AND EAST EUROPEAN EU MEMBERS



by Vera Šćepanović

In our post-modern, post-ideological times, some dogmas still appear as untouchable under the guise of strict scientific formulae. One of them is the dogma of economic growth, too often emphasised by the economists as the only measure of success, both in the EU and in its future members. Now that some transitions are over, however, it is maybe time to take a look at some other parameters, in order to best gauge what the Central and East European countries have really accomplished on their road to EU, and what could be learned from them.

Economic recession caused by the fall of socialism had immense consequence for the economic structure in all East European countries, as well as on the state of living standards. Despite of all laudations for democracy, it is a fact that in the economic domain some of these countries are still struggling to return to their levels of prosperity from 1989, and only some of them have succeeded in surpassing this mark and getting closer to the West European standards. On the other hand, economic crisis has grave political consequences. Ever more frequent protests in Hungary and Slovakia, first alarms in the Baltic republics, as well as the rise to power of an extreme conservative party in Poland are witness to the discontent of the citizens in these states and an indicator that EU accession in itself is not a magic wand and cannot solve all of our problems.

However demanding, EU require-

European Union is not a magic wand

ments are strictly confined to the basic macro–economic indicators, without much attention being paid to the indus– trial and social policy of the candidate countries. By the same token, although every path of European integrations may lead to the same formal goal, only some of them bring even development and prosperity for all. A great number of fac– tors influence the choice of the path in each country, and those who lightly toss around with "Irish" and other "models" forget that historical and geographic con–

Despite of their similarities in the beginning of transition, Central and East European countries today differ significantly among themselves in their economic structures, type of investments they attract, and the manner in which they resolve their social problems

text may be crucial in determining whether a "model" will function or not. In the case of East and Central European countries, economic structures inherited from socialism, the way in which they were employed or neglected in the transition process, as well as the strategies of political elites, play equally important roles in bringing the country to a path of even, sustainable development and "European" living standards.

Despite of their similarities in the beginning of transition, Central and East European countries today differ significantly among themselves in their economic structures, type of investments they attract, and the manner in which they resolve their social problems. Baltic states are the closest to the neoliberal type, with a minimum of state intervention in the economy and the lowest level of social expenditures. Their economies are mostly based on financial and transport services which they perform as mediators between EU and Russian Federation. In the first years of transition, both from economic and political reasons of redefining national identities and distancing from Russia, those countries conducted a drastic liberalisation programme resulting in almost complete de-industrialisation. Today, except for the above mentioned services, their economies mostly rely on light industries (textiles,

WHY DO WE NEED EU?

Differing fates of the former members of the Eastern block inside EU suggest that EU is not capable of solving all of our problems, and that much depends on the manner in which we ourselves approach the task. Economic growth comes at a price, and without the most basic healthy foundations, it is difficult to construct any kind of economy. Superficial copying of the Irish or Estonian "model" disregards the historical context, geostrategic specificities and the dark sides of those, very different, transition roads. There is much to be learned from our neighbours – first of all, that the question of European integrations is a question of priorities: why, and for whom do we need European Union? For a handful of entrepreneurs who would maybe profit at the European markets (or maybe not, as they seem ever less enthusiastic about it), or because of all those citizens who would want to see their living standards become a little more European? The answer to this question is the answer to the puzzle: which model for European integrations?

wood, alimentary industries), characterised by fierce competition and constant fall in prices on the international markets. It is surprising that in these conditions the political regimes in those countries remained relatively stable and that until recently there were very few public protests. This fact is, however, less unusual if we remember that Estonia and Lithuania passed citizenship laws in the early nineties depriving of citizenship some 28 to 32% of their citizens of Russian origin, of whom 22% in Estonia to this date has no citizenship whatsoever. With minimum expenditures on social protection, 33% of the population on average in Baltic countries is on the verge of poverty, and average real wages account for only 68% of what they were in 1989. From distance, however, these economies, with their low inflation levels and minuscule deficits appear strikingly stable, which is why international media often points at them as the role model of European integrations. Superb indicators aside, only Estonia has so far managed to exceed its GDP levels from 1989.

In the meantime, countries of the Visegrad group (Czech Republic, Slovakia, Poland and Hungary) tried to use as much as possible of their initial attributes, some more, some less successfully, significantly helped in their efforts by the physical proximity of West European, and especially German markets. Using their relatively healthy bases inherited from socialism, these countries invested much in attracting foreign investments towards complex manufactures (especially automobile industry), which suffer less intensive international competition, are more difficult to relocate and require well educated workforce. The proximity of western markets also attracted investors from Asia and USA, enhancing opportunities for industrial upgrading and development. By 2004, the GDP of all the countries in this group exceeded the 1989 levels, and only Slovakia has real wages still lower than 15 years ago. Visegrad state's governments did not hesitate to offer potential investors the best possible conditions. In their mutual "tax wars", corporate taxes fell to the lowest levels permitted in the EU, and accessory investments significantly burdened state budgets, bringing public expenditure authorities in a dilemma between social protection and subvention for transnational corporations. On the other hand, not having the option of disenfranchising of a third of their popula-

Country	GDP (1989=100)	Average monthly real wage (1989=100)	GDP relative to EU25 average (EU=100)	Average monthly labour cost (EU25= 2.888 euros)	Social expendi– tures (% GDP)	Risk of poverty after trans– fers (% popu– lation)	Unemplo– yment
Estonia	102	80	51.2	650	14.3	36	10.6%
Latvia	83	74	42.8	357	14.3	31	11.9%
Lithuania	84	50	47.8	508	15.2	33	14.0%
Czech Republic	108	119	70.3	842	19.2	14	8.0%
Hungary	115	103	60.1	838	19.8	17	5.8 %
Poland	135	109	48.8	699	22.1	30	18.5%
Slovakia	114	91	51.9	636	19.1	40	18.5%
Slovenia	120	96	79.1	1,497	25.5	21	4.6%



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tion, Visegrad states had to balance between the demands of their citizens and requirements of the corporations, with the result that they often found themselves in grave fiscal difficulties. Average public debt in these countries is close to 48% of GDP, and annual deficits around 6%. The recent health and social protection reforms aimed at minimising Source : EIRO, Eurostat. Data up to 2004.

the costs only managed to spark discontent of the wider population, electoral blockades and public protests. In spite of that, poverty is significantly lower, wages are higher, and the level of social protection two and a half times greater than in the Baltic states.

Of the first eight East European countries to join EU, only Slovenia seems to have managed to sustain both relatively stable growth and stable political situation, and to achieve economic success without inflicting greater suffering on its citizens. As the most successful republic of the former Yugoslavia, Slovenia entered the transition period with considerably well developed foundations, and invested in the creation of a couple of national champions in the domain of pharmaceuticals and consumer durables. Today, Gorenje has its offices on the most prominent squares of both East European and West European capitals. With carefully targeted and implemented investment strategy, Slovenia, unlike most other post-socialist countries, relied very little on the foreign capital and instead used its relatively advanced self-management system to create a successful programme of insider shareholder privatisation. Although wages in Slovenia today are only 96% of their 1989 levels, per capita GDP is the closest to the EU 25 average in this region - 79.1%. A recognition of the stability of Slovenian economy is maybe best gauged through the fact that Slovenia is the only East European country which managed to join the Euro-zone in 2007.

The author is a programme coordinator at the Centre for Civic Education. She attended IV generation of the European Integration School

THE WEST BALKANS MUST LEARN TO ANSWER THE NUMEROUS REQUIREMENTS FROM BRUSSELS, BUT THE EU HAS ALSO LEARNED NEW THINGS



by Maja Vujašković

n the late 80s and the beginning of 90s, the project of European Union acquired an entirely new dimension. The fall of the Berlin Wall, the end of the Cold War and the division of the world into blocks, imposed a ne2w context in which the European Union had to take greater responsibility for the security and prosperity of its continent - in a word, become a loud voice. Those changes on the global political scene resulted in new states on the territory of the former Soviet Union, which desired integration and economic relations with Europe, and were no more totalitarian regimes that could be ignored. An elite organisation, reserved for almost four decades for the rich West European countries now had a new, difficult task ahead: integrating under its aegis the countries of Central and Eastern Europe. Experiences acquired in this process will have a decisive impact in shaping the enlargement policy, which will be put to test once again with the new round of countries knocking at the EU door - West Balkan countries. And while the EU entered its new stage of integrations, which finally granted it its all-European identity, the West Balkan countries were sunk into a wave of disintegration and a war storm, embodied in the dissolution of

Balkan lessons

Yugoslavia and inter–ethnic conflicts on its soil. During the bloody 90s, these countries lived through a com– plete international isolation, a collapse of their democratic, economic and social systems and an irreversible loss of the race with the rest of Europe.

Today, those countries are trying to make up for the lost time and to join European nations. For them, the EU is a guarantee of a better and safer life, but in some way also a foreign, remote and powerful force aiming to impose new rules of the game, which can sometimes be painful. For some, painful in the sense of losing their chances for murky enterprises, and for the "ordinary" citizens the change of old habits, adaptation to the new standards and learning about them. All the pressures coming from Brussels, new terminology broadcasted daily by all public media, which stand for something we must still do, without always fully understanding it, have created, in spite of an overwhelming support to European integrations, a chasm and some mistrust between the EU and the citizens of the West Balkans. The crux of the matter is their feeling themselves

West Balkan contries are trying to make up for the lost time and to join European nations. For them, European Union is a guarantee of a better and safer life, but in some way also a foreign, remote and powerful force aiming to impose new rules of the game, which can sometimes be painful

as second-rate Europeans, who are constantly reminded of their faults and the need to be changed, they feel that the West Balkan countries are hanging on the edge of everything "European",

NEW ORGANISATION FOR NEW CHANCES

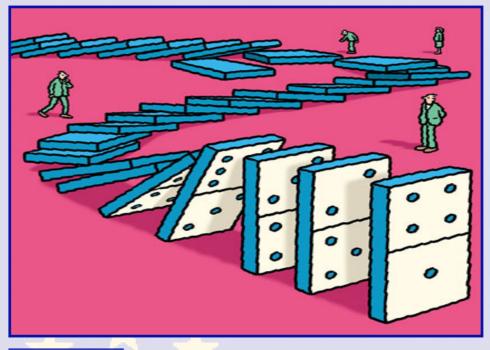
Today again, the West Balkan countries have direct influence on the events taking place within the EU. Although it may not me the only and the most important reason for the institutional reform of EU, after the 2005 failure of the Constitution (which was partially rejected on account of the possibility of new entrants) further EU enlargement is certainly a challenge which requires an answer, impossible to give based only on the existing founding Treaties, which do not envisage solutions for more than 27 members. The EU will, therefore, need to be reformed, partially in order to give a chance to the regional countries to become full members.

It all indicates high levels of EU involvements in the Balkan processes. The EU has become a factor influencing the form of the regional states, who tied their future to the future of European integrations, defining them as the supreme national interests. On the other hand, the events in the region have touched the EU, becoming a part of its thoughts, debates, and foreign policy activities. The relationship has long been there, it only needs reinvigoration.

struggling to join a club where they are unwanted. Manipulation of messages and requirements from Brussels by the national political actors does not exactly help to heal this chasm. The problem could perhaps be overcome with transparency in decision-making, quality communication strategies on the national level that would provide adequate information to the citizens regarding the requirements and benefits of reforms, and educate them about events and functioning of the European Union.

We may experience the EU as a force that strives to change us, but the situation is in effect somewhat different. Although the EU is the strongest stability factor in the region and the attraction of its membership the main driving force for reforms in the Balkan countries, the learning process was not always unilateral. This story is somewhat different from the others, because it describes what the EU has learned from the West Balkan countries, how they have changed its policies and contributed to its capacity to reform "problematic" social systems.

Balkan lessons were particularly important in the realm of Common Foreign and Security Policy. At the time the conflicts flared up in the former Yugoslavia, the EU was preoccupied with negotiations related to the Treaty of Maastricht, which means that its structure still lacked the second pillar - the Common Foreign and Security Policy. In response to this crisis, the EU relied on the USA, lacking its own unified, decisive stance on the matter, as well as capacity to respond to such a catastrophe. On the other hand, this situation served to emphasise the need for a stronger EU identity on the international stage, especially as regards crisis management and taking the responsibility for the situation at the European continent. After the conflict in Bosnia and Herzegovina, its engagement suddenly rose. Today, EU is an equal partner to UN, USA and Russian in negotiating the solution for the final status of Kosovo. It suggests that EU's capacities



Particularly interesting is the EU requirement of regional cooperation, which also existed for the Central and East European countries, but was never as strongly emphasised. When these regional initiatives were first introduced, there was substantial resistance and great mistrust among the former enemies across the front lines. Today, the number of ways for regional cooperation is striking, especially in the realm of European integrations

for military and civilian crisis management and peace implementation have significantly improved compared to the early 90s.

The enlargement policy also grew to encompass several new instruments defined after the needs of the West Balkan countries. EU flexibility in the process of membership preparations, concerning adaptations of the broadly defined membership criteria on caseby-case basis showed itself in the brightest light on the example of the Balkans. Particularly interesting is the EU requirement of regional cooperation, which also existed for the Central and East European countries, but was never as strongly emphasised. When

these regional initiatives were first introduced, there was substantial resistance and great mistrust among the former enemies across the front lines. Today, the number of ways for regional cooperation is striking, especially in the realm of European integrations. Economic barriers have been completely removed, and cooperation institutionalised through the establishment of CEFTA 2006. The EU reaped great successes in this area, by fostering communication among those countries, an example of cooperation which is imperative for the integration of these countries into EU. Regional reconciliation is also assisted by the EU insistence on the troublesome question of cooperation with the ICTY, which individualises the guilt for all crimes committed in the region, and is heavily emphasised in its conditionality policy - a powerful instrument for generating reforms. European Commission was particularly successful in balancing these different regional initiatives to encompass countries of different levels of development and their specific needs.

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

PREPARATION OF A FEASIBILITY STUDY FOR THE ESTABLISHMENT OF ENVIRONMENTAL REVOLVING FUND



by Emil Kriještorac

Does Montenegro need Envi-Ironmental Revolving Fund? What would be its goals, or reasons for its establishment? What would be its policy, organisation, financial parameters? The answers are to be given by the Feasibility Study currently conducted by a group of authors. The project is nearing its end, and is supported by the US Trade and Development Agency (USTDA). Environmental Revolving Fund is conceived as an independent institution whose basic goal is to create an encompassing and flexible financial instrument for the implementation of state environmental policy. Its first phases would focus on water supply, management and purification of sewage waters, and solid waste management. Such a fund could potentially play a crucial role in financing of the necessary investments on the local level, in order to fulfil the environmental standards defined on the national level as well as international standards, especially those of EU.

Similar funds exist in almost all transition or post-transition countries: Slovenia, Romania, Poland, Armenia, Lithuania, Latvia, Czech Republic, etc. That is understand-

Grants and credits for a clean environment

able, as such countries usually lack budgetary funds for the demanding eco projects.

According to the ideas of the authors, as well as of the commissioner of the project - Ministry for Tourism and Environmental Protection, the priority task of the Fund would be to provide a combination of grants and loans, seen that the current financial and administrative situation of most future beneficiaries of the Fund speaks against their ability to rely solely on loans. The preliminary design of the Fund was therefore conceived so as to support grants, direct loans and their combinations. Grants would be used as means to motivate the beneficiaries to enhance their administrative and financial efficiency in order to improve their capacity for acquiring credits and improving services.

According to **Nataša Obradović**, the head of the project, financial

The Fund is to be organised under management of professional cadre with supervision of a Board of Directors. The establishment of the Board will be regulated by law, and its members appointed by the Government

conception of the Fund, which is "not aimed at returning profits", envisages multiple financing sources for the Fund: transfers from the state budget (e.g. conditional donations), privatisation revenues, environmental taxes, annual state bonds, "debt conversion", bilateral and multilateral grants of individual donors, loans from international financial institu-

CREDITORS TO WRITE OF DEBTS IF INVESTED IN ECO PROJECTS

The Fund is of a particular interest for Montenegro, given the current trend among the international creditors, including the London and the Paris Club, to convert debts into resources for environment. What does it mean? Certain creditors are willing to reduce Montenegrin debt, under condition that those means be invested in eco projects, with due monitoring and evaluation of such investments. Such undertakings entail a number of conditions: that the debtor country adopts a political decision, apply with a request for debt reduction, that creditor has an "interest" in converting the debt, and that there are sufficient local capacities in the debtor country to monitor and implement efficiently the financial management mechanism required by such arrangements.

Naturally, the main concern of the donors who agree to "convert debts into resources for environment" is that the entire enterprise remains open and transparent, and that finances are well targeted. However, the international practice confirms that such means are usually "supplementary", accompanying the existing resources from budgetary allocations for environment. tions, as well as sources of donors' foundations. She adds that further sources of financing could be issuing from compensations for leakage of sewage waters into surface water flows, recompense for water pollution, waste deposit, fines for mismanagement of sewage waters, fines for illegal waste deposit, contributions from national and international companies etc. The Fund will, naturally, create its own revenues from returns on credits, from financial management and return rates on bank deposits.

Establishment of the Fund will be regulated by a separate law or adequate legal acts adopted by the Parliament of Montenegro. The law and the accompanying acts must clearly define the institutional organisation of the Fund, competences regarding the functioning of the Fund, procedure for appointment of the Board and its competences, financial sources for the Fund, institutional criteria and principles governing the design and selection of the applicant projects, as well as establishment of transparency and accountability standards of the Fund towards the citizens of Montenegro.

"Government of Montenegro and local governments realise the magnitude of the challenge regarding the financing of local environmental infrastructures and services necessary to meet the standards set by Montenegrin and EU policies and laws. The main reason for the establishment of the Montenegrin Environmental Revolving Fund is our intention to create a permanent source of financing for the local environmental infrastructure through the programme of revolving loans, supplemented by grants where necessary. Through this Fund, the Government aspires to stimulate priority-setting and financial coordination of the environ-



Revolving funds in other parts of the world (in more than 40 developing countries) demonstrated that the existence of stable financial means for relevant projects motivates local authorities to initiate them

mental infrastructure, with due attention to the national plans and environmental priorities. Initially, the key projects would be those concerning water supply, as well as management and filtration of the waste waters", says **Siniša Stanković**, deputy minister for tourism and environmental protection.

Stanković emphasises that the Fund will serve to minimise "fragmentation of investments acquired from donations and international financial institutions" by channelling the money through this single financial body.

"The government wishes to improve foreign debt management and keep evidence of debtors by using this Fund for enforcement of stricter financial discipline and responsible fiscal policies of the local governments and their water supply and sewage companies", emphasise the document of the working group, which was also approved by the Ministry of Finance.

Revolving funds in other parts of the world (in more than 40 devel– oping countries) demonstrated that the existence of stable financial means for relevant projects motivates local authorities to initiate them. Quality, transparent planning pro– cess, and clear financing criteria could help to achieve the goals of the national sustainable development and environmental protection in a manner that is entirely consistent with EU standards and directives.

The Fund is to be organised under management of professional cadre with supervision of a Board of Directors. The establishment of the Board will be regulated by law, and its members appointed by the Government, in order to create a management system overseeing the word of the executive director and employees of the Fund. This form of organisation would ensure close observance of the founding law, national policies, investment priorities, and promote efficiency of the Fund. Most members of the Board would be elected from other organs immediately interested in the functioning of ERF, with several local representatives. According to the Feasibility Study, which is to be presented to the Government in September, representatives of donors would also find their place among the members of the Board, but without voting rights. The same document announces that the Fund will "supervise technical and financial implementation of the projects", as regulated by a separate set of rules governing the functioning of the Fund".

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



by Tanja Stanišić

Razmišljajući o Evropi i onome za čim žudim, moje misli su išle u dva pravca. Najprije sam počela da se sjećam – mislila sam o svojim studentskim ateljstva, doživjeli neke lijepe stvari koje ih cijeli život vežu za tu zemlju i kulturu.

Thinking about Europe and what I long for, my thoughts travelled in two directions. I first began to remember, thinking of my university days and travels. Always the same worries up to the last moment whether we will get a visa or not. We would usually somehow finally get it from the desk officer at the embassy who as a rule had some of his or her own complexes to vent playing tough on the applicants. I also remember study trips, international programmes where the entire group would follow one route, except for me, who did not have the right visas. Not to mention the feeling of inferiority, when the rest starts to talk about wonders and adventures from all parts of Europe, which I only knew from the books. They would also be fluent in a few foreign languages: French, Italian, Spanish, German, and English as a matter of course. Naturally, they have been to these countries, took

Why do I want to be a citizen of Europe?

language courses and summers schools there, made friends, had wonderful moments that forever tied them to that country and culture.

I do not agree with the philosophy of those who postpone globetrotting for the late age, planning their trip around the world for the first retirement year. While young, one is ready to change and to change the world around, has energy, will, desire, and ever encounter

We so close, and yet so terribly far away from Europe. A few light years, if you ask me. Our main problem, whose solution will require time, is the absence of civic culture and the civic state – in other words, lack of trust (well justified) in the institutions

with the world outside, a world yet unknown, makes him or her richer and more skilled in separating the truth from lies, to avoid falling for local prejudices, to use others' experience to plough a little more easily towards his or her goal finding one's true self. Like a sculptor's chisel moulding the stone with every next stroke, every encounter with something new and different moulds a young person. At that age, one easily absorbs the best of that diversity, different people, worldviews, inclinations, habits, beliefs. The horizons widen, and one feels as if reaching the summit of a new, higher hill: sees more, understands better, knows that there are different roads. It is a winning combination for all - for the individual, for

the community where he or she lives and works enlightened and sharpened with own knowledge and experience, and for humanity as a whole. How important it is to be able to get a visa easily and have cheap airlines flying to Montenegro!

On the other hand, I also thought of the contemporary times and life in Montenegro. And once more, I bitterly realised that we are so close, and yet so terribly far from Europe. A few light years, if you ask me. Our main problem, whose solution will require time, is the lack of any civic culture and the civic state, i.e. lack of trust (well justified) in institutions. Let me give an example to make my claim clearer: a few days ago I witnessed a road accident in which a driver has hit a girl child, about ten years old, who was running across the street. Fortunately, the accident had no serious consequences: although the girl flew a few metres, she still stood up.

What astounded me: first, the driver who first checked whether his car was damaged, and then if the child was hurt; his wife, who, holding her own child in her lap, did not even walk over to see the girl; third, their comment: "You're all right, go home now"; and fourth, which made me think (another disappointed, although I had similar experiences before) - the reaction of passer-bys, who silently, almost indifferently, watched the event, keeping to their own troubles (N.B. I disregard myself here on purpose, focusing on my fellow citizens). Did anyone run up to the girl or call the



ambulance? Did anyone inform the police? Did they help the girl to make it home? No, no, no, and no. Well, those are the things which will surprise me until the end of my life, regardless of how many times I experience them. I understand the needs of the people not to make enemies, and to keep to their own business, but I still fail to comprehend that one could be immobile watching a child who needs help. And then I remembered the root of this attitude: fear. First of all, when one calls the police, it does not at all mean that they will react. Second, if they do, loads of time will be spent on taking the statement, inquiries, and, should the perpetrator ever be caught, on testimonials. Third, in the meantime, if it turns out that the suspect is a violent person, suffering mental imbalances, or god forbid a prey to alcohol addiction or something worse, and if he or she knows the identity of the witness (which in this country is almost inevitable), one can have little hopes that the police

Although I risk sounding too optimistic, naÿve even, I would like to one day feel free and secure in my Montenegro, to believe that justice exists in courts, to believe that police can and wants to protect citizens, that bullies and fear-mongers would finally lose their privileged position.

would protect the witness, regardless of the type of molestation. This would somewhat explain why people like to stick to their own business.

This is how I would like to be a citizen of Europe: to be a citizen of a civic Montenegro, Montenegro which is a part of EU. Although I risk sounding too optimistic, naÿve even, I would like to one day feel free and secure in my Montenegro, to believe that justice exists in courts, to believe that police can and wants to protect citizens, that bullies and fear-mongers would finally lose their privileged position. This is civic-ness as I want it, instead of subdued formal citizenry that are around me.

Therefore, on the "European road" of Montenegro, placing a signature on a few papers is the easier part. Much more difficult is to enact fundamental changes of the institutions and their functioning, culture, customs, practice (take a look at the harmless Law on Smoking, adopted in accordance with best European rules and practices and nowhere implemented, not to speak of some bigger issues). With all the EU support, this is the change that must come from the inside, and needs time. I am in no hurry to join Europe on paper, I am no formalist. I would rather that we truly step closer on all measures of democratic heritage, and to use the expert assistance and EU funds in this period, instead of barging into EU unprepared, to be the last among equals.

The author is participant of V generation of the European Integration School

Southeast European Times

The Pact that changed the face of Southeastern Europe

The Stability Pact for South Eastern Europe will end its mandate in February 2008, and the Regional Co-operation Council will take its place. For eight years, the Pact has helped the region get on tract to stabilise and grow

by Nataša Radić

The Stability Pact for South Eastern Europe originated as a comprehensive conflict prevention strategy that was launched by the international community in the late 1990s. The main goals of the initiative – which was introduced in Sarajevo in the summer of 1999 – were not much different from previous conflict prevention ideas for the region, but the Stability Pact offered a promising new dimension – economic development and regional co-operation.

The Pact's premise was simple. The countries of Southeast Europe proposed projects they viewed as vital both domestically and for the region. They submitted the project documentation and a provisional budget to the Stability Pact Administration. The administration then found donors – individual countries, funds or international organisations – willing to finance the specific project.

After eight years of close regional co-operation, Southeast Europe is ready for a new "mediator" between its countries and the international community. The new initiative – the Regional Co-operation Council (RCC) – will take over Pact duties, and will be fully autonomous in making decisions. The Council will co-operate with European institutions as an equal. The Stability Pact handover is scheduled for February 2008.

Free trade in the region

Over the years, the Pact faced criticism from its regional participants, which sparked the move towards change. Some felt the Stability Pact was more interested in the priorities put forth by its Brussels headquarters than in fulfilling regional needs. Under the RCC, specific regional interests should be more decisively represented.

One of the Pact's main initiatives was to encourage every country to sign bilateral free trade agreements with



each other, facilitating economic cooperation. However, the Southeastern Free Trade Zone was met with resistance by many countries.

In Croatia, political opponents of the initiative claimed that with these agreements, Western Europe was seeking to rebuild the economic ties that once existed in the former Yugoslavia – making sure that after economic integration, political merging would follow. The Pact administration dismissed these arguments, saying that the projects supported by the Pact were designed to foster co-operation, not to force unwanted integration.

Despite some opposition, under the auspices of the Stability Pact Trade Working Group, the countries have finalised 27 bilateral free trade agreements, the majority of which are in force. This creates a regional market of 55 million consumers, stimulates trade, and substantially improves the prospects for attracting investment and thus overall economic growth. Southeast European governments have also agreed to create a regional energy market that would be integrated in time with the internal energy market of the EU.

At the same time, the Stability Pact was supporting, through its network of donor organisations, a large number of specific, targeted projects that were designed for improving infrastructure, health and social care, transport and education. Many political analysts consider this to be the Pact's biggest achievement.

Acceptance, country by country

"The countries of the South Eastern Europe have started to co-operate. Such a high degree of co-operation was unthinkable just a few years ago," Stability Pact Co-ordinator Erhard Busek said at a regional meeting in May, where the Pact's new future was mapped.

Macedonia has, from the beginning, considered the Stability Pact as the only process through which cooperation in Southeast Europe can be built. The country implemented the concrete benefits that the Pact was offering. Project funding to construct roads, increase environmental protection, establish local self-governments and modernise the water supply network were provided to Macedonia. A new Law on Broadcasting has been adopted with the assistance of the Stability Pact National Media Group. However, the two largest projects, the completion of Corridor 10 – part of the motorway between Demir Kapija and Gevgelija – and Corridor 8, have yet to take place.

The newest independent member of the Pact, Montenegro, also has ben-



efited from the regional co-operation programme. "Through various Stability Pact projects, Montenegro has received significant support, ŠincludingĆ technical and know-how support in the fields of investments, human rights, judiciary and internal affairs," former Montenegrin Stability Pact representative Vesko Sukovic said. Co-operation with the Pact was always compatible with the country's EU integration processes, he added. Montenegro plans to undertake similar proactive steps in the RCC, especially action tied to combating regional and cross-border crimes.

In Serbia, Prime Minister Vojislav Kostunica's previous cabinet did not welcome the Pact with open arms. But with the country's Euro–Atlantic aspira– tions regaining momentum, the new government has decided that regional co–operation is an important step in the EU association process. Belgrade authorities were a bit disappointed that their candidate for RCC secretary–gen– eral did not get the necessary support.

In Bosnia and Herzegovina (BiH), there has been scepticism of the organisation, though the Pact was launched from Sarajevo in 1999, and the organisation's Disaster Preparedness and Prevention Initiative (DPPI) Secretariat is based in Sarajevo. Its aim is to pull together ongoing activities and identifies unmet needs to boost the efficiency of national disaster management systems and to endorse a framework for regional co-operation. Regardless, many in BiH do not feel they have benefited from the initiative.

Over the years, the Stability Pact has lost political significance. The participating countries – Albania, BiH, Bulgaria, Croatia, Moldova, Montenegro, Romania, Serbia and Macedonia – have received significant financial help for their projects, thus changing the Pact from a political presence to an economical initiative. In the past eight years, the Pact has succeeded in providing the countries of the region with almost 20 billion euros.

A new initiative – regional responsibility

From its origins eight years ago, the Stability Pact has been a balance between the international community and countries of the region. Now, the regional dimension will take priority. This time, it is a revolutionary twist – as Busek puts it – because until now, "the regional activities were mainly designed, proposed and pushed by the Stability Pact under the leadership of the international community. The new set–up



implies a change of paradigm in regional co-operation and will change the way that the Southeastern European countries interact with each other."

The RCC headquarters will be established in Sarajevo, a move that excites BiH authorities. They expect much larger diplomatic activities there, as result of the RCC, and intend to call Sarajevo the "small Brussels" of the region. The first secretary–general of the new initiative is Croatian diplomat Hido Biscevic, who was elected at the May conference in Zagreb by the regional foreign ministers. The formal handover of authority will consist of two parts – the establishment of the regional head– quarters and its infrastructure and streamlining of all the task forces and initiatives that currently operate under the Stability Pact to the new regional framework.

"It is up to you now to make the best out of this new tool. International support will still be available, but it is up to your countries to fill this RCC with life, to make it a success story and thereby show that Southeastern Europe is a different region today than it was in the 1990s. The RCC will only be effective if it will enjoy the support of all its members, and if all the members will work together to achieve the common goal of a strong and sustainable regional co-operation in support of EU and Euro-Atlantic integration," Busek said in May.

"By establishing the RCC – which, like its predecessor, will be funded in part from the region as well as by the European Commission – members now must show that they are ready and willing to co–operate together, without international community involvement. "The Council will operate as a connector between countries of the region and the wider international donor community.

Until February, Biscevic and Busek will work together to ensure that the Stability Pact's achievements are preserved and that the transition to the new framework is as smooth as possible.

The Stability Pact was designed as a framework that would speed up the stabilisation process in the region and the participant countries' full integration into European structures. Although the Pact's tenure is coming to a close, the assistance and mentoring it provided in helping the region grow and prosper is an undeniable success.

The article is taken from Southeast European Times

INTRODUCING INTERNATIONAL INSTITUTIONS



Norway, Portugal, UK and UKATO, UKATO, OF OTAN IN French, abbreviated from Organisation du TraitÕ de l'Atlantique Nord) is a politico-military international organisation, founded in 1949. Twelve original NATO members came from the then Western block of countries: Belgium, Canada, Denmark, France, Island, Italy, Luxembourg, Netherlands, Norway, Portugal, UK and USA.

Legal foundations of the Alliance are enshrined in the Article 51 of the United Nations Charter, which establishes the inherent right of every state to defend itself alone or in alliance with others. As stated in the preamble of the Treaty, the goal of the Alliance is to "enhance peaceful and friendly relations in the entire North Atlantic region". Such formulation is understandable if we remember that NATO was originally conceived as means of defence against a potential threat ensuing from the overall policy and growing military capacities of the former USSR as well as other dangers related to the Cold War situation.

NATO's priority is to preserve peace and security of all of its members, via political and military means in accordance with the principles of the United Nations Charter. From its origins, the Alliance worked to establish a lasting, just arrangement in Europe, focused on peace and based on the universal values of democracy, human rights and the rule of law. This central

NATO

goal of the Alliance acquired a new meaning with the end of the Cold War, as for the first time in history its fulfilment became truly possible.

The leading principle of the Alliance is a common obligation of mutual cooperation for all sovereign states, based on the premise that security of one member states depends on the security of others. Solidarity within the Alliance is ensured by a mechanism which prevents that any NATO member should be left alone in resolving its basic security problems. NATO allows its members to join their efforts in achieving security goals without impinging on their sovereignty in defence matters. In short, NATO is an alliance of free countries, joined in their resolve to maintain their own security through mutual obligations and stable relations with other states.

NATO embodies the trans-Atlantic link through which security of the United States of America has been permanently tied to security of Europe. The result of this connection is a sentiment of a common, equal security among all member states regardless of their state and military capacities, which contributes to overall security in Europe, creating the environment for greater cooperation both among the member states and with third countries. Those are the foundations upon which the new security structures are being built, with a goal of constructing a unified, free Europe.

After its establishment in 1949, the twelve founding members of the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation were joined by fourteen more states in five enlargement rounds. Today, NATO has 26 members, and its headquarters are situated in Brussels, Belgium.

Prepared by: Selma RAĐO

NON - GOVERNMENTAL ORGANISATIONS IN EUROPEAN UNION



CLIMATE ACTION NETWORK EUROPE

CAN Europe is a network of European organisations working on the climate change and energy issues. CAN connects more than 100 members in 25 European states.

CAN's vision is a world actively engaged in a fight against further deterioration of climate and environment, through promotion of equality and social justice among the peoples, promotion of the concept of sustainable development and protection of the global environment.

CAN's mission is to support and strengthen civil society organisations working on environmental issues and directing them to influence the decisionmaking process inside European institutions, as well as development of an effective global strategy for the reduction of emissions of dangerous gases and its observance and implementation of the international, national and local levels.

CAN is a kind of a forum where NGOs can exchange opinions and ideas about strategy for the fight for countering and prevention of the climatic changes and their consequences. At the same time, CAN works on establishing the platform for cooperation and joint action among its members.

CAN's activities target all aspects of the EU policies dealing with climatic changes. This includes European Programme for Climate Change, promoting utilisation of the renewable energy sources, ratification of the Kyoto protocol in the EU, liberalisation of energy markets and the issue of locating and exploiting the sources of the so-called green energy, and the like.

Membership in the CAN is open to all NGOs working on the territory of the European Union and interested in the promotion of sustainable development and activities aimed at solving the problems of climate change.

More information about CAN can be found at www.climnet.org

Prepared by: Petar ĐUKANOVIĆ

ORGANISED BY EUROPEAN MOVEMENT IN MONTENEGRO

New trainings for the civil servants

European Movement in Montenegro, in Cooperation with the European Institute for Public Administration from Luxembourg and the Human Resource Management Authority of the Republic of Montenegro continues to implement the project of building vertical and horizontal administrative capacities of the Government of Montenegro. The programme was initiated in April 2007, and the second specialised seminar was held on the 18 and 19 June 2007, for the representatives of various ministries and other governmental bodies. Renowned lecturers of the EIPA (Antenna Luxembourg), Dr Diego Ramirez Cardenas, Lucia Bozinova and Jose Castillo presented the participants with the details of various European Union-related issues, and with the experiences of accession teams of the countries which had recently acquired membership in the EU. Topics of the seminar, specially adjusted to the needs of the Montenegrin public administration comprised of introduction to the membership criteria, methods and practices of legal harmonisation with the EU acquis, as well as the requirements for the development of the requisite administrative structures for a successful national coordination of the accession and harmonisation process.

The project is being implemented with support of the Government of Luxembourg, and will be continued in October 2007, with the remaining two seminars for the



members of the Coordination Team for European Integrations of the Government of Montenegro. Bearing in mind the success of the partnership so far, it is expected that such activities for the strengthening of administrative capacities of the Government of Montenegro will be continued and intensified in 2008.

EMiM also began with a training programme for the local governments of Podgorica, Danilovgrad and Kolašin. Within this project, "Strengthening of the capacities of local self-governments in the area of preparation and implementation of EU-funded projects", supported by the Embassy of the Kingdom of Norway in Belgrade, local civil servants from these three municipalities will have an opportunity to acquire new knowledge about EU institutions, laws, economics and funds, and to be instructed by both foreign and national experts in the matter of projectwriting skills for the EU-funded programmes (CARDS, IPA...), as well as their implementation and reporting.

ESTABLISHMENT OF NEW SERVICES

Project for aiding the elderly

Center for Development of Non–Gover– nmental Organisations, with support of the European Agency for Reconstruction is currently implementing a new project, titled "Support for the participation of the civil soci– ety in the development of a new protections system for the elderly in Montenegro".

The goals of this project are to raise the standards of social care for the elderly persons in Montenegro and to improve the social protection services system for the elderly, an area where NGOs are equally qualified to conduct and finance the services.

Partners and collaborators in this project are the Gerontological Society of Montenegro, Slovenian Association of Social Institutions, Ministry of Health, Work, and Social Care, the Council of Pensioners' associations in Montenegro and the Association of Municipalities.

The main activities of the project are reorganisation of the Gerontological Society of Montenegro in accordance with the contemporary, efficient modes of organisation, establishment of a Council of the project and working group for the creation of a Draft Strategy for Social Care for the Elderly, research into the institutional capacities of the current social protection services for the elderly, analyses of the existing system, establishment of a database on organisations and institutions providing social protection services to the elderly.

Journey to Europe 2007

European Movement in Montenegro and the Young European Federalists (JEF) Montenegro, in cooperation with the Bosch Foundation and Foundation Open Society Institute, Representative Office in Montenegro, issued a "Journey to Europe" call for applications from 1 to 20 June, for the senior year students of the University of Montenegro.

The goal of this project is to allow 20 best students of the University of Montenegro to spend the summer of 2007 like their European peers, travelling around, getting to know European cities and peoples. The winners of the call will receive free of charge Inter–rail tickets and multiple Schengen visas (30 days), a VISA card with pocket–money, EURO 26 student cards and ISIC, for the summer of 2007, to travel around Europe at their own choice.

The call was open for all senioryear students with a GPA 8.5 or higher, sound knowledge of one foreign language (English, German, French, Spanish or Italian), who are up to 26 years old, and citizens of Montenegro. The advantage will be given to tose who never travelled abroad.

Advertisement of the call was supported by the daily "Vijesti", TV IN and RTM. Around 100 eligible candidates who answered the call will be interviewed in the next round of selections, and the 20 ones begin the journey on the 14 July.

Zeković in Torino

The first Expert Meeting on the issue of "Ethnic Minorities and Social Inclusion in the Western Balkans" was held in Torino in late May and the beginning of June 2007. Among the participants from Montenegro were deputy minister of education **Ćazim Fetahović**, Sandra Šipka from the Montenegrin Employment Bureau, and Aleksandar Saša Zeković, manager of the project "Second Chance", implemented by the Roma Scholarship Foundation. The meeting gathered expert representatives from Albania, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Croatia, Kosovo, Bulgaria, Montenegro, Serbia, Austria, Romania, Italy, as well as the representatives of the European Commission and the Council of Europe. Organiser of the meeting was the European Training Foundation (ETF).

FOR THIS ISSUE WE RECOMMEND:

INTERNATIONAL YOUTH FORUM – TRAINING SEMINARS ON HUMAN RIGHTS EDUCATION

Learning for Human Rights and Democracy in Europe:

(Forced) Migration in Europe's present and past 8-12 August 2007, Berlin

Deadlines for Application: 5 July 2007

Network Migration in Europe organizes a multinational Youth Forum "Training on human rights issues" for students and multipliers who have an active interest in human rights education in the context of migration. The Youth Forum is devoted to the study and betterment of human rights and specifically the relationship between majority and minority populations in past and present. We invite applications from students and multipliers with interest in training, discussion and grass roots project work of human rights. The seminar in particular focusses on (forced) migration issues in Europe before 1989 and the new developments after the breakdown of the communist regimes during the nineties until now.

During the International Youth Forum Program in Berlin the participants will be offered one week of training and site visits on the topic of how societies deal with their various human rights issues in particular in respect to migration. The training program offers knowledge, methods and project work.

The Youth Forum intends to qualify students and multipliers for human rights education. At the end of the seminar a certificate will be given for successful participation. Participants can use the knowledge and experiences gained during the training seminar in their community work, their further education and their career paths in nonprofit sector, in school teaching and youth work, in media and the private sector.

Good active and passive command of English is mandatory, knowledge of German is an advantage. The Youth Forum on Human Rights looks for participants who are at ease with intense, constant group activities and interaction.

Costs and expenses for accommodation and food are covered. Travel expenses up to 30 euros have to be payed by the participants, additional costs are covered by Network Migration.

Return all required information via email to: Dr. Andrea Schmelz, Dr. Anne von Oswald, Tomasz Krolik

Email: info@network-migration.org www.network-migration.org



TRAINING COURSES ON EUROPEAN CITIZENSHIP 2007/2008

European Commission & Council of Europe Partnership on Youth

www.training-youth.net Deadlines for applications: 15 July 2007.

Training Course 1: EC–UK in United Kingdom (15–21 October 2007)

Training Course 2: EC–TR in Turkey (29 October – 4 November 2007) Training Course 3: EC–DK in Denmark

(12-18 November 2007)

Training Course 4: EC-HU in Hungary

(26 November - 2 December 2007)

Training Course 5: EC-PL in Poland

(28 January – 3 February 2008)

Training Course 6: EC-IT in Italy

(4-10 February 2008)

European Citizenship has become a key priority of the Youth in Action Programme (2007–2013) and active democratic citizenship is increasingly at the core of youth work and youth training.

From October 2007 to February 2008, a new series of six Training Courses on European Citizenship will constitute a great opportunity for youth workers and youth leaders alike to explore this topic and its concrete significance in youth work.

The Training Courses will also investigate, among others, the relation between European Citizenship and other inspiring issues such as intercultural learning, human rights or democracy and participation.

The six Training Courses on European Citizenship will have the same curriculum.

The concept of the Courses was developed by the Council of Europe & European Commission Youth–Partnership, in co–operation with the SALTO TC RC.

The Courses will be implemented by the Network of National Agencies of the Youth in Action Programme.

If you are a national from (...) Montenegro please apply through the following on-line application form:

www.extraweb.coe.int/team40/citizenship/default.aspx

XII[™] ANNUAL INTERNATIONAL SAVARIA SUMMER UNIVERSITY

June 25–July 6, 2007

entitled: Metamorphosis of Europe-Enlargement and Beyond

The Savaria International Summer University provides a transnational-European public space where students, academics, writers, activists, diplomats and politicians from numerous countries and regions can come together and freely discuss, debate and deliberate issues of common concern from divided societies to networked societies, from the consumer civilization to a new European civilization. This year's title is "Europe's New Neighborhoods: Enlargement and Beyond". We plan to devote special attention to the promises and challenges of reinvigorated regional cooperation in Europe, especially in the Visegrad-4, the Balkans and Turkey. These discussions will of course be placed in a global context of living and working together in an increasingly diverse and divided European and global space.

The XIIth SISU will address the following topics: Possibilities and Challenges for a better V-4 Cooperation: The Future of V-4 Cooperation; Re-Inventing Central Europe: New Ways to Build Identity; The Role of the V-4 Role in Democratization of Former CIS Societies: European Citizenship From the Balkans to the Baltics: Amber Road Reconstruction; Understanding New Interdependence: Challenges of Reconciliation; The Future of EU-Turkey Relations: The EU's Neighborhood Policy; New European Civilization; Concrete Forms of Cooperation in South East and East Central Europe: Cultural Aspects of a New Neigborhood Policy; Islam and Christianity: Is Diversity Manageable?; 475 Years Later: The Ibrahim-Jurisich Syndrome.

For more information please visit our web pages: www.ises.hu and www.european-studies.hu

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 Editorial Board: Vera Šćepanović, Daliborka Uljarević, Dragan Stojović, Vladimir Vučinić Tehnical Editor: Blažo Crvenica; Language Editor: Milena Milunović; English Language Editor: Maja Mugoša; Translation: Vera Šćepanović

 Njegoševa 36 / I
 Tel / fax: + 381 81 / 665 - 112, 665 - 327
 E- mail: eicbilten@cg.yu