



FOCUS OF THIS ISSUE

Does Montenegro
guarantee the right to
freedom of expression and
information, and what are
the standards set by the
case law of the European
Court of Human Rights

INTERVIEW

Ambassador Istvan
Gyarmati, director of the
Budapest-based
International Centre for
Democratic Transition
and the former state
secretary at the Hungarian
Ministry of Defence

ANALYSES

Why did the Montenegrin
government fail to compile a list of
candidates for the first Montenegrin
judge in the European Court of
Human Rights in Strasbourg





NIGHTMARE

I do not know the man in person, we have never exchanged a single word off the record. I would like to, though, there would be so many things to ask. My friends and acquaintances who say or think they know him believe him to be a great man, a kind person with a weakness for his friends, sometimes a good-hearted child who is only merciless with regard to his political opponents, but only until he triumphs. Allegedly, he would never destroy a man revengefully – only to the extent necessary for his personal safety. He would never even raise a voice within his own party, eager to avoid personal conflicts with the closest collaborators.

Why does, then, **Željko Ivanović** hold him and his "biological or criminal families" guilty of his encounter with three bandits who congratulated him the 10th anniversary of the foundation of daily "Vijesti" with baseball bats? Some of my acquaintances immediately protested: "Milo would never do something like that, why would Željko even say something like that!"

I would also prefer Željko's words not to be true. Is it possible that our former president can even think of punishing someone for his thoughts and words? They tell me – Come on, this is after all a man who was the Prime Minister at the time when the police sent 86 Muslim refugees to the knives of the murderers from Pale; who encouraged Montenegrins to settle the accounts with Croats forever; whose mandate as the head of state was marked by 33 unsolved murders; whose close allies are acting at their will in this same state...Still, is it possible, is Montenegro not sailing at full speed towards the EU membership, is it not a prosperous, stable democracy, a fact that is overlooked only by some "petty malicious Balkan minds", to quote **Đuković's** description of some opponents. I am truly confused. If this Montenegro is stably grabbing towards Euro-Atlantic integrations, then this is not happening, then this is only a nightmare: there are no countries in the EU where politicians are best buddies with the criminals, and the criminals protected like the polar bears...or if they are buddies, it only lasts until the next elections.

I cannot wait to wake up.

N.R.

EUROPEAN COMMISSIONER FRANCO FRATTINI AND PORTUGAL'S HOME AFFAIRS MINISTER RUIZ CARLOS PEREIRA SIGNED VISA FACILITATION AND READMISSION AGREEMENTS WITH WEST BALKAN COUNTRIES

Easier to EU countries



Frattini and Kalamperović signing the agreement

European Commissioner **Franco Frattini** and Portugal's Home Affairs minister **Rui Carlos Pereira** signed nine agreements in Brussels on 18 September 2007 regarding visa facilitation and readmission between European Commission and West Balkan countries.

Agreements on visa facilitation and readmission have been signed with the ministers of interior affairs of Albania, Serbia, Macedonia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, and minister **Jusuf Kalamperović** of Montenegro.

On this occasion, Frattini explained that implementation of these agreements, together with tangible improvements in the fundamental areas of justice, freedom and security, will allow European Commission to initiate a comprehensive dialogue for the possible visa-free regime for the citizens of the West Balkan countries in the near future. The enlargement commissioner **Olli Rehn** emphasised that the agreements are another proof of the EU's commitment to the European perspective of the region.

The process whose outcome are these agreements began in November 2006, with a decision of the Council of EU based on which the European Commission opened official negotiations with Montenegro, on 15 December 2007. The agreements have been initialed in April 2007.

Secretary of the Montenegrin Ministry of Interior Affairs, **Svetozar Đurović**, said that the agreement of visa facilitation represents the first step towards a visa-free travel regime, and that its goal is to ease the visa-issuing procedure for the Montenegrin citizens who intend to spend a maximum of 90 out of 180 days in one of the EU member states.

The agreement stipulates four types of visa facilitation:

"The first concerns fewer and more precisely defined requirements for documentation that Montenegrin citizens ought to present with their visa application. This simplification applies to 18 categories of Montenegrin citizens: family members of persons regularly residing in the EU states, official delegations, tourists etc. The second form of visa facilitation regards issuing multiple-entry visas for duration of five years, for three categories of citizens; annual visas for 14 categories of citizens and visas for duration of two to five years for 14 categories", Đurović explains.

"The third type of facilitation, he adds, is the lowering of the visa fee, which will be fixed at 35 euros and cannot be changed without mutual consent of both parties".

"18 categories of citizens will be able to apply for visas free of all fees. The fourth type of facilitation consists of the requirement that all diplomatic and consular offices of EU countries ought to reach a decision on visa applications within maximum ten days", Đurović said.

The final word on the agreements with the West Balkan countries will be passed on 8 and 9 November, at the joint meeting of the EU ministers of justice and home affairs, whose decision will then be ratified by the European Parliament. The Agreements are expected to come into force on 1 January 2008, a proposition which has been heartily supported by the Portuguese EU presidency.

V.Ž.



by Charlie McCreevy

The US sub-prime mortgage crisis and its potential impact on Europe have been occupying our attention in recent weeks. The European mortgage market has different characteristics than that of the US, – so problems on anything like a similar scale are less likely to arise in Europe in the near future. Sub prime lending in the EU is very limited compared to US and we have safeguards in place such as lending rules and limits on loan to value.

The recent turmoil has, however, clearly demonstrated the interconnectivity and globalisation of financial markets. Risks have been spread widely. This is positive. Contagion, however, is an issue. Some European banks and asset funds are exposed to sub-prime related securities. There have been some real problems, notably via the liquidity squeeze of the asset-backed and commercial paper markets.

What can Europe learn from this crisis? It is too early to draw firm conclusions. There is too much uncertainty in the market. It is also important to react sensibly, taking the necessary time to assess the situation. Fast policy reaction is likely to be a bad reaction.

The following issues emerge from our preliminary thinking:

1. The interconnectivity of markets shows how important it is to have a globally convergent approach to regulation, with sound prudential rules and proper investor protection standards. It makes the Commission's regulatory dialogues with the US and other jurisdictions even more critical. High standards

A VIEW FROM EUROPE

Regulations to counter the financial crisis

of regulation are necessary throughout global financial markets – given the spill-over effects.

2. Questions about mortgage lending in the US inevitably arise. While I support the notion of facilitating access to the housing market for people who would not normally be able to buy a home, with hindsight the adequacy of regulation and consumer protection will inevitably be debated. Repair is underway, but the problem will take time to resolve. One of the lessons from the crisis is the importance of lifetime financial education for citizens whilst

Let us not forget where the present crisis has its roots. Poor quality lending, compounded by securitisation of these loans in off balance sheet vehicles that few understood the risks associated with. These are issues that prudential authorities and supervisors will need to focus on in the time ahead

ensuring that responsible lending is enforced. In the EU, we are already looking at these issues within our ongoing work on consumer and mortgage credit and consumer education.

3. The transfer of mortgage loans and their risks to other parties has been at the centre of this crisis. Sometimes these risks have returned to the originating bank, when their financial vehicles could not sell off or finance the bank-originated securities.

4. We certainly need to look closely at the mechanisms at play (i.e. the role of conduits and special purpose vehicles) and their relevance for European banks. The problems of valuation of complex securitised products

and market clearing mechanisms in stressful market situations also need further analysis. The recent market crisis has also highlighted the importance of reputational as well as liquidity risks as important drivers to properly assess banks' risk exposures to complex transactions.

5. Many hedge funds have been particularly active in the structured credit markets. Many of those hedge funds – and their wealthy private or institutional investors – may have incurred losses, some heavy, in recent months. That is the way markets go.

Sophisticated players in hedge funds know this. Financial markets function on risk. I do not criticise those who make fortunes when times are good. I am not going to shed any tears now if there are losses. However, the crucial thing is that hedge fund failures do not appear to have spilled over to the wider financial system. Investment fund rules (UCITS) have held up. Our prudential framework and bank risk controls have – as we expected – prevented hedge fund failures from triggering wider systemic disruption.

As much as some people want to demonise hedge funds they are not the cause of the difficulties in the market.

Let us not forget where the present crisis has its roots. Poor quality lending, compounded by securitisation of these loans in off balance sheet vehicles that few understood the risks associated with. These are issues that prudential authorities and supervisors will need to focus on in the time ahead.

From the speech of the European Commissioner for Internal Market and Services at the European Parliament's Plenary Session in Strasbourg, 5 September 2007

DOES MONTENEGRO GUARANTEE THE RIGHT TO FREEDOM OF EXPRESSION AND INFORMATION, AND WHAT ARE THE STANDARDS SET BY THE CASE LAW OF THE EUROPEAN COURT OF HUMAN RIGHTS



by Vladan Žugić

In a society where libel charges and verdicts against journalists are fairly frequent, whereas on the other hand the state organs repeatedly fail to uncover and punish those who threaten, physically attack or even murder the carriers of the public word – mainly the critics of the ruling elite and the overall Montenegrin reality – one can barely speak about freedom of expression and information, the key values of the European democracy.

Thus goes the verdict of the expert public on the state of the freedom of speech and information in Montenegro. According to the European Court of Human Rights, this freedom is the basic prerequisite for the development of a democratic society and free individual.

September 2007 in Montenegro was marked by the attack on the director of "Vijesti", **Željko Ivanović**, who was brutally beaten up with baseball bats on leaving the celebration of the 10th anniversary of the newspaper. The police claim they have uncovered two attackers and have identified the third.

The editorial board of this most influential Montenegrin newspapers doubts, however, that the reason for this attack on Ivanović lies in an article published by "Vijesti", as the police claims drawing on the alleged confession by one of the suspect.

Instead, Ivanović accused the president of the Democratic Party of

Politicians must tolerate greater criticism than ordinary citizens

Socialists (DPS), **Milo Đukanović**, and his "biological and criminal families" to be responsible for the attack. The former Montenegrin Prime Minister announced that he would press libel charges, suing Ivanović for a million euros on account of the psychological suffering inflicted upon him by those accusations. The Basic Court in

Podgorica, where most cases lie stashed in lower drawers for years, initiated the process within a week.

A few days ago, **Tomislav Kovač**, the owner of the company "Aleksandrija" who is suspected of having aided the escape of the accused persecuted by ICTY, poured a flood of curses and near-threats on

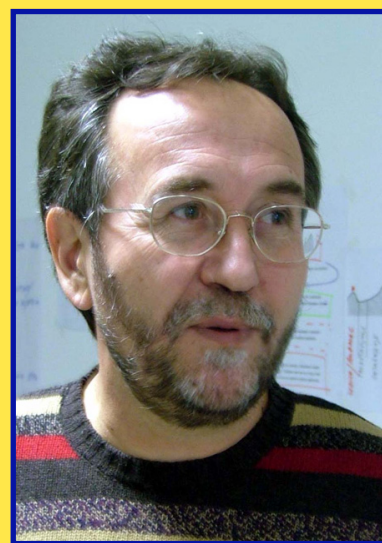
VUKOVIĆ: TAKE A LOOK AT THE PUBLIC SERVICE

As a proof of the absolute absence of a climate conducive to freedom of expression in Montenegro, journalist **Duško Vuković** cites the editorial policy of the national public service – RTCG.

"It is always difficult to quantify things that are hard to measure, and so is the case with the freedom of speech in Montenegro. Montenegro has most formal and legal provisions to allow its citizens to enjoy freedom of expression. Nevertheless, as in other similar cases of the so-called "facade democracy", we are missing other preconditions: honest, uncorrupted citizens, public institutions loyal to the democratic principles, independent judiciary, independent media, developed and influential non-governmental sector", Vuković said.

Lacking concrete facts to present on this occasion, Vuković promises to remain in the domain of his personal impressions:

"It is my firm belief that Montenegro does not enjoy an atmosphere that would be conducive to the freedom of speech and opinion. People therefore have a reason to suspect that such freedoms could cost them dearly. Editorial policy of the national public services: Radio Montenegro and Television Montenegro, illustrates the absence of all incentives for the practicing of freedom of speech and opinion in this country. Instead of inviting citizens to a critical dialogue about the issues which are of utmost importance for the community, our public service directs most of its energy to the promotion and propagation of the government's party line", Vuković concludes.





Željko Ivanović

Petar Komnenić, journalist of the weekly "Monitor" and correspondent for Radio Free Europe. Komnenić's crime was to have asked Kovač whether he possesses Montenegrin citizenship, which is a precondition for his unobstructed stay in Montenegro. Komnenić warned that he would press charges against the former police minister of **Radovan Karadžić** for having called him a "fascist".

If we add to the September events the fact that the police has not yet found the attackers on the writer **Jevrem Brković** and the murderer of his bodyguard, **Srdan Vojičić**, as well as the yet-unsolved murder of the editor of "Dan", **Duško Jovanović**, what we get is a more encompassing picture of the state of freedom of speech and information in the Republic of Montenegro.

In the last few years, several politicians from the ruling party, among whom Đukanović, brought up libel cases against the daily "Dan". Several years ago, the court fined "Dan" with 15.000 DMs for having reprinted some articles from the Croatian "Nacional" discussing the Balkan tobacco mafia.

As for the transformation of the RTCG into a genuine public service, there is still a long way to go, as noted by the European Commission, among others, in its last report on the progress of Montenegro.

Tea Gorjanc-Prelević, a lawyer, from NGO Action for Human Rights, explains that the key document guaranteeing freedom of expression is the European Convention on Human Rights.

"Article 10 of the Convention guarantees freedom of expression as a right to opinion, to reception and transmittance of information and ideas without the authorities' interference. It is only allowed to limit the freedom of expression in order to protect concrete goals, for instance reputation and rights of other persons, which is much in vogue in Montenegro, but only where such limitations are "necessary for a democratic society", Gorjanc-Prelević explains.

According to her, the Convention is founded upon a concept of precedent, i.e. for an accurate interpretation of its standards one ought to be familiar also with the case law of the European Court of Human Rights.

Although Montenegro adopted the



Milo Đukanović

Convention in 2003, committing itself to the implementation of the human rights standards defined by the Court's case law, it never provided its judges and prosecutors with an official translation of the ECHR's case law, and it never bothered to oblige its judiciary to actually learn and adopt those standards", emphasised Gorjanc-Prelević.

In order to ensure the implementation of European standards, she warns, it is necessary to harmonise the national legislation with those principles.

"The Penal Code of Montenegro prohibits both "introduction" and "diffusion" of falsehoods, allowing for penal and civic verdicts against journalists and the media for quoting other media without having explicitly distanced themselves from the incriminating piece of news. Quite on the contrary, the European Court established that a journalist cannot be punished for transferring the claims and opinions of others, as this is not only his right, but also his duty. Similarly, the requirement that a journalist ought to distance him or herself from any content that is insulting, shocking or false does not fit the role of the press in reporting on the current affairs and ideas which are of interest for the wider public (*Thoma vs. Luxembourg*, 2001, *Jersild vs. Denmark*, 1994)", says Gorjanc-Prelević.

She further explains that any lim-

NATIONAL COURTS ON TRIAL

Lawyers and NGO activists are united in the belief that Đukanović's charges against "Vijesti" and its director Ivanović will represent a trial for the national courts. They will either have to bring themselves to actually apply international standards regulating the domain of freedom of speech and expression or the case will end within the European Court for Human Rights in Strasbourg.

Commenting Đukanović's charges, president of the Journalists' Association of Montenegro **Savo Gregović** said that this is nothing new on the Montenegrin political and public scene. His colleague **Ranko Vujović**, executive director of the Association of Independent Electronic Media (UNEM), believes that the court ought to consider separately the accusation and the compensatory request of one million Euros.

itation of this freedom must be "necessary in a democratic society", a clear requirement of the Convention which is completely absent from our laws, and was not even introduced into the draft of the Constitution, despite recommendations by the Venetian Commission.

"According to the European Court's practice, when deciding in a libel case, the local judge ought to balance protection of the reputation of an individual against the general interest of the democratic society to receive a wide range of ideas and information. For instance, the freedom to criticise authorities enjoys special protection: politicians ought to tolerate greater levels of criticism than the ordinary citizens. The need to protect their reputation is measured against the public interest to openly discuss

political issues (*Oberschlick vs. Austria, no.1, 1991*)", says Gorjanc-Prelević.

If, she explains, the context is adequate, if there is a strong provocation and a sufficient factual basis for such comments, it is justified even to label a famous politician "idiot", "vulgar", "grotesque" etc. (*Oberschlick vs. Austria, 1997, Lopes Gomes da Silva vs. Portugal, 2000*), or to judge a prime minister's action as "immoral", "unworthy", "base opportunism" (*Lingens vs. Austria, 1986*), to dub police force "beasts in uniforms", "sadists and bullies, who are given a chance to unleash their perverted impulses" (*Thorgeirson vs. Island, 1992*), to accuse the government of being "criminal" or of "protecting murderers and other criminals" (*Castells vs. Spain, 1992*).

"In all the above cases, the

European Court has declared void verdicts against the journalists issued by the domestic court, dubbing their punishments and fines a disproportionate limitation on the freedom of expression, which is essential to a democratic society", says Gorjanc-Prelević.

On the other hand, she maintains, publishing or broadcasting incorrect information, unchecked information or unfounded insults are not protected, seen that they cannot contribute to a discussion which is beneficial for the development of the society (*Shabanov and Tren vs. Russia, 2006; Otto-Preminger Institute vs. Austria, 1994*) or may even be detrimental to it (i.e. language of hatred).

She explains that another basic ingredient for the freedom of information, in addition to the freedom of expression, is the prevention of media ownership concentration as well as the establishment and preservation of the public services.

Those and other specific aspects of the freedom of speech, says Gorjanc-Prelević, have been regulated by resolutions of the Parliamentary Assembly and by recommendations of the Committee of Ministers of the Council of Europe.

Montenegro has no law on the concentration of media ownership, which gives rise to suspicion that most electronic media, which rarely if ever bother to tackle the severe social anomalies, are in fact owned by a circle of friends with close ties to the ruling party.

Asked whether in practice the freedom of expression enjoys protection in Montenegro, Gorjanc-Prelević categorically states:

"Having failed to seriously investigate and punish murders, physical attacks and threats directed to the critics of the government, the competent authorities have created an atmosphere of fear where only the courageous ones dare speak up, which is a drastic limitation of the freedom of expression to the detriment of the democratic society in Montenegro".

CONSTITUTION-WRITERS AVOIDING EUROPEAN STANDARDS



Tea Gorjanc-Prelević

Gorjanc-Prelević reminds that the in the chapter on the freedom of the press Draft Constitution guarantees right to compensation of damages caused by the publishing of incorrect information.

"However, the right to win compensation from the journalist or the media who published the incorrect information will represent a serious breach of the freedom of expression if it can be shown that the journalist was acting in good faith, having done everything objectively possible and necessary to establish the truth of his information: i.e. that the truthfulness of the information could not be established or was refuted only after being published", says Gorjanc-Prelević.

According to her, the importance of this provision in the Draft Constitution is unfounded and unjustified, especially bearing in mind that the authors of the same draft did not ensure that the same right to compensation is provided for the victims of torture or in general to all those who have been disadvantaged by the irregular or illegal acts undertaken by public institutions.

"Bearing in mind this light-hearted refusal of the authors of the Draft Constitution to incorporate the relevant European standards, Montenegro is likely to be wasting even more time, while the Court in Strasbourg resolves its cases that could have been solved at home", says Gorjanc-Prelević.

WHY DID THE MONTENEGRIN GOVERNMENT FAIL TO COMPILE A LIST OF CANDIDATES FOR THE FIRST MONTENEGRIN JUDGE IN THE EUROPEAN COURT OF HUMAN RIGHTS IN STRASBOURG

Discrimination or a quest for the best?

Every time the European institutions pose a slightly more serious task before the Montenegrin government, the government seems to falter, leading some to suspect that the authorities would rather ditch the European rules and instead post their minions to the most important expert functions. This time to the Council of Europe – or so goes an obvious interpretation of the Government's decision to declare void the public call for a judge in the European Court of Justice (ECJ) in Strasbourg. The existing presidents of the local Montenegrin courts are already charged with suspicion to be occupying these positions mostly due to their loyalty to the ruling Democratic Party of Socialists (DPS). Now, it seems, the same party is intent on appointing another crony to the court in Strasbourg, although he or she will have no say in the cases concerning Montenegro.

In mid-September, the government accepted the expert opinion of its commission, headed by the minister of justice **Miraš Radović**, which established that two candidates – professor **Blagota Mitrić** and lawyer **Aleksandar Đurišić**, lack the prerequisites of either sufficient knowledge of French or 15 years of experience in legal practice. After professor **Biljana Đuričin** withdraw her candidacy, the decision was reached to re-open the public call, although the remaining two candidates – professor **Nebojša Vučinić** and lawyer **Vesna Čejović**, appear to have fulfilled all requirements.

The government should present a list of

Professors Mitrić and Vučinić have a history of constructive criticism of this government, and Đurišić cancelled his membership in the DPS four years ago. His public appearance after the call was annulled was the best proof that he has no intentions of befriending the authorities

three candidates to be evaluated by the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe in order to choose the best candidate. DPS is likely to doubt the loyalty of almost all candidates. Professors Mitrić and Vučinić have a



photo VIJESTI

Miraš Radović

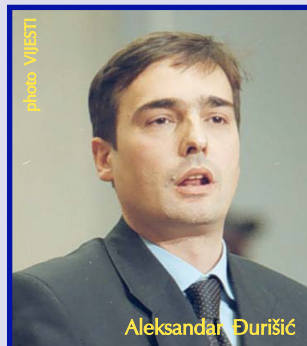


photo VIJESTI

Aleksandar Đurišić

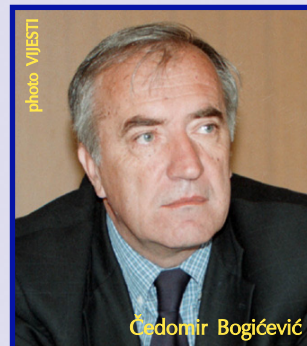


photo VIJESTI

Čedomir Bogićević

history of constructive criticism of this government, and Đurišić cancelled his membership in the DPS four years ago. His public appearance after the call was annulled was the best proof that he has no intentions of befriending the authorities.

"I believe that the justification given to the public is only a smoke curtain. Had my candidacy been refused for a lack of a formal requirement, I would have been taken off the list before the official procedure. However, I was invited for the interview and nobody mentioned anything. Nobody gives a language test and a test of expertise to the candidate who obviously does not fulfil the requirements. I would certainly accept every fair, well-founded decision based upon the evaluation of the candidates in the matters of importance for the functioning of the court and upon a sober comparison among the candidates", stated Đurišić.

He is convinced that the real issue is discrimination, but that he "expected something more brave and humane" instead of such "base and blatant disqualification".

"The government advises me not to apply again, but at the same time they also refuse the other candidates who have "satisfied" their criteria? Nonsense! Why don't they simply choose one now?", Đurišić protests.

The ECJ Statute does not consider the requirement of 15 years of legal experience to be an eliminatory condition, but the Government of Montenegro does.

According to all available documents, ECJ judges from Lithuania, San Marino, Bosnia, Austria, Albania and Russia have a lot less working experience, and the judge from Turkey does not have a single day of working experience in courts.

Đurišić insists that he will apply again, which is likely to be the case also for Mitrić, Vučinić and Čejović.

"I am aware that the Government will prevent me from appearing before the committee of the Council of Europe and testing my expertise before the eyes of Europe. But if I resigned, I would have accepted discrimina-

tion. My new candidacy will be a protest to the Government against discrimination in the process of selecting judges for the European Court of Human Rights in Strasbourg", Đurišić explained.

The government is ignoring the issue, although they ought to

at least clarify why they did not keep the two satisfactory candidates and repeat the call only for the third. According to professor Mitrić, this would be the regular procedure. Is this enough to suspect that they are in fact "waiting" for some other, more reliable cadres? The second explanation is that the Government wishes to give a chance to the best. But why did those best fail to apply in the first place, despite of extensive media coverage of this issue?

In the meantime, the whole procedure seems to have outraged the judge of the Supreme Court Dr **Čedomir Bogićević**, who addressed an open letter to the Minister of Justice, asking him to regulate the procedure of the appointment of candidates to ECJ by law,

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not by a mere decision of the Government.

Bogićević has also warned the minister that the conditions for the selection of candidates ought to be harmonized with the requirements of the Convention on Human Rights.

"Or, a legal authority should be established to determine the precise meaning of the phrase "recognized legal experts", given the questionable relevance of the years of work experience", Bogićević said.

N. RUĐOVIĆ

AMBASSADOR ISTVAN GYARMATI, DIRECTOR OF THE BUDAPEST-BASED INTERNATIONAL CENTRE FOR DEMOCRATIC TRANSITION AND THE FORMER STATE SECRETARY AT THE HUNGARIAN MINISTRY OF DEFENCE

Do not postpone reforms

Your integration into NATO will happen soon. That also means, however, that you will have to understand what NATO really needs from a country of your capacity and not fall into the trap of creating armed forces of the past, but find the one or two niches where you can be really useful – for both the defence of Montenegro and for NATO.

EU accession is a longer process: it requires many reforms on the entire scale of your economy and society. But all these reforms serve your own interests and this is more important than their contribution to EU membership – said in the interview for *EIC Bulletin* ambassador Istvan Gyarmati, director of the Budapest-based International Centre for Democratic Transition and expert on defence and Euro-Atlantic integrations.

● **Montenegro is a very small country – is that our advantage or a shortcoming?**

Neither of the two, provided you find out how a country of your size and capacity can adapt to the very difficult situation in the world and in Europe.

● **Do you believe that EU will stick to the promise that every country will be judged by its own merit with regard to EU accession (the regatta system), or will they pressure the Balkan countries to wait for each other in order to accede to EU as a package?**

The EU will stick to its promise – it actually always did. This is, however, different from the "local" interpretation



Istvan Gyarmati

of these promises – the EU will fulfil what it really said and meant. Each country will be assessed on its own merits, but in the end, I believe, the enlargement of either the EU or NATO will happen in smaller groups – not because NATO or the EU prefer it that way, but because most countries will reach the level necessary for membership at about roughly the same time.

● **Do you think the enlargement fatigue is still significantly high in EU countries? Could it represent an obstacle for further enlargement?**

The enlargement fatigue is still significantly widespread, but it is not deeply rooted. And it does not relate to the Western Balkans: in the first place, it is a revolt of the EU citizens against their own governments and the way they handled the enlargement issue.

Secondly, it is a response to the general atmosphere that is currently permeating the EU, and finally, it is related to the issue of Turkey. All these problems can and will be overcome, but it must take time and effort.

● **What could the current EU members – Hungary, for instance, – gain from the EU enlargement to the West Balkan countries?**

First of all, this enlargement will close the gap: it will bring stability to Europe on its Southern and Eastern rim and enlarge the common market, for both goods and labour.

Hungary is especially interested in these developments, for it also affects the situation on our borders, our security, our minorities abroad, our history and our common future.

● **How would you describe the situation in Hungary after its accession to EU – what have you gained and what have you lost?**

We lost nothing, and we gained a lot. We gained stability, increased capability to promote our own national interests on the international scene, we strengthened our democracy through the reforms that we introduced during and after the accession process, we now have a better access to different markets and better investment possibilities for both foreign capital in Hungary and Hungarian capital abroad. Last, but by far not least, we gained access to tremendous amounts of assistance from different EU funds that can help us develop our economy and society.

● **Drawing on the Hungarian experience, what would be your advice to Montenegro on its path to EU and NATO?**

Do not compromise on reforms. Do not postpone reforms. Build a strong AND citizen-friendly state, and importantly: fight corruption by all available means, with zero tolerance.

N.R.

COMPETE WITH YOURSELF

● **How would you compare situation in Montenegro and other Western Balkan countries? Which countries are in the best position to quickly progress towards the EU and NATO?**

The best chances belong to those countries who can best find what they can do to accelerate reforms and not only talk the talk, but also walk the walk. In other words, not only to say what NATO and the EU want to hear, but to introduce and implement real reforms. Do not look too much to other countries to compete with. Just compete with yourself.

KRISTOF BENDER, EXPERT OF THE EUROPEAN STABILITY INITIATIVE (ESI)

When they tell you to slow down, step on the gas

It is true that smaller countries have a harder time fulfilling some of the EU standards, having a more limited administrative potential, but bear in mind that the State Union of Serbia and Montenegro also had insufficient capacities on the common level, says **Kristof Bender**, expert of the European Stability Initiative (ESI), one of the best know think-tanks in the EU.

In an interview for *EIC Bulletin*, Bender explained that remaining in the state union would bring little advantages, if not impediments, in this respect.

"The main advantage of the Montenegrin independence is that it now has a chance to follow its own path, which is much easier for you. The difference between the two countries now is that Montenegro has no burden of such open issues like the question of Kosovo or Mladić. Montenegro has good relations with everyone – you already initialled the Stabilisation and Association Agreement, which is an important step on the road to EU", says Bender.

The ESI expert adds that he is relatively optimistic about Montenegro, noting a definite intention to pursue this project further.

No country was ever invited to join the EU. Every one of them had to fight for it, sometimes ignoring the advice of the EU members to slow down

"Implementation of the Stabilisation and Association Agreement will be relatively easy: Montenegro already has low tariffs and few industries that need protection. Montenegrin authorities have some experience in defying the requirements of the international community in order to fight their own interests. This is important – no country was ever invited to join the EU. Every one of them had to fight for it, sometimes ignoring the advice of the EU members



to slow down. Here lies the main difference between Montenegro and say, BiH or Albania", Bender explains.

According to him, when compared to its neighbours, Montenegro has "a handful of good cards and can play ahead relatively quickly".

Regarding the most common objection put forth in the EC reports on Montenegro – the lack of adequate administrative capacities – Bender reminds that the previous enlargements have taught us that the countries with weak administrative capacities are best positioned to benefit from the EU accession process.

"Take the example of Bulgaria. When they began the accession process in 1997, the EU had a visionary approach. Bulgaria was deep in a severe socio-economic crisis, the average wage fell down to 28 dollars in December 1996, hyperinflation was on the rise, and the currency finally collapsed. Despite all that, however, the EU decided in the mid-1997 that it would treat Bulgaria like the other 10 East European countries of the post-communist bloc. This turned out to be an incentive for substantial improvements of the Bulgarian administrative capaci-

ties during the accession process", says ESI's expert.

He deems it ignorant to believe that one ought to first strengthen the administrative capacities in order to begin the accession process.

"Just the opposite: the accession process is a motor for reforms. The earlier it starts, the better. The same goes for Montenegro the situation is now much better than expected, considering the atmosphere that reigned here before the referendum. Just think back to how worried the observers and diplomats were at the time: about the consequences of the referendum outcome, about the process itself and how smoothly it could go, some insinuated that certain northern regions could declare "independence" from the independent Montenegro, that there is a possibility of resistance, even violence...

The previous enlargements have taught us that the countries with weak administrative capacities are best positioned to benefit from the EU accession process

They speculated on the prospects for Montenegro's survival once it separates from Serbia, on the influence this could have on tourism, i.e. the number of visitors from Serbia, on the difficulties of travelling to Serbia...now we know that most of these worries were unfounded", Bender emphasised.

He said it was clear that some issues simply ought to be worked on. "One of them is the new constitution, which is the embodiment of Montenegro's new self-definition. Perhaps one could say that too much time is being wasted on the issue of the official language, but I do believe, considering all the diverging opinions, that some time should be dedicated to such problems. Democratic processes sometimes take time", says Kristof Bender.

N.R.

In defence of journalists and the last days

by Brano Mandić

It could have happened like this: On 8 May 2005, Bludgeon no.1 bought newspapers "Dan", "Pobjeda", and "Vijesti". The sun was shining, our Bludgeon enjoying his cup of coffee, content with his life. It is easy to imagine him, lazily browsing through sports, horoscopes, politics... The referendum is looming nigh, and the sun above Trebjesa lulls into contemplations on the social moment in the State Union. He cares little about politics, just like any average 20 years old... And while, let us imagine that too, suite after suite of flag-covered cars are parading through Nikšić on their way back from some celebration, his head remains hidden behind the newspapers. He was starring as if he was reading CKL. What could have seized his attention so? All three newspapers lie that he, R.P. from Nikšić, used to steal old steel and was therefore dumped into a jail.

"That he should dare write that you stole old steel two years ago!" fumes the visitor from Foča. "That they should mention your criminal past!", cries again this worthy young man, the same one who a few days ago stuck his middle finger at the journalists, obviously shaken by the fact that someone should doubt his status in the society or suspect criminal origins of his poise, outfit or hairstyle

He tears the newspapers apart, faces southwards, towards Podgorica, crying: "The revenge will be mine!" He turns westwards, cheering: "call-out-west!" He imagines the crowds applauding him, cheering him into a great adventure. This was his first reaction, not a single thought about police, ways to protect himself, seeking protection, escaping, finding a lawyer... It is only natural, no, to first think: "it is journalists' fault that the police is lying".

The hero of our times walks home, takes up a bludgeon (symbol of the pile of old steel that he allegedly stole), and



begins to forge an intricate plan, precious as the incriminated metal itself. Second, our young R.P. from NK goes to www.cedem.cg.yu and furiously browses through their public opinion polls. He is no sucker: carefully choosing his victim, he attacks "the deepest trenches, the hottest city crooks". He finds what he sought: "Vijesti" are the newspapers most trusted by the citizens. "Dan" and "Pobjeda" are therefore out, because the citizens will believe them less. The inevitable logic of a criminal mastermind permeates his grey cells, unaccustomed to base attacks by journalists – a species so cheeky that they even dare transfer the official police reports.

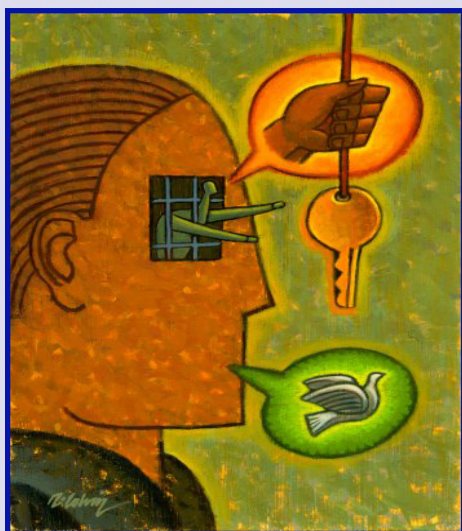
"Beat into pulp the correspondent of "Vijesti"", thinks immediately our hero and immersed in this realisation, like St. Augustine his night of prayers, he passes inadvertently some two years, i.e. eight seasons, a hundred and few weeks or 700 days. In the meantime, he does an exercise or two: in his room, let's say in his room in Straševina, he stretched out black-and-white portraits of the correspondent of "Vijesti", throwing darts at them. He was angry all this time, very angry. His whole life simply froze, this tiny newspaper article turns into an obsession. All around him, people are noticing that something has gone wrong. He became a problem at home and at school, like in the old refrain "700 days I suffered, 700 days I mourned", moaned by N. Obrić from the old tape recorder

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to sooth his spirit while his body labours at push-ups. Thousands and thousands of push-ups, an escape into alternative reality, to quote Golubović Kristijan, an idol from the days of youth. Then, in a crisis of doubt, he confesses. To someone.

The someone explains to him that, in principle, the correspondent is as helpless in this matter as a drunkard with a zipper. Well, who is then the almighty of "Vijesti", is it the editor? God forbid, says someone, it is the director. And who is this director? Ivanović Željko.

What a terrible name...whispers the



pale youth of wounded pride.

His colleague from Foča, Bludgeon no.2, wastes no time. He replies to the SOS call "with another friend", to remain in the spirit of the same song, and the three of them instinctively form the basic saboteur unit: a troika.

Theories are, after all, formed upon careful observations of the spontaneous actions by creative individuals. That the Red Berets, Black Brigades, Securitatea, Četniks, Ustašas, ETA, IRA and others all acted in groups of three – is a consequence of conclusions drawn from observing embittered peoples that for centuries have fought against the journalistic curse.

Further, the beautiful three are meeting each other under the ominous light of an oil lamp, in Rembrandtian shades of a tiny loft in the suburbs of Nikšić – to set the date.

Best on the 10th anniversary of "Vijesti", for several reasons. They need not bother tracking down the victim. They know the event will be celebrated in the restaurant "Ribnica", which is the very centre of the city, therefore, nobody will suspect an attack, like the Turks didn't suspect that **Kenjo Stanković** should raid the fortress of Žabljak. In the best Montenegrin tradition, therefore, they decide that one of them should wear a mask, having read that the same procedure was observed in the previous cases of liquidations and beatings.

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Nevertheless, the brave forces of order tracked them down and the story ended as it does in a state of law and justice, i.e. Montenegro, causing sorrow and fury on the part of the anti-war profiteers. For journalism and journalists, it was a great impetus and encouragement to continue their work and research: not only was the police efficient, but it remained open to the public, communicating on the daily basis its respect for and concern about the servants of the public word

in the society or suspect criminal origins of his poise, outfit or hairstyle. R.P. himself demonstrates how eager he is to preserve the image of a quiet guy: the thesis is supported by his statements, tendentiously interpreted by the police as "cheeky". "I will beat him up even more badly once I'm out!", says R.P. already inspired by the prospect of quick release. The hatred towards Željko Ivanović remains, that's the way things are, once you start hating Željko it lasts forever. God forbid you should start hating Željko, let us add to the treasury of popular wisdom.

It was not meant, however, that this story should end in wisdom. The evening after the attack, two minors, again from Nikšić, decide to play with their cell phone. They punch in random numbers, having fun, to put it bluntly. A male voice answers and they immediately recognise the characteristic cadence of a doorman. Feverishly searching their memories for a possible doorman, they realise it must be **Luka** from "Vijesti". Doormen are typically loyal chaps, elaborate the two young philosophers with a sophisticated sense of humour, he must have been the first to come to the rescue of his beaten up colleague... The above is a split-second mental overture for the following naughty cue: "we'll beat you up just like we did to your director". That's what happens to the young generations when you give them a chance of technical superiority, kids are born with a diploma these days, as if they lived through all sorts of things...

Alas, nobody is cunning enough to escape the earned punishment, reprimand from the teachers' council. Thanks to the blitzkrieg of the Montenegrin

police, the two youths have been quickly found and incarcerated.

True, the investigation took its time to take off. In an official communication to the public, the police pointed at the certain involvement of high-profile professionals. Nevertheless, the brave forces of order tracked them down and the story ended as it does in a state of law and justice, i.e. Montenegro, causing sorrow and fury on the part of the anti-war profiteers. For journalism and journalists, it was a great impetus and encouragement to continue their work and research: not only was the police efficient, but it remained open to the public, communicating on the daily basis its respect for and concern about the servants of the public word. Without a single weak link in the chain of causal explanations of its investigation's outcome, with immediate confession by the base wrongdoers, Montenegrin journalists finally had a chance to write about some positive developments: about a state which stood up to protect them.

The European Union has, naturally, followed these developments with great

The European Union has, naturally, followed these developments with great attention, and with the exception of one hasty statement by Dr Judy Batt that the whole thing "stinks of organized criminal", the old continent is united in its judgment that the whole thing is a product of one bizarre train of events, of an "unrealistic ambition" on the part of a few youngsters to subvert the legal order of the world's youngest democracy

attention, and with the exception of one hasty statement by Dr **Judy Batt** that the whole thing "stinks of organized criminal", the old continent is united in its judgment that the whole thing is a product of one bizarre train of events, of an "unrealistic ambition" on the part of a few youngsters to subvert the legal order of the world's youngest democracy.

The moral is: We love to be journalists and we feel very safe now.

Amen.

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

REPRESENTATIVES OF THE MONTENEGRIN CIVIL SOCIETY AT THE SEMINAR "YOUTH FOR EUROPE" IN SPLIT



by Petar Đukanović

The region of South East Europe has a definite European perspective. The pace of its integration will in the final instance depend on the European Union, but the real responsibility for it lies in the hands of the region's states.

EU can help those countries to proceed quickly towards their European goal, but whether they will make the best out of this opportunity depends only on their own capacities and willingness to engage with a complex reform process awaiting them on the road to EU. The greatest problem of the South East Europe is the pervasiveness of weak, unconsolidated democracies, followed by the lack of rule of law, which makes these systems fragile and incompetent for effective functioning in the European framework.

For the countries of South East Europe, regional cooperation is a fundamental prerequisite for integration into EU. TEstablishment of the Regional Cooperation Council, which will at the beginning of 2008 replace Stability Pact for SEE, constitutes a new impulse for the countries of the region and opens opportunity for greater participation in their progress towards EU. This Council is offering a chance to the West Balkan countries to step up

West Balkan youth at the margins of European Integrations

their role in defining the priorities for reform and to assume greater responsibility for their fate on the road to integration into EU. Only through intensive cooperation among themselves can the countries of South East Europe achieve greater stability and economic growth. Mere economic cooperation, which is already strengthened through the agreement CEFTA 2006 is a necessary, but not sufficient condition for successful regional cooperation.

Indeed, one of the key obstacles to greater integration of the region is the unfinished process of facing the recent past. Factually founded, comprehensive picture of our pasts is essential for the promotion of cooperation in the region. To simply forget and minimize the war crimes instead of bringing the guilty ones to justice is to refute the possibility of genuine regional cooperation, without open questions as threat. Without such cooperation, countries of South East Europe will be doomed to marginalization in political, economic and cultural terms. Their only chance is to help each other's development, thus becoming prepared for the greater socio-political and economic undertakings in the European Union.

Those were the conclusions of the participants of the seminar "Youth for Europe", organised by JEF Austria in Split from 10 to 16 September 2007, in order to discuss issues of regional cooperation and European integrations in the West Balkans. Special focus of the seminar was the role of and opportunities for the

young people from the region to actively participate in the process of integration of their region into EU.

Within the framework of the larger debate, most participants agreed that Montenegro has a very good chance to joint the EU relatively quickly, provided it manages to profit from its potential of being a small country for whom the process of becoming a free-market functional democracy should happen relatively smoothly. On the other hand, some

Some expressed the opinion that the EU would not lose much if it decided to accept Montenegro as a member, even if the latter fails to fulfil all the necessary requirements. In other words, EU can lose nothing with the accession of one tiny country which could never create any significant disturbances inside EU. This, unfortunately, may not be good news for Montenegro

participants volunteered that Montenegro's small size may indeed be its curse, given its relatively negligible ability to impact the developments on the EU market or in any other European context. Nevertheless, some expressed the opinion that the EU would not lose much if it decided to accept Montenegro as a member, even if the latter fails to fulfil all the necessary requirements. In other words, EU can lose nothing with the accession of one tiny country which could never create any significant dis-

turbances inside EU. This, unfortunately, may not be good news for Montenegro. Given this, one could also speculate that the EU might not be too strict in evaluating the progress of Montenegro on its way to Europe, and such conclusions come as no surprise. As a matter of fact, it turned out that the participants in the seminar never heard about the recent events in Montenegro: attacks on independent journalists and pressures of diverse kinds on civil society representatives. Such occurrences, which are directly undermining the project of a democratic society and its basic values, merit a stronger reaction from Europe, which would also testify to its greater interest in the development of Montenegro. Bluntly put, Montenegro seems to need a certain dose of external pressure in order to pull this new, underdeveloped democracy, up on its feet. Absence or mild reaction to the recent events in Montenegro is a bad sign for all those fighting for democratisation of the Montenegrin society and an excellent encouragement for those others, who for some reason might feel uncomfortable about the idea of a well-functioning, democratic state.

One great common problem of all countries in the region is their lack of commitment to developing their own potentials, particularly in the area of human resources: investments in the young people, their skills, knowledge and energy. Being an important but insufficiently recognised asset of the Western Balkans, young people lack motivation and are typically exploited in the process of European integrations virtually throughout the region. And yet, they are the ones who will eventually



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become direct "beneficiaries" of the consequences of EU integrations, both good ones and bad.

In that sense, their non-participation and marginalisation of their role in the important social events undermines the success of the process of European integrations. South East European societies ought to invest more effort in understanding the needs of the young people, and

develop more space for their motivation and participation in those aspects of the social reform which are suitable for their knowledge and abilities. The process of rapprochement between the EU and countries of the region represents the most comprehensive reform that those societies have ever experienced.

Precisely this comprehensiveness of the process brings enormous challenges to the countries of the region and requires them to involve a wide spectrum of target groups whose active participation depends on adequate information and stimulation.

The participant of the "Youth for Europe" seminar agreed that timely information and stimulation of the young people to participate in the process of European integrations is of paramount importance, for several reasons. Most importantly, they are the ones who will directly benefit from the results and outcomes of the European integrations process. As citizens of their states, they will have the last word in deciding whether to join or not to join the EU, when the question is posed at the referendum. Some of them will even tie their professional career to the areas where they will act as the creators of policies, decision makers, civil servants, or broadcasters of public opinion.

It is therefore of utmost importance for the success of the EU integration process that those young people be systematically, timely and adequately informed about the nature, requirements and needs of their active participation in this process.

Author is senior associate of the CCE and Secretary General of JEF Montenegro

TASKS AWAITING MONTENEGRO: RESOLUTION ON THE ADOPTION OF THE GOALS FROM THE EUROPEAN CHARTER ON THE BASIC WORKER'S AND SOCIAL RIGHTS; LAW ON THE ADOPTION OF THE EUROPEAN SOCIAL CHARTER



by Emil Kriještorac

Slowly turning into reality the premise that the interest of citizens should lie at the heart of the entire body of EU policies, EU is gradually transforming from a merely economic and political into a social project. Promotion of the fight against social exclusion, as defined by the Lisbon agenda and a series of related documents, is considered to be a legitimate area of EU interests. The process which is to concretise such goals is the Open Method of Coordination (OMC). Accordingly, during the UK presidency in the EU, in the autumn of 2005, the EU concluded that by 2010 the citizens of Europe should have "Social Europe, with new jobs and new opportunities for everyone".

Bearing in mind that the basic social rights and the prerequisites for their fulfilment have been defined in the Treaty on EC, in the chapter on social policy, Montenegro and other countries of the region ought to begin with adopting a Resolution on the adoption of the goals from the European Charter on the Basic Workers' and Social Rights, Law on the adoption of the European Social Charter, the additional protocols to

For dignity and humanity of life

the European Social Charter, Protocol on the amendments to the European Social Charter which establishes mechanisms for collective complaints.

Within EU, the process has begun already in the 80s, with the development of awareness of the social problems within Europe. The impulse for action came from the accession of the three then relatively poor countries: Greece in 1981, Spain and Portugal in 1986, and was sustained by the large influence commanded by the European left, especially through the efforts of Jacques Delors, president of the European Commission since 1985. The prominence of social policy in this period is notable in its presence in all key political documents tailored to guarantee the basic social rights of the workers. An example is the adoption of the Social Charter, stipulating improvements in three basic areas: greater competences for the Community in social issues,

introduction of the qualified majority vote in the matters of social policy, health insurance, work conditions, information and consultation, equal opportunities, and greater recognition of the role and rights of the social partners.

However, the early 90s have already brought two conflicting trends into the European politics. Firstly, in the context of the global neoliberal hegemony dictating the cuts in the "non-productive" state expenditures and an emphasis on the radical

The new phase of EU integration, marked by the adoption of the Treaty of Amsterdam in 1999, emphasised the need for "social Europe". The emphasis was set on the promotion of human capacities in terms of quality and nature of employment, as defined in the chapter on employment of the same treaty

EUROPEAN SOCIAL CHARTER

One of the key documents of EU social policy is the European Social Charter (adopted by the Council of Europe, Turin, 18.10.1961), and the EU Charter on the basic social rights of workers (adopted in 1989), establishing the minimum standards and basic elements of the EU social policy, enumerating the basic rights of the workers protected by the Community Law. It also, however, stipulates the limits to the EU competences in the realm of social policy by emphasising the subsidiarity principle. In other words, EU political bodies promote the global, generally defined goals such as those from the above mentioned Lisbon Social Agenda (2000), regarding increase in employment rates, poverty reduction and social inclusion. In the hands of Brussels is to establish the quantitative indicators for the monitoring of the fulfilment of those and similar goals, and to evaluate the performance of all member states on those parameters every two years, analysing the reasons for any deviation. The idea is simply to create political pressure to harmonise the policies of the member states, with an emphasis on the best practices and most successful examples.

macroeconomic policy supposedly aimed at curing the European recession, the EU defined the so-called Maastricht economic criteria, which were to pave way for the diminishment of social rights in the EU.

On the other hand, the new phase of EU integration, marked by the adoption of the Treaty of Amsterdam in 1999, emphasised the need for "social Europe". The emphasis was set on the promotion of human capacities in terms of quality and nature of employment, as defined in the chapter on employment of the same treaty.

Stronger integrative trends of the early 90s contributed to a more

concentrated approach to the issues of poverty and social exclusion. In the recommendation of the European Council from 1992, it is emphasised that social exclusion and risk of poverty have markedly increased in the last decade, and that the member states ought to recognise the right of each citizen to adequate living standards and social assistance in order to provide for all citizens of Europe the dignity and humanity of life. The Treaty of Amsterdam is the first official document to grant the EU a mandate for action in the fight against social exclusion and for the promotion of "inclusion of the vulnerable groups who are outside the scope of the employment policy. Although work remains the key means to participation of most people, directly or indirectly, as individuals or families, there are still numerous forms of exclusion from the economic, civil and institutional forms of society" (European Communities, 1999:9).

Another new development was spurred by the Lisbon meeting in 2000, where the EU members committed themselves to a new strategic goal for the new decade in order to

enable EU to "pursue both sustainable economic development and greater social cohesion" (European Communities, 2000; Begg and Bergham, 2002). In this way, for the first time in the new millennium the EU has marked expansion of its inter-

With the Single European Act (SEA), social and economic cohesion became the basis for integration, and with the Treaty of Maastricht the key goal of EU is to attain higher levels of employment and social protection, as well as higher living standards

ests from the realm of macroeconomic policies and employment policy to the wider domain of social policy.

The EU Social Policy in itself is not an integrated system: it combines different national systems of social policy, establishing general standards to be upheld by all member states. The areas covered by this broadly defined EU policy are social protection, employment, living and working conditions, professional training, collective agreements, freedom of association of workers, workers' participation in the management, information and consultation.

The legal basis for the social policy is contained in the Treaty on EU, and the organ responsible for its implementation is the European Commission. The Council of Ministers adopts joint measures for the implementation of cooperation in this area. With the Single European Act (SEA), social and economic cohesion became the basis for integration, and with the Treaty of Maastricht the key goal of EU is to attain higher levels of employment and social protection, as well as higher living standards.

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

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INSTITUTIONS

The responsible entity for social policy within the EC is the General Directorate for Employment and Social Matter, whose priorities are: employment, upgrading the labour market, social cohesion and social protection, as well as gender equality.

Economic and Social Committee, and advisory body to EU, represents the interests of the employers, trade unions, as well as the interests of the subjects dealing with those issues. The Committee formulates opinions on every legal act connected to the regulation of this area. Another key institution is the Employment and Social Committee of the European Parliament.

The Committee was established in 2000 by a decision of the Council, based on the Article 130 of the Treaty on EC and it plays an important role in the implementation of the European Employment Strategy. The Committee for Social Protection was founded in the same year, and it has an advisory status as a facilitator of cooperation between the European Commission and the member states in the modernisation and improvement of the social protection systems. In accordance with the Treaty on EU, the Committee shall consist of two members from each member state and two from the European Commission.



by Svetlana Laušević

Because I want my rights! Because I want to show what I know! Because I want to help out others! It is obvious that many young people in Montenegro are currently living abroad. Those young people, in the prime of their physical and mental strengths, have chosen to seek a better life elsewhere, and thereby impoverished this society in all imaginable ways. They are, after all, the moving force which could seize the local support to enrich this society and to jointly push for the creation of a new, modern Montenegro.

Relaxation of the visa regimes will certainly come in handy to all those who wish to travel around Europe, to learn about different ways of life and work, and to bring the positive experiences back to their home country. It is a good way to gain first-hand experience of the European values and respect for the laws and procedures. I have had a chance to see and feel this Europe and perhaps, to implant some of those rules and values here in Montenegro.

I would like to dedicate some place in this article to a competing duo in European geographic. Like when they ask you to list some European cities, and you start: "Paris, London..." (somehow always in this same order, I would not know why). Or daydreaming in our youth, always including these

Why do I want to be a citizen of Europe?

two cities in the list of our desired future homes... Either way, these two world centers have always figured in our daily lives. For a majority they are still unattainable destinations, given our meager incomes, and thus we speak about the two European capitals as if they were some highly exotic destinations.

I love Paris. During my sojourn there I have studied French and was enchanted by all that had to do with France. The climax was my first arrival in Paris, when I spent eight full days on its streets (not being homeless – I was very comfortably put up in the very centre of the city). Every time I returned to Paris, I was seized by indescribable excitement and a desire for discoveries – and little time remained for new encounters. Still, I managed. The city filled me with energy, and I drank to the bottom of that cup.

I agree with my friend who claims that Paris is a city that in every instant surrounds you with beauty – in human, architectural and every other manner. Paris is a city of fine tastes and French charm, but also a city of great social divisions and problems.

Despite of my constant obsession with France and my plans to one day move and live there, I happened to find a home in a country which I never considered in the same way. The Island never kindled the same urge for adventure in me. And yet, I have lived in London.

I have arrived with prejudices against the British, and proud of my continental heritage. I was terribly critical: and rightly so, considering my frustrations with adjusting to the UK standards (THEY JUST OUGHT TO BE DIFFERENT). With time, however, I learned that things were just right that way. Energy and openness of London influenced my own tolerance. In a matter of

months, I seemed to change significantly my world outlook. London is almost as pretty as Paris, it has an open spirit, accepts the foreign as its own and happily shares what it has. I like to say that London is less English than is Paris French. Obsession with the national, it seems to me, has already begun to take its toll on the other side of La Manche.

Paris is beauty. London is cosmopolitanism, finance and tolerance. Paris is Europe. London is the Island. Paris is enjoying oneself, London is enjoying with others... The lesson is... none. One ought to live and experience both cities. Whatever the differences be, there is always Eurostar, linking them together. Ready your visas and

Paris is beauty. London is cosmopolitanism, finance and tolerance. Paris is Europe. London is the Island. Paris is enjoying oneself, London is enjoying with others...

your passports, ladies and gentlemen, and get on the road.

These are, however, not the only places that commanded admiration on my travels in Europe.

There is, after all, Vienna...

According to the EU statistical office "Eurostat", in 2005 Vienna was firmly holding its place among the top few wealthiest European regions. Ranked by gross regional produce, the Viennese county is fourth in the EU, behind London, Luxembourg and Brussels, and sharing its place with Paris and Stockholm.

My first trip to Vienna took place only a few months ago. The voyage through the City of Music began right where it should have: in the House of Music (Haus der Musik). Perhaps I spent most time in the Karntner Strasse, Vienna's Hercegovacka street. They



really look alike, although the Viennese one is much livelier, perhaps due to all the different nationalities treading its pavements. At the end of the street, you are met by a slightly frightening cathedral of St. Stephen (Stephansdom). Surprisingly cold but attractive nevertheless, it would lure you to enter its halls, even if you are no believer. Once you enter, you can pick what to believe in: that you had just strolled down the Star's Boulevard in Hollywood, or that you are still in the heart of Vienna!

No two people are the same: some non-native Austrians complained of the feeling of alienation in this city, whereas others beamed with happiness to be there.

Another heart-of-the-city beehive is the plateau in front of the City Parliament (Rathausplatz), right opposite the Burgtheater. This one really thrives with a mixture of all nationalities as you stroll next to the stands selling delicacies from different national cuisines. Lower temperatures in Austria compared to Montenegro speak in favour of a summer holiday spent under the Alps – the end of June feels almost like spring. My recipe for a relaxed afternoon: buy your own food in a grocery store, pick a nice spot in a park and make your own sandwiches. You will enjoy the fact that you have managed to escape the city humdrum for a moment, and to have saved a couple of euros by avoiding the ready-made sandwiches downtown.

To compare Vienna to Paris or London is senseless... This city is a story of its own, impossible to describe except for maybe one word – harmony, which reigns over the place since

the time immemorial.

My journey continued in the direction of the must-see, luring Netherlands, rainy as always, and yet – the land of tulips has fulfilled all my expectations.

I can only hope that one day my friends from Vienna, Paris or London will write about the European Montenegro with the same admiration I have expressed for those world capitals. The future of this country is Europe, but only if first we bring Europe here

Amsterdam is one of the centres of European culture: from the theatre plays to street performers, cinemas and concert halls to extraordinary antique shops in the museum quarter. Most theaters are in the vicinity of Leidseplein, each of them only couple of steps removed from the next. Amsterdam is the place for live music, whether you prefer classical music and operas or jazz night clubs and street music. During the summer, the most beautiful Amsterdam park – Vondel – stages open-air concerts.

Amsterdam is brim with a variety of night-out offers, like any other capital. Most events take place around the Leidseplein, which is surrounded by Stadsschouwburg (City Theatre) as well as a bunch of cafes, restaurants, cinemas, casinos and the famous Theatre Lido.

Another city of great diversities happily accommodating different nationalities. The part of the city dedi-

cated to art, housing the Van Gogh museum, makes the city most valuable. The part dedicated to 100% fun is just as obligatory for all the visitors.

Coffee shops are not what they would appear to be to a regular speaker of English! Small amounts of marijuana are legally sold in the Netherlands, in these very shops, except for the customers younger than 18. Heavier drugs are, however, strictly forbidden in this country.

Taking photos in the Red Light District is also forbidden, and if you dare breach the rules, angry taps from the other side of the glass will remind you of the regulations.

Amsterdam, in a word? Perhaps... relaxation, entertainment, diversity, art...

My experiences are priceless: to see those big cities, to meet so many people of different nationalities in one place, to understand the lifestyle of young Europeans, to move freely across Europe or to wish to live in one state and work in another...to feel Europe!

One day, the European Union will also embrace our country. I can only hope that one day my friends from Vienna, Paris or London will write about the European Montenegro with the same admiration I have expressed for those world capitals.

The future of this country is Europe, but only if first we bring Europe here.

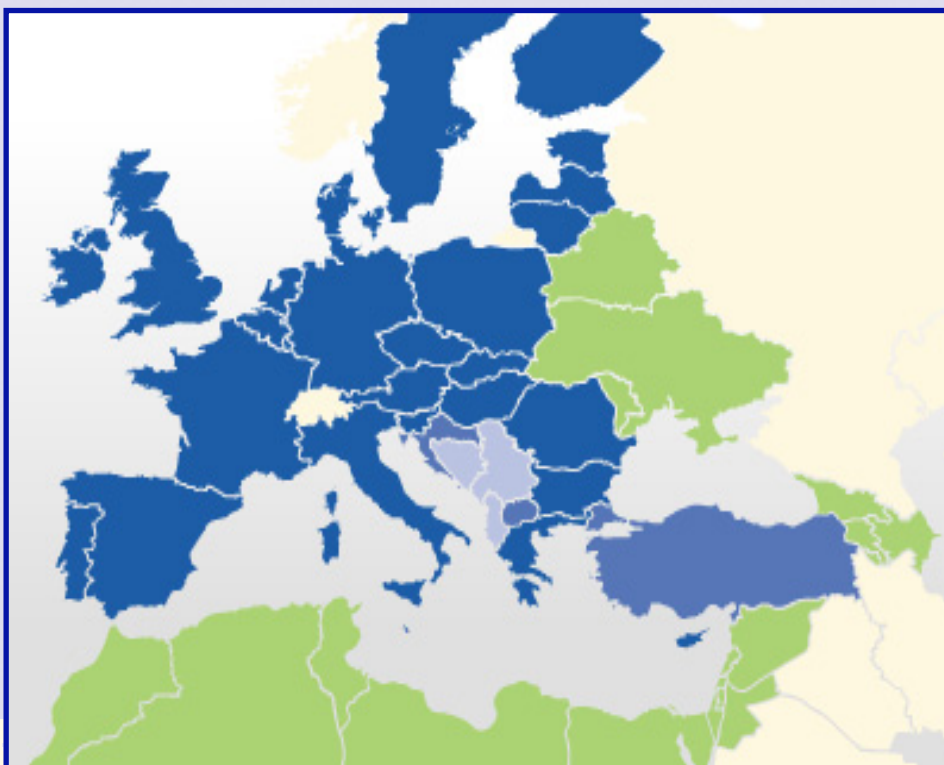
The author is a student at the Faculty of Economics of the University of Montenegro and associate of the European Movement in Montenegro. She attended IV generation of the European Integrations School

THE NEW EUROPEAN NEIGHBOURHOOD POLICY TO UPGRADE RELATIONS WITH THE SURROUNDING COUNTRIES FOCUSING ON ENERGY AND MIGRATION

EU seeks partners

The European Union is looking to upgrade its relations with neighbouring countries, particularly in the areas of economic co-operation, energy and migration, without opening full membership perspectives. In an effort to define the concrete modes of co-operation, representatives of eastern and southern EU partners met at a joint conference in Brussels.

Established in 2004, the European Neighbourhood Policy (ENP) aims to forge closer ties with EU neighbours without offering them a membership perspective. The ENP includes 16 neighbouring countries to the south (Algeria, Egypt, Jordan, Israel, Lebanon, Libya, Morocco, Syria, Tunisia, West



Bank and Gaza Strip) and east (Armenia, Azerbaijan, Belarus, Georgia, Moldova and Ukraine) of the EU's borders.

In December 2006, the Com-

mission proposed to upgrade the ENP to an 'ENP+'. The new European Neighbourhood and Partnership Instrument (ENPI) was introduced in 2007 as a comprehensive fund to promote co-operation, together with a new lending mandate of the European Investment Bank (EIB). Through this policy, the EU seeks to promote greater economic development, stability and better governance in its neighbourhood. However, despite the fact that the ENP is often presented as an alternative to enlargement, it nevertheless misses out on the essential 'carrot' to bring about painful reforms: the membership perspective.

The ENP conference, which took place on 3 September 2007 in Brussels, was the first to bring together representatives from the EU and all partner countries to the east and south, with many countries represented at ministerial level. External Relations Commissioner **Benita Ferrero-Waldner** said that its main purpose was to serve as a "listening exercise" for the EU. She made clear that the EU wants to beef up its neighbourhood policy, especially in the areas of economic co-operation, ener-

OPPORTUNITIES FOR STUDENTS AND WORKERS

According to the European Commission proposal, the EU should soon establish simpler, cheaper and faster visa procedures for business, government, and educational travellers throughout its neighbourhood. EC believes that most of the changes require making more flexible use of the provisions already available to the EU.

"We will continue to push our Member States on people-to-people contacts in border areas and greater use of common application centres. I also want to mention our launch of a new scholarship scheme for ENP students and professors up to 1,000 of whom will shortly be taking their places in universities across the EU" said Ferrero-Waldner at the conference.

EC has proposed a new system of Mobility Partnerships, which should be soon piloted with ENP countries. The idea, as the name suggests, is to focus on the joint responsibility of all countries to tackle the challenges posed by migration. In other words, it will cover both steps to combat illegal migration and more opportunities for legal migration from third countries to the EU. As a concession, EC asks for commitments on readmission and promotion of productive employment and decent work. For its part, the EU offers ways of facilitating access to the Member States' labour markets such as labour quotas, short stay visas, and practical instruments to match job offers with job seekers.

gy, migration and technical assistance.

According to her, the EU has special interests in seeking closer ties in the field of trade, where the Union offers comprehensive Free Trade Agreements (FTAs) and deep economic integration with its neighbours, if the partners agree to undertake substantial reforms. Energy is another important aspect of the ENP, which helps to meet the EU's need for energy security. The Black Sea co-operation, which includes existing EU members and candidate countries, is an example of this. Bilateral agreements are in place with Ukraine, Azerbaijan and Morocco and the EU hopes to seal similar deals with Egypt and Algeria.

The EU also offers free travel and favourable visa procedures for neighbours. The Commission is seeking to simultaneously combat illegal migration and create more opportunities for legal migration from partner countries. The proposal is therefore to introduce 'mobility partnerships', to allow citizens from neighbouring countries to move to the EU and receive work permits.

Finally, the new ENP offers financial assistance to those partners which make progress on their governance objectives. It further allows using EU funds to leverage a larger sum of money from other international financial institutions, such as the EIB. ENP+ also envisages two innovative mechanisms: the Neighbourhood Infrastructure Facility (NEI) and the Governance Facility (GF). The purpose of the Infrastructure Facility is to use the EU's funds to leverage a larger sum of money from other international financial institutions in order to provide a higher level of financial support to amortise the costs of transition. The mechanisms are expected to come into force by the end of the year.

Meanwhile, a new Eurobarometer poll reveals that EU citizens actually care less about their neighbours. More than half of those questioned (54%) say that they are not interested in what is happening in countries neighbouring the EU, compared with 48% in 2006. Knowledge of the ENP also

MEMBERSHIP OR NOTHING?

Portuguese Foreign Minister **Luis Amado** stressed that the ENP was "not just any old policy" but a "truly European project". He urged the need to take political developments into account, such as the 9/11 terrorist attacks. "Europe needs to review its policy in this light," Amado said. German State Minister **Gunter Glos** agreed with him, underlining that strengthening the ENP had also been one of the main priorities of the German Presidency during the first half of 2007. He stressed the element of conditionality by emphasising that the extent to which the partners could profit from the upgraded ENP essentially depended on the pace and quality of reforms in their country.

However, not all partner countries are happy with the level of co-operation offered by the EU, especially those which want to be considered potential membership candidates instead.

Ukrainian Ambassador to the EU **Roman Shpek** said: "We cannot recognise the ENP as an adequate basis for Ukraine-EU relations. We are willing to cooperate, but only through an instrument that will acknowledge that Ukraine is an integral part of Europe."

Moldovan Foreign Minister **Andrei Stratan** told the conference: "The proposals presented by the Commission on strengthening the ENP are already a big step forward, but it still does not meet our expectations."

Meanwhile, Poland and the UK spoke out in favour of the two countries joining the Union at a later stage.

remains low, with a significant majority (80%) saying they are unaware of the policy.

EC president, **Jose Manuel Barroso**, said that "greater vigour" was needed on some aspects of the neighbourhood policy "from the EU and its partners". He also vowed that the feedback given at the conference would "help shape the ENP for years to come".

Ferrero-Waldner presented to the conference the programme of the new neighbourhood policy, which contains a "vision is of an economically integrated area which spans the whole of the EU and its closest European and Mediterranean partners: an area where goods, services and capital flow freely, opening up new possibilities and greater opportunities for all".

"The chance to integrate into the EU's internal market is an immensely important opportunity, and an unprecedented offer from the EU. I know our neighbours are aware of the power of this offer – a market of 500 million consumers opening itself up to you. But it is also worth reminding ourselves of the other benefits ENP will bring: improved administrative

capacities, a more stable business environment, and increased foreign investment" said Ferrero-Waldner.

She outlined some of the important steps which are necessary in order to facilitate the process and obtain the desired results:

"We want to lay the groundwork for the conclusion of deep and comprehensive free trade agreements. These should go beyond the level of tariffs and tackle "beyond the border" issues – as well as services and investment. We need to make sure that, whether it is construction products or toys, potatoes or pharmaceuticals, all products, – including those of most interest to our neighbours – really can enter our markets, without being stopped by phyto-sanitary, safety or quality standards", said Ferrero-Waldner.

According to her, the vision contained in ENP is a radical change in the way the EU relates to its nearest friends and its nearest friends relate to us. "This Commission is fully committed to making that vision a reality", she concluded.

Vera ŠČEPANOVIĆ

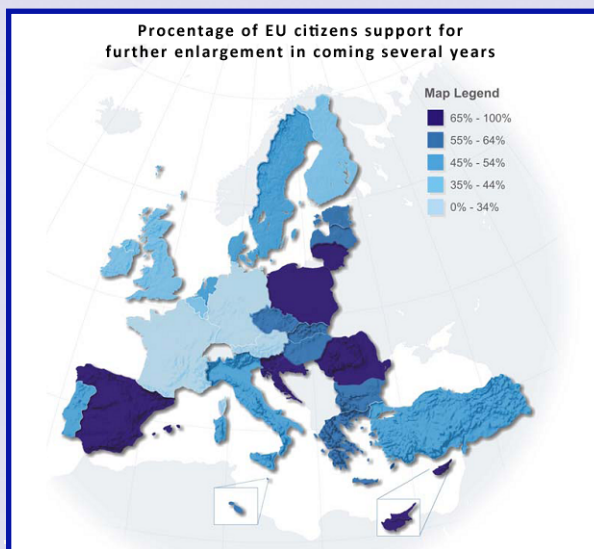
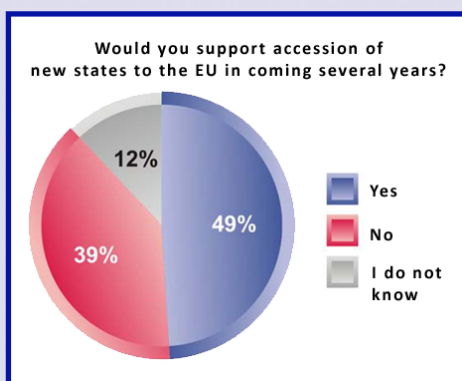
RESULTS OF THE LAST EUROBAROMETER ON THE ATTITUDES OF EUROPEAN CITIZENS TOWARDS EU

Slightly growing support for further enlargements

Compared to the state of public opinion shortly before the January 2007 enlargement, which brought Bulgaria and Romania into the EU, support for the enlargement policy in the Union has risen from 46% to 49%, according to the latest Eurobarometer poll of public opinion across the EU. At the same time, there has been a corresponding decrease in opposition – from 42% to 39%. What remains somewhat worrying is the fact that the positive attitudes towards enlargement are to be found mainly among the countries who themselves have only recently joined the EU, whereas the "old members" remain skeptical.

Average support for enlargement runs at 68% in the twelve Member States that have joined since 2004, and at 43% in the EU15 countries. The highest support for enlargement is found in Poland (76%), followed by Lithuania (68%), Slovenia and Romania (both 67%). Among the EU15, most enthusiasm for further enlargement can be found in Spain (65%), Greece (56%) and Sweden (52%). At the other end of the spectrum, less than a third of the public are favourable in Luxembourg (25%), Austria

The number of citizens who believe that their countries' membership in the EU is a good thing – 57% – is the highest since 1994.



(28%) and France (32%). Concerning current enlargement countries, support is much larger for further enlargement in Croatia (72%), than it is in Turkey (50%).

Attitudes towards enlargement are directly linked to age and education, the report claims, with the youngest and those who studied the longest most likely to support enlargement.

As for the support to their very membership in the EU, the number of citizens who believe that their countries' membership in the EU is a good thing – 57% – is the highest since 1994. Most satisfied with their countries' membership in the European community are the Dutch (77%), Irish (76%) and the citizens of Luxembourg (74%). Great Britain is the only country where the negative attitudes towards EU run comparatively high – 30% of Britons believe that membership in the EU is bad for their country.

On the other hand, the report reveals some sharp falls in support after obtaining membership – notably in Slovakia, Bulgaria, Slovenia, and Latvia, and it suggests that as enlargement proceeds, the relatively high enthusiasm of the public in newer member states is dampened by fears of the national influence being diluted in the EU.

Among the two candidate countries currently in accession negotiations, the survey found that support for future

membership is considerably higher in Turkey (52%) than it is in Croatia (29%).

The perception that EU membership would bring benefits is high in Turkey (62%). Amongst Croatians, those taking the same view account for 43% and are slightly outnumbered by those thinking Croatia would not benefit (48%).

The EU is gradually recovering from the crisis of trust of its citizens, claims the report, noting the corresponding increase in the trust in European institutions. On average, the number of those who trust European Commission grew from 48% last year to 52%, with the

exception of Great Britain, where less than 30% of the respondents trust European Commission, while 42% do not. The European Commission is more distrusted than trusted also in the candidate countries: only 36% in Croatia and 22%

What remains somewhat worrying is the fact that the positive attitudes towards enlargement are to be found mainly among the countries who themselves have only recently joined the EU, whereas the "old members" remain skeptical

in Turkey trust the European Commission, whereas 49% of Croatian and 37% Turkish citizens tend not to trust EC. In Turkey many respondents are unable to form an opinion, with 41% giving a 'don't know' answer. Overall, however, there has been a large drop in those expressing trust compared with the previous survey (-10 points).

Figures are similar for trust in the European Parliament: in Croatia 39% trust while 47% tend not to trust and in Turkey 24% trust, while 38% tend not to trust, and 38% don't know.

Prepared by: V. ŠČEPANOVIĆ

THE COUNCIL OF EUROPE PREPARED THE FIRST REPORT ON THE FULFILMENT OF COMMITMENTS UNDERTAKEN BY MONTENEGRO ON 11 MAY

The State limits the local self-governments

Development of genuine local democracy in Montenegro is a priority. The legal framework is not yet satisfactory... states the draft of the first report prepared by the Secretariat of the Council of Europe Committee of Ministers regarding the fulfilment of commitments undertaken by Montenegro at the accession to CoE, on 11 May, 2007.

In this document, soon to be made official, the Council of Europe deems it disconcerting that the currently proposed constitutional provisions only envisage the entitlement of the local governments.

"Local governments' competences are limited", states the document, warning that such services as education, basic health care and social policy remain in the hands of the State.

CoE notes that in recent years civil society has been steadily developing into an organized structure with a great number of associations and institutions in all sectors of public interest.

As regards the media, CoE notes "remaining strong dependence on the various local and international groups who are able to influence editorial policies"

"However, the paradox of the civil society, which is notable in all institutions and in a majority of European states, is its passivity and near absence from all key debates regarding the Constitution, corruption, privatisation... This is partially due to the excessive politicization of the society that has recently exited a prolonged period of preparation for independence, but also to the weak institutions with whom it should forge alliances and the specific phenomenon of the multiplication of function (civil society, parties, economic interests etc.)", emphasises the document.

CoE warns that Montenegro ought



to create sustainable solutions to the issues of human and minority rights, to strengthen the mechanisms of their protection and implement recommendations of GRECO, the special CoE body for the fight against corruption.

"Fostering an independent, efficient judiciary remains the key concern and the central question of development of the Montenegrin democracy. The success of the judiciary reform is not merely in the completion of the necessary legal framework and the quality of judges, but also in the efficient, modern functioning of other key areas of the judicial system, such as the prosecution, police etc", states the document.

Representatives of all national bodies for the fight against corruption emphasise the need to foster administrative capacities and train institution in order to increase their ability to prevent corruption, with a special emphasis on the protection of citizens who report cases of corruption", states the draft report of CoE.

CoE has no doubts in the necessity of strengthening institutional capacities "which can be done by establishing a special organization within the Ministry of Internal Affairs for investigating criminal acts of corruption".

Another worry is the weak imple-

Fostering an independent, efficient judiciary remains the key concern and the central question of development of the Montenegrin democracy

mentation of the laws, also due to the insufficient human resources, as well as the problem of defining the status of the internally displaced Roma from Kosovo.

"There is little hope that the questions of the official language and church will be solved by compromise, and we therefore expect another referendum. The Constitution will, however, not solve the long term problem for the significant part of society which does not recognise the independent Montenegro, which could be present a challenge for the long-term stability of the country".

As regards the media, CoE notes "remaining strong dependence on the various local and international groups who are able to influence editorial policies".

"The second issue in this respect is the finalization of the transformation of RTCG into a genuine public service: i.e., improving the procedure for appointments to RTCG Council".

N.R.

A GUIDE TO UNDERSTANDING WORDS AND EXPRESSIONS FREQUENTLY USED BY THE PEOPLE WHO ARE PROFESSIONALLY DEALING WITH EU INTEGRATION



People within the EU institutions and in the media dealing with EU affairs often use 'eurojargon' words and expressions that they alone understand. Eurojargon can be very confusing to the general public, which is the reason we decided to introduce those terms for the benefit of those who are new yet entirely comfortable with the field of EU integrations.

Absorption (absorptive) capacity:

This usually means the ability of a country or organization to receive aid and use it effectively. Developing countries often lack this capacity. For example, a country may receive enough money to enable all its children to attend primary school – but owing to a lack of teachers, lack of schools or a poor administrative system, it is impossible to spend this money in the short term. Work must first be done to train teachers, build schools and improve the efficiency of the system – thus raising the country's 'absorptive capacity'.

Acceding – country: This is a candidate country that has met the Copenhagen criteria and has completed negotiations for joining the European Union.

Acquis communautaire: This is a French term meaning, essentially, "the EU as it is" – in other words,

Eurojargon

the rights and obligations that EU countries share. The "acquis" includes all the EU's treaties and laws, declarations and resolutions, international agreements on EU affairs and the judgments given by the Court of Justice. It also includes action that EU governments take together in the area of "justice and home affairs" and on the Common Foreign and Security Policy. "Accepting the acquis" therefore means taking the EU as you find it. Candidate countries have to accept the "acquis" before they can join the EU, and make EU law part of their own national legislation.

Agenda: This term literally means "things to be done". It normally refers to the list of items for discussion at a meeting, but politicians also use it as a jargon term meaning "things we want to achieve".

Anti-trust: The EU aims to guarantee fair and free competition in the single market, and to ensure that companies compete rather than collude. So EU rules prohibit agreements that restrict competition (e.g. secret agreements between companies to charge artificially high prices) and abuses by firms who hold a dominant position on the market. Rules of this kind are known as "anti-trust" legislation. The Commission has considerable powers to prohibit anti-competitive activities, and to impose fines on firms found guilty of anti-competitive conduct.

NON – GOVERNMENTAL ORGANISATIONS IN EUROPEAN UNION



THE EUROPEAN LAW STUDENTS' ASSOCIATION (ELSA)

ELSA (The European Law Students' Association) is an international, independent, non-political, non-profit-making organization run by and for students. It is comprised of students and recent graduates who are interested in law and have demonstrated commitment to international issues.

Its vision is a just world in which there is respect for human dignity and cultural diversity, and mission to contribute to legal education, to foster mutual understanding and to promote social responsibility of law students and young lawyers.

As the main objectives, ELSA defined following:

- Providing opportunities for law students and young lawyers to learn about other cultures and legal systems in a spirit of critical dialogue and scientific co-operation.
- Assisting law students and young lawyers to be internationally minded and professionally skilled.
- Encouraging law students and young lawyers to act for the good of society.

Law students from Austria, Hungary, Poland and West Germany founded ELSA in 1981. ELSA is today the world's largest independent law students association and it is represented in more than 200 law faculties in 36 countries across Europe with membership in excess of 30,000 students and young lawyers. ELSA currently has members and observers in: Austria, Belgium, Bulgaria, Croatia, Czech Republic, Denmark, Estonia, Finland, France, Germany, Greece, Hungary, Iceland, Ireland, Italy, Kazakhstan, Latvia, Lithuania, Malta, Montenegro, The Netherlands, Norway, Poland, Portugal, Republic of Macedonia, Romania, Russian Federation, Serbia, Slovak Republic, Slovenia, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, Turkey, Ukraine and United Kingdom.

Furthermore, ELSA co-operates with other student organizations across the world, for instance ILSA in North America, ALSA in Japan, ALSA in Australia, ALSA in South Africa and AEJCI in Ivory Coast.

For more information you can visit: www.elsa.org

Prepared by: Paula PETRIČEVIĆ

EUROPEAN MOVEMENT IN MONTENEGRO CONTINUES ITS PROGRAMME IN PROFESSIONAL TRAINING

Government for Europe

European Movement in Montenegro, in cooperation with the German foundation Friedrich Ebert and the Government of Montenegro continues to implement the programme "Government for Europe", a specialised programme of professional training in the area of European integrations for the expert staff of different ministries in the Government of Montenegro.

As a part of this programme, a 3 day seminar was organised in Komor from 14 to 16 September 2007, titled "Introduction to the history and concepts of European integration: institutions and the basis of the legal and economic foundations of EU".

The event gathered together renowned members of the academia and diplomacy from the country and the region to discuss topics relevant for the process of European integrations until and after 1960s, EU institutions, current issues regarding the future of the Western Balkans, as well as other issues indirectly



and directly connected to the process of EU integrations and the place and the role of the Government in these processes.

The programme is based on the experiences and curriculum of "European Integrations School", which has been organised for years now by Centre for Civic Education, Centre for Development of Non-Governmental Organisations, European Movement in Montenegro and FOSI ROM. It has been, however, modified to suit the specific profiles and needs of the participants from the Government bodies.

South East Europe and EU "Leadership Development Programme"

Maja Vujašković, programme associate in Centre for Civic Education and participant in the European Integrations School, was chosen to participate in the "Leadership Development Programme". The programme was initiated in 2006 by the College of Europe (Bruges, Belgium) and the TRANSFUSE association with a goal of helping the reform processes in South East Europe through development-programmes for young leaders from the region, as well as from other parts of Europe and USA, who wish to participate actively in forging the future of their states. For a European future of the region, these countries need effective civil society structures, as well as successful political, economic and security-oriented integration into the Euro-Atlantic structures. The programme was established on the basis of a firm belief that qualified

young professionals with international experience are the motor of successful continuation of the transition processes.

The programme lasts one year and is aimed at acquiring new knowledge about EU and its relations with the South East European region. It also seeks to develop leadership skills and professional abilities of participants. Together with her colleagues from the region, Maja Vujašković will participate in the opening of the programme at the summer academy in Berlin from 16 to 30 September. The seminar also includes practical trainings in negotiation and project management.

In the upcoming year, as a part of their study period in Bruges, the participants will visit the EU and NATO institutions, and acquire a year-long experience in implementing projects in the field of European integrations in their home countries.

Capacity-building of young federalists

From 26 to 29 August 2007, Belgian city of Bruges hosted a seminar "Days of training 2007", which gathered more than 20 young people from across Europe, representatives of the national sections of the pan-European organisation JEF Europe (Young European Federalists). The seminar was organised with a goal of upgrading the capacities of these sections, especially in training their representatives to organise and implement various activities aimed at the promotion of ideas and values of federalism. The training was an opportunity for all participants to acquire the basic skills necessary for project management, organizing trainings, street actions, as well as learning the art of media communication. Finally, the cooperation among the sections themselves was strengthened, sometimes with prospects of joint project activities. JEF Montenegro was represented on this occasion by its secretary general, **Petar Đukanović**.

Founded Centre for Euro-Atlantic Politics (CEAP)

Centre for Euro-Atlantic Politics (CEAP) is the newly founded non-governmental organizations whose vision is Montenegro as a member of EU. The mission of CEAP is to promote the European road and advocate European values in Montenegro. The goals of CEAP are:

- rising public awareness of the process of Euro-Atlantic integrations, human and minority rights issues, development of democracy and the rule of law, as well as the promotion of the "European" road of Montenegro
- contribution to public understanding of integration processes by offering objective, precise information on Euro-Atlantic policies and politics and the accession process;
- wielding positive influence on the integration process of Montenegro into the Euro-Atlantic structures through research and analysis;
- support for the development and strengthening of the Montenegrin media through forging relations among professional journalists on the local and regional level;
- education of journalists;
- promotion of Euro-Atlantic policies: publishing analytic articles, publications, organization of seminars, round tables and panel discussions.



EUROPEAN MASTERS IN LIFELONG LEARNING: POLICY AND MANAGEMENT

The European Commission offers scholarships for 3rd country (non-EU) students and scholars. The deadline for Erasmus Mundus scholarship applications is **31 December 2007**.

For non-EU students

For each student the scholarship amounts to 21,000 Euro per academic year. This includes 10 monthly grants of 1,600 Euro and a fixed amount of 5,000 Euro for fees, travel expenses, relocation costs, etc. For courses lasting two years, the student receives double this amount, i.e. 42,000 Euro.

For non-EU scholars

The amount of an average scholarship for scholars is 13,000 Euro. This includes three monthly grants of 4,000 Euro and a fixed amount of 1,000 Euro for travel and expenses.

For application forms, please contact the Consortium Office at mall@dpu.dk

For European students

The Consortium providing the European Masters in Lifelong Learning: Policy and Management offers partial scholarships towards the cost of tuition for highly qualified European students. The scholarship amounts to a total of EUR 8000 for the two-year programme.

For more information, please visit

www.lifelonglearningmasters.org/site.aspx?p=67

DOCTORAL PROGRAM IN ECONOMICS, LAW AND PSYCHOLOGY

The International Max Planck Research School on Adapting Behavior in a Fundamentally Uncertain World (Uncertainty-School) combines approaches

FOR THIS ISSUE WE RECOMMEND:

from Economics, Law and Psychology to explain human decisions under uncertainty more effectively and to better design institutional responses. The Uncertainty-School is jointly hosted by the Max Planck Institutes at Jena, Berlin and Bonn, and the Psychology and Economics Departments of the FSU, Jena. International Partners are the Department of Psychology of Indiana University, Bloomington and the Center for Rationality at the Hebrew University, Jerusalem.

Outstanding candidates are invited to apply for doctoral fellowships in economics, law and psychology. Applicants are required to hold a Diploma, a Masters Degree or a State Exam with honors in one of the abovementioned disciplines or an equivalent degree in a related discipline.

Fellowships start on Feb. 1, 2008 and include funding for up to 3 years. Research will be conducted in English at either Jena, Berlin or Bonn. Besides the summer school, dedicated to providing a sound knowledge in the neighboring disciplines, doctoral fellows will benefit from the academic training and intellectual life at the participating institutions.

Program details and the online application form are provided at www.imprs.econ.mpg.de/application. Applications have to be submitted online and should include a CV, transcripts, a letter of interest and 2 letters of recommendations.

Both Max Planck Society and Friedrich Schiller University are committed to improving the opportunities for women in the sciences and particularly encourage them to apply.

Deadline for applications is **Nov 1, 2007**.

The International Max Planck Research School on Adapting Behavior in a Fundamentally Uncertain World (IMPRS Uncertainty), at Max Planck Institute of Economics, Kahlaische Strasse 10, 07745 Jena Germany

imprs@econ.mpg.de, www.imprs.econ.mpg.de

MA IN INTERNATIONAL STUDIES IN PHILANTHROPY AND SOCIAL ENTREPRENEURSHIP

The programme aims to contribute to educational excellence by providing postgraduate training in a field which is at present under-represented in the framework of the European higher education system, while it is comparatively well-established in the US universities. The specific focus is based on Human and Social Sciences, but the programme develops also technical aspects related to management and legal issues, as well as a

strong articulation between educational programmes and research activities.

The Master is addressed to the educational training of a new professional profile – the general manager in philanthropy and social entrepreneurship – in its various facets, in relation to the institutional field of reference:

- Program officer in cultural and grant-making foundations, whose professional skills are evaluating proposals, defining operational strategies and management practices as well as enhancing partnerships with private and public institutions, both in cultural issues and in social welfare policies;
- Project manager, in corporate foundations and in venture philanthropy organizations in companies (national and multinational) and business firms practicing Corporate Social Responsibility; as well as in NGOs and NPO which develop the concern for social entrepreneurship.
- The aim of the Master is to form professional profiles capable of dealing with the challenges that globalization has generated over the last decades.

Modules:

- Religions and Philanthropy: traditions, practices and anthropological contexts
- History of Philanthropy in Europe and in the United States: comparative aspects
- Legal Aspects: Foundations and Philanthropic institutions–
- Social Entrepreneurship, Civil Society and Sustainable Development
- Financial Management, Human Resources and Governance of non profit organizations
- Welfare Systems, Social Justice and Social Inclusion
- Biomedical research – Health Care and Philanthropy International cooperation and Global Civil Society – NGOs and NPOs
- Communication and Cultural Process

Timing:

First Semester: February the 4th June the 30th 2008
Internship: September the 1st December the 19th 2008
Second Semester: January the 12th April the 30th 2009
Final thesis: May–Mid June 2009

The number of students admitted is limited to 25. The contribution for each student enrolled is 6,500 euros.

Fellowships and free enrolment fees will be made available to some of the selected students, according to a ranking that will be published in the web site.

More details available on www.misp.it
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