

## FOCUS OF THIS ISSUE

The background of  
the Constitutional  
provision that the  
Parliament may  
decide on the manner  
of the Montenegrin  
accession to EU  
and NATO

## INTERVIEW

Dr Wiktor Osiatynski,  
professor at the  
Central European  
University in  
Budapest and Warsaw

## ANALYSES

Why are Montenegrin officials  
promising assistance to BiH





## REFORMS!?

Just when the last hopes have dissolved that Montenegro has political elite capable enough of doing their job, i.e. finding a compromise on the issues of supreme importance for the state, it was announced that the major political parties struck an agreement on the content of the First Constitution of Independent Montenegro. Two-thirds majority was ensured, another referendum avoided, but there are also new deep political trenches around the Montenegrin-Serbian division line, a line that keeps in the game frivolous political groups whose survival depends on the already trite tales of the encroachment of Greater Serbian pretensions onto the tiny Montenegrin state and, conversely, the dangers to Serbdom in Montenegro from the assault of Montenegrin nationalism.

The ruling DPS-SDP coalition and Movement for Changes from the opposition, together with the Bosnian and Albanian parties used intense negotiations to find a common ground, which may spell the opening of a new stage in political development of this youngest country on earth. MfC, with support of some of the minority parties, became a potential major destination for the prior supporters of the ruling coalition who are disappointed with the situation in the society – which may, in due time, relegate the absolute power of DPS and SDP to history.

Behind the touchline are now SPP and other pro-Serbian parties, the last year's allies from the anti-independence block, who believe that Constitution discriminates against Serbs and will therefore easily find themselves outside the constructive political game. Rising barricades around those camps will only lead to the margins of the political scene.

Only the biggest optimists would hope that the focus of political interests will now move to the economic and social topics, but one could hope that they will now gradually gain in importance. The Constitution now guarantees state independence, and the Serbian List is definitely inferior to Brussels in terms of setting the agenda. It is therefore logical to expect ever less nationalistic, and ever more reform-minded rhetoric. This is the only option, after all, now that we signed the SAA which obliges us to harmonise with the European regulations in the next 5 years. That would mean dismantling monopolies instead of the symbolic battles between Montenegrins and Serbs. N.R.

SIGNING THE SAA ON 15 OCTOBER IN LUXEMBOURG, MONTENEGRO JUMPED THE FIRST MAJOR HURDLE ON THE WAY TO EU

## Five years for reforms



From the celebrations after signing the SAA

Montenegro made the first serious step into the circle of the potential new members of the European Union. On 15 October, Montenegro and the EU signed Stabilisation and Association Agreement (SAA), obliging Montenegro to entirely harmonise its legal system with the demanding EU regulations, i.e. "Acquis" by 2010, which is the key precondition for joining the EU "elite club".

The agreement in Luxemburg was signed by the Prime Minister **Željko Šturanović**, president of the Council of EU and the Portuguese Foreign Affairs Minister **Luis Amado**, European Enlargement Commissioner **Olli Rehn** and foreign affairs ministers of the other 26 EU members.

The SAA comes into force only after it has been ratified by all 27 EU members, as well as the Montenegrin and European Parliament, which may take several years. In the meantime, the parties also signed the Interim Agreement, which comes into force already on 1 January 2008 and serves to initiate immediate implementation of the SAA trade provisions whose goal is to eliminate customs barrier and open the EU market almost entirely to Montenegrin products, and the Montenegrin markets gradually for the EU products over the next five years.

The Interim Agreement contains some 4/5 of the SAA itself. Trade being the exclusive domain of European Commission, which functions as a surrogate Government to EU, it is enough if this document is ratified by the EP and the Montenegrin parliament.

Signing the SAA, Montenegro caught up with Albania on its road to EU. Ahead of them are still Croatia, which is already negotiating its membership, and Macedonia, which has a candidate status. Serbia and BiH completed their

SAA negotiations but have not initialled the agreement due to major political problems.

President of the Council of EU Luis Amado warned that the "real work for Montenegro is yet to begin".

"This is a framework agreement, which opens up possibilities for closer cooperation in all areas of the modern life establishment of various organisations for the fight against bribe and corruption, for instance". Amado said.

SSA is an international agreement which mainly concerns trade issues (80%). SSA envisages establishment of a free trade area, obliging the EU to abolish immediately all customs tariffs for Montenegrin goods that meet certain EU standards, with some exceptions (baby beef, wine) which are subject to export quotas. Montenegro, on the other hand, will only abolish its customs tariffs for EU goods gradually, over a period of five years.

This "grace period" should serve the Montenegrin producers to improve their technology and enable them to compete with the EU producers on the domestic market.

SAA provides deadlines for Montenegro to establish a free trade area with the EU and harmonise its legislation with EU regulation in most areas – from environment and transport to consumer protection.

Montenegro began its SAA negotiations on 7 November 2005 as the State Union of Serbia and Montenegro, and completed the technical rounds in early December 2006. The agreement was initialled on 15 March in Podgorica. According to the Reuters news agency estimates, Montenegro will join the EU by 2015, Croatia and Macedonia by 2012.

N.R.





by Olaf Cramme

## A VIEW FROM EUROPE

# Politics or die

needs a proper debate as well as choices about its political direction. The changes in favour of more democracy and subsidiarity, as envisaged by the "reform treaty", may be a step in the right direction; but of themselves they will hardly generate more enthusiasm for the union. Instead, decisions about a host of issues – managing the single market, the nature of social Europe, Europe's role in a multi-polar world, competition rules, economic redistribution – ultimately need a stronger political underpinning...

At stake are two fundamental challenges. The first is analytical. The effects of EU integration, market liberalisation and enlargement (or any combination of these) are as heavily contested as those of economic globalisation, the emergence of the knowledge and service economy or changing demographics. While **Michael Dauderstadt** identifies an "economic tragedy of European integration" and **George Schopflin** believes that the entry of China into the global labour market has been devastating for Europe – others would argue that the European single market and global market integration have decisively contributed to the growth of GDP and employment in most European countries.

The second dimension encompasses both philosophical and more traditional political considerations. At first glance, the question of how much solidarity and equality should Europe aspire to, or whether the EU should introduce a European minimum wage (to take only two examples) predispose themselves to answers that reflect classical left-right lines of argument. This is no longer true...

The traditional left-right divide is becoming obsolete. No clear political patterns any longer are neatly captured by a routine counterposition of those who want to be "an agent of globali-

sation" to those who want "protection for their citizens against the harshest consequences of globalisation".

Instead, there is a mosaic of shifting alignments in political Europe that crosses parties as well as countries. Two questions make the point. Does a belief in the virtues of free trade mean, for example, that Swedish, Danish and British centre-left politicians are automatically more "neo-liberal" than their French centre-right colleagues who are blind to these virtues?

In addition to these puzzles, the debate is distorted by false (if fashionable) assumptions: for example, that more political integration and concentration of power in Brussels will ultimately lead to a more social-democratic Europe, while less integration and centralisation tends towards a neo-liberal agenda. Europe's historical experience (and that of the United States too) suggests that the exact opposite can also be true.

Hence, politicising EU integration constitutes a particular challenge. It is dependent on a better understanding of the implications of globalisation or internal EU developments such as enlargement and the introduction of the euro. Politicians need to acknowledge this difficulty and also start recognising the constraints on autonomous national action. This will happen only as part of a process in which the debates about the future of the European Union become more political, and in a way that reflects the importance of EU decision-making. Some of Europe's political leaders are beginning to understand this. Will others follow?

*Except from a comment by Olaf Cramme in a UK web magazine "Open Democracy". The author is director of Policy Network institute and lecturer in European politics at London Metropolitan University*

The importance of the so-called "reform treaty" should not be underestimated. The enlarged European Union of twenty-seven member-states needs an updated rulebook in order to become more effective. This is necessary to equip and prepare the EU to tackle major international challenges that states individually cannot address: among them climate change, the geopolitics of energy, the instability of the current financial system, and issues arising from migration and integration.

But what will come next? Soon, the debates will centre again on the necessity (or nonsense) of restricting the import of Chinese light-bulbs, or the proposal to establish a European Institute for Technology. Brussels, in short, may well restart its autopilot.

For far too long the debate about the future of the European Union has been kept in a technocratic bubble, dominated by an often misleading polarisation between more versus less integration, Europhiles versus Eurosceptics, or "social Europe" versus "market Europe". Yet decisions taken by the EU already have a profound economic and social impact on our societies. In face of this reality, national politicians still underplay this increasing influence of Brussels and thus unintentionally nurture feelings of Euroscepticism...

Europe, if it is to regain the interest of its citizens and include its citizens centrally in its deliberations, urgently

## THE BACKGROUND OF THE CONSTITUTIONAL PROVISION THAT THE PARLIAMENT MAY DECIDE ON THE MANNER OF THE MONTENEGRIN ACCESSION TO EU AND NATO



by Vladan Žugić

The future Montenegrin authorities will be able to choose the way in which Montenegro will accede to European Union and NATO when the time comes, follows from the Article 15 of the new Montenegrin constitution, according to which "the parliament decides on the mode of accession to EU".

"Montenegro cooperates and develops friendly relations with other countries, regional and international organisations, based on the principles and rules of international law"... "Montenegro can accede to international organisations", states the first Constitution of independent Montenegro, adopted on 19 October.

This constitutional solution leaves wide margins for manoeuvre to the future authorities to decide whether the decision to join EU or the North Atlantic alliance will be taken in the parliament by absolute or two-thirds majority, or by the citizens either at a consultative or binding referendum.

If the parliament is the one to decide, Montenegro will be the only country in the last rounds of enlargement, next to Cyprus, which did not organise a referendum for the accession to EU. In all the "newer" members, the authorities ask for the citizens' opinion in a referendum.

On the other hand, only Hungary and Slovenia organised a

# Referendum, only if it must be

referendum to join NATO. In Ljubljana, they merged the EU and NATO referendums, which is explained by the fact that Slovenians had reservations about the North Atlantic alliance and that in case of a separate campaign they could well voted against the membership in this military-political alliance.

According to the Slovak Constitution, it was possible to organise a referendum on NATO membership, but the attempt failed when it proved impossible to collect the 350 000 signatures necessary to organise

a referendum.

However, the rule in all the new members of both EU and NATO is that support for membership declines as the date of accession approaches. It was maybe the fear that the percentage of EU and NATO supporters will rapidly decline as Montenegro approaches these goals that motivated the authors of the constitution to allow for such broad constitutional solution.

Similar constitutional modalities can be found in Croatia, Macedonia and Albania – countries that have

## THE EXAMPLES OF AUSTRIA, CYPRUS, MALTA

Advocates of NATO accession point out that all EU members had to join the NATO first in order to proceed toward EU membership. This is also an argument among the wider public, that a failed referendum on the accession to North Atlantic Treaty would significantly endanger or slow down further advances towards Brussels.

Every EU official is, however, adamantly against such conjunctions, emphasising that Malta, Cyprus and Austria are all members of the EU but not of NATO.

Radovan Vukadinović, president of the Croatian Atlantic Council, says that all East European countries which have changed their political, social and ideological arrangements travelled along the same road: Partnership for Peace, NATO membership, and then EU membership.

"I would remind you of the Spanish case, where after the death of Franco most Spaniards, swayed by the leftist parties, opposed immediate membership in the European Economic Community. Only after most of the citizens expressed their support for the NATO, the country also found its way into EEC", Vukadinović explains.

Cyprus and Malta, according to him, have long been accepted as a part of the Western world.

"Malta even served as a NATO seat for the Mediterranean area for a while, while Cyprus had both British and American military bases", he added.

Asked whether he would opt for a referendum or a parliamentary road with regard to NATO accession, Vukadinović says:

"Although there is no need for a referendum, for then you could also call a referendum for membership in the UN, Council of Europe or OSCE, I would personally support the democratic right of the citizens to decide at the referendum, after they have been adequately and objectively informed. Adequate preparation involves availability of objective information on NATO", Vukadinović said.





Ivan Kalezić

gone a step further than Montenegro in the European and Euro-Atlantic integrations. Because of the possibility for broad interpretation of the constitutional provision on the accession to EU and NATO in those countries, especially in Croatia, which is gone the furthest along the path of EU integrations, the political and expert public has witnessed fierce discussions on whether the decision should be taken in the parliament or at the referendum. This is especially the case with respect to the NATO accession which, as a rule, has far less support among the populace.

Given those experiences, it is to be expected that the issue of organising a popular vote on the NATO and EU accession will become one

***If the parliament cannot reach a quality consensus on EU accession of, for instance, two thirds majority, then the decision should be taken by the citizens at the referendum, argues the ruling DPS***

of the key battlefields for political parties. According to the last public opinion poll conducted by the Centre for Democracy and Human Rights (CEDEM), the percentage of those who are against NATO membership reached a record of 40.9%. The percentage of supporters for EU membership is 72, which is within

the usual limits of previous researches, all of which showed between 70 and 75% of the respondents favouring Montenegrin membership in EU.

DPS MP and one of the authors of the Constitution, **Ivan Kalezić**, says that the new constitution "leaves scope for legal alignment of future events".

"If the parliament cannot reach a quality consensus on EU accession of, for instance, two thirds majority, then the decision should be taken by the citizens at the referendum", Kalezić said.

According to him, a number of parties from the pro-Serbian block who did not enter the two-thirds majority that voted in the Constitution would, however, vote for membership in the EU. At this very moment, he claims, there is a higher than necessary level of support in the parliament.

He adds that there was no question about alternative formulation of the constitutional provision which concerns the manner of accession to

***If the parliament is the one to decide, Montenegro will be the only country in the last rounds of enlargement, next to Cyprus, which did not organise a referendum for the accession to EU. In all the "newer" members, the authorities asked for the citizens' opinion in a referendum***

EU, and that he and **Miodrag Vuković** (DPS) advocated an identical provision regarding NATO.

"That the level of support for NATO is lower than that of EU is partially a consequence of the lack of

information among the citizens, which is perhaps the fault of us in the ruling coalition. However, there is a lot of support to NATO accession in the parliament, as only the pro-Serbian parties oppose it. If Movement for Changes is in favour of Euro-Atlantic integrations, and I think they are, because you cannot



Miodrag Živković

be 100% in favour of EU and against NATO, than we could count on a two-thirds majority in favour of that decision right now", Kalezić says.

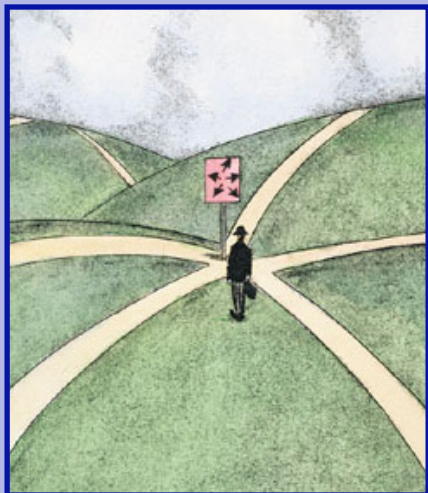
Asked whether the constitutional norm regarding the accession to EU and NATO was broadly formulated in fear of dramatic decline of support,

which would make referendum unwise, Kalezić gives the following explanation:

"Citizens of France and the Netherlands refused to support EU Constitution, despite of it being a popular project among the elites. The rule is that the support to EU accession is smaller in the countries with higher GDP. Will the citizens of Montenegro say yes to Europe if their GDP grows significantly?"

President of the Liberal Party, **Miodrag Živković**, is, however, against this constitutional solution. For him, this is not question at all – no state organ should be allowed to decide on issues in which the state loses a portion of its sovereignty.

# THE CROATIAN DEBATE



The last few years in Croatia have been marked by a vivid debate on whether the Constitution obliges the government to call a referendum on NATO accession. It will most probably not happen, as insinuated by the Prime Minister **Ivo Sanader** this summer, when he argued that "a referendum on the Croatian accession to NATO is unnecessary, not even an advisory one: the constitution does not require it".

According to the Article 141 of the Croatian constitution, the "decision on the accession of the Republic of Croatia to an alliance with other states will be made at a referendum by a

majority vote of the total number of voters, based on the prior two-third majority decision in the Parliament".

The problematic part is the "alliance of states", as even the experts in the area of constitutional law have difficulties categorising the NATO. If NATO is an alliance of states, then the constitutional obligation exists, but if this is only an international treaty, then the Constitution does not require a referendum.

Dr **Saša Šegović** from the Split Faculty of Law, says that there is no constitutional requirement, arguing that a military alliance is by all means different from EU, which is an alliance of states.

However, Prof Dr **Branko Smerdel** of the Faculty of Law in Zagreb claims that NATO is undoubtedly more than a mere military alliance, which follows from its own documents, as well as from a number of requirements it poses before the candidates for membership.

"The basic provision of the Treaty, by which attack on any one member of the alliance is also an attack on the Organisation is clearly a token of a transfer of a large portion of state sovereignty onto the NATO institutions. This is irreconcilable with the Article 2 of the Constitution of the Republic of Croatia which says that Croatian sovereignty is inalienable, indivisible and non-transferable. If we take a closer look at the Constitution, it is clear that a number of other values are violated by the acceptance of the Washington Treaty. Article 3 emphasises peace as one of the highest values of the Croatian constitutional order. So on the one hand we advocate peaceful policies and peaceful conflict resolution, and on the other hand we sign an agreement which binds us to declare and wage war whenever there is an attack on one of the members", Smerdel says.

According to all public opinion polls, support to the NATO membership in Croatia has been continuously falling in the last few years and according to the research by a group of newspaper agencies last year it has reached a low of 32%. This is the first year when the Croatian perception of NATO has been slightly improved: according to the last polls, some 44% of our neighbours support membership in this alliance.

For the time being, the proposal that accession to EU should not be decided at a referendum is still a speculation, and it is clear that Croatia will ask its citizens for the opinion on EU membership, even though the number of respondents with a positive attitude towards Brussels has been declining from one year to the next.

"Such decisions must be made by the citizens at a referendum. They cannot depend on the political will or interests of the ruling majority. This is a democratic standard and practice in all countries which are now mem-

bers of EU", emphasises Živković.

He submitted an amendment to the Article 15 of the Constitutional draft, proposing that the accession to NATO and EU should be decided by referendum.

"It is easy to see why the Constitution allows parliamentary majority to decide on the mode of accession to EU and NATO. Montenegro is unique in that it has one and the same party in power for the last 17 years. They are convinced that they will stay in power, planning to make whatever decision they find most convenient in a few years", says Živković.

Warning that integrations into EU and NATO should be viewed as separate processes, Živković explains that the LP has nothing against NATO, but that Montenegro as a small country has no interest in joining this alliance.

"Our motives have nothing to do with the motives of pro-Serbian parties. However, if we are to join NATO, we believe that Montenegro should be demilitarised, that being a small state it has no need for an army, and that we should apply the Icelandic model. Instead of paying 100 million dollars per year for defence, is it not a better idea to re-channel that money into economic development or to donate it to UNICEF, for instance, which would greatly improve our reputation. If we do not join NATO, we could simply ask for internationally recognised neutrality status, like Monaco", explains Živković.

Kalezić, on the other hand, is an advocate of NATO accession, which according to him will ensure Montenegrin future.

"It is our task to explain to the citizens the advantages of NATO accession. Iceland has no army, but it always sends a doctor to every mission, and the bigger members accept it as fair contribution", Kalezić concluded.



## WHY ARE MONTENEGRIN OFFICIALS PROMISING ASSISTANCE TO BIH

# Empty promises?

Montenegro will help Bosnia and Herzegovina (BiH) on its reform and integration path, for it is in the Montenegrin interest that Bosnia should be a well functioning multi-ethnic state in the European context!

So went the mid-October communication from the cabinet of the President of the Parliament of Montenegro, **Ranko Krivokapić**, following the talks with the newly appointed BiH ambassador to Podgorica, **Branimir Jukić**. At the meeting, Jukić explained that BiH "expects to receive assistance from Montenegro on its reform and integration path".

It was the first time a Montenegrin official uttered something like this, which either means that he is better informed than his colleagues who instead use every opportunity to make the European officials make the same promises to them, or he just throws promises off the cuff.

While the higher representatives of the Montenegrin government are signing at least one memorandum on cooperation per month with the EU members securing their assistance on the Montenegrin road to EU, Krivokapić is offering Bosnia something similar. It is a fact that BiH is in the last wagon of the Balkan train heading to Brussels, that Montenegro has already signed its Stabilisation and Association Agreement, that BiH would first of all have to settle down its state organisation

*While the higher representatives of the Montenegrin government are signing at least one memorandum on cooperation per month with the EU members securing their assistance on the Montenegrin road to EU, Krivokapić is offering Bosnia something similar*

and acquire a minimum of functionality in order to be eligible for the status of a potential EU member, but it is also a fact that Montenegro is at the very beginning of this road.

As for the assistance with regard to integrations, Montenegrin authorities have accumulated substantial successes: referendum was successfully organised, the pro-Serbian opposition refrained from any conflicts that were the main fear of the Western observers, and the Constitution was adopted with the requisite two thirds majority. In that way, Montenegro could



Heads of the Montenegrin ruling parties

*If we add to this the annual reports of the European Commission which consistently warn about the lack of administrative capacities, politicisation of public administration, lack of control over security services...it is clear that the government of Montenegro must first learn the basic lessons before it can preach them to the neighbours*

perhaps even be a good example of internal integration and the art of compromise, both of which BiH badly needs.

As for the reforms, however, the story is a rather different one, which is evident from the latest analysis commissioned by the Swedish International Development and Cooperation Agency (SIDA), authored by the experts of the Mithsen Institute in

Bergen.

"Government's ambitions to lead Montenegro into the EU are clear, but the final goal should not be to give Montenegro the laws, structures and institution that would superficially resemble those of other EU members. The citizens must believe that the laws and institutions are equal for all, that they preserve their rights and offer protection. Considering that most of the reforms to date have been superficial at best, and that some frameworks were created though outside pressure with farcical consequences on

the ground, this process is bound to take time. However, small steps will in the long-term perspective lead to gradual erosion of the grip that the ruling party has on state", states the Analysis.

It adds that "Montenegrin aspirations towards EU should be used as the key instrument in strengthening the political will for reforms", that "authorities' European rhetoric should be accompanied by the awareness on the part of those authorities that implementation of genuine reforms is their responsibility", and that "donors should, wherever possible, make it clear that they are ready to test in-depth quality of the reforms allegedly conducted by the government..."

SIDA experts found exceptionally low levels of trust in the judiciary in the Montenegrin public; they emphasised that the MPs last year rejected laws "that could have strengthened fight against crime", that Parliament does not use the available mechanisms to control the Government, that there is a problem with nepotism and accumulation of public offices. This, they explain, may serve as a means to reward party apparatchiks, leading to concentration of power in the hands of a few individuals who are able to capture the state.

If we add to this the annual reports of the European Commission which consistently warn about the lack of administrative capacities, politicisation of public administration, lack of control over security services...it is clear that the government of Montenegro must first learn the basic lessons before it can preach them to the neighbours. Either the head of the parliament was reluctant to refuse the request of the young Bosnian diplomat, or his perspective on Montenegro is a lot more rosy than of the rest of us.

N. RUDOVIĆ

DR WIKTOR OSIATYNSKI, PROFESSOR AT THE CENTRAL EUROPEAN UNIVERSITY IN BUDAPEST AND WARSAW

# Now is the time for strong watchdog organisations

It is of utmost importance in a transitional society to find or create means of financing the watchdog organisations that would speed up the development and bring to the fore issues of importance for the health of the authority structures and the society. This is the crux, you cannot simply rely on the contribution of the European Union and the opposition, says Dr **Wiktor Osiatynski**, professor at the Central and East European University in Budapest and Warsaw and member of the Open Society Institute Board of Directors.

In the interview for *EIC Bulletin*, Osiatynski, who taught at numerous American and European universities, including Columbia, Stanford, Harvard, Chicago, Connecticut and Siena, warned that Montenegro needs to upgrade its civil society.

"You cannot simply count on the politicians – they have their own interests, the key one being that they stay in power and win the next elections. There must be a fight for legal changes that would facilitate development of the civil society through new tax regulations. In the Balkans, as in Poland and in most Eastern Europe, the society is very vulnerable because of the lack of a strong middle class – therefore, you need watchdog organisations.

## ● Do they exist in Poland?

We have several such organisations, but most of the Polish NGOs work on humanitarian and social issues. They are fairly weak as monitoring bodies.

● Do you believe that EU leaders really want the West Balkans to join EU? What would be the EU interest in it?

One should distinguish between the EU leaders and the leaders of the



member states. EU leaders and some of the national leaders understand that EU has no sex appeal of its own, no internal engine – it is boring and bureaucratised, but for Schuman and Monet the peace in Europe came first, they were thinking about some other European values, enshrined in the European Convention on Human Rights.

It seems to me that many EU leaders today think that the European project is only interesting when it expands. The enlargement actually affirms those values and gives sense to the EU and its internal energy.

If the EU wants to promote peace, it ought to involve the West Balkan countries, which were at war until very recently, and pull them over from the period of conflicts into a European project – which could be very useful.

● Why do you say that the national leaders should be considered separately from EU leaders?

The leaders of west European countries, not the EU leaders, have to watch the pulse of their public opinion. Those are, after all, democracies, and they must bear in mind the attitudes of their voters. Opinions about enlargement have been changing, especially with fears related to the Turkish accession and islamophobia, but also with the enlargement overall, because it seemed as if the old members had nothing to gain from the enlargement. Faced with elections, the European leaders must take all this into consideration. This means that the enlargement process can be delayed and that the accession of West Balkan countries, and especially Turkey, will be prolonged.

● What does "prolonged" exactly mean? Until when?

Ten years, I would say. European public opinion understood that the requirements for European standards, stipulated by the Copenhagen criteria, cannot be suspended as in the case of Romania and Bulgaria. Thus, it will take longer for the West Balkan countries to adjust to the European criteria. You cannot just wait for the EU to take you, you must conduct internal changes. I believe that you can also influence the European public opinion to accept you joining the game. I always say that the West Balkans, especially Croatia and Montenegro, have their own natural resources. Used them.

● How would you use them?

If I were here, every school would turn into a summer camp for the European university and high-school students, who would come to spend time with your youth. This is how you can create direct links and show to



# MONTENEGRO CAN BE A BRIDGE TO MOSCOW

● Do you think that our government's close relations with Russia could endanger Montenegro's key goal – to become a member of EU and NATO?

I do not know, that depends on the EU leaders. I can imagine that if the relations between Montenegro and Russia become more transparent the EU would be happy to have a member with such close relations with Russia – rather than having Russia as a member. That could be a bridge between EU and Russia. If I were Montenegrin, I would work in that direction, I would try to convince Brussels that I have good relations with Moscow and that I could be the link between the two.

those young people that you are just like them. That scares the populists. If and when the West Balkan countries fulfil the Copenhagen criteria, you have to remember that the western populace, which is getting ever older, will need fresh labour force.

The EU countries will have a choice between the North African and African countries, and the countries of Eastern Europe. At the moment, the British entrepreneurs prefer Polish workers to African or Asian labour.

● Do you expect the EU to fulfil its promises of treating every country to its own merit (i.e. conducting the enlargement according to the regatta system) or will they have to wait for each another?

Immediately after the accession, the examples of Poland, Latvia, Slovenia and others showed that once inside EU, there are very few mechanisms to influence the domestic policies and developments in each new member. If it wishes to monitor the changes, EU is quite helpless. The Europeans therefore learned that the best period for sustainable reforms, which are not simply textual alterations in the legal codices, is before the accession. This is why I hope that the EU will be accepting these countries one by one, those who really do fulfil the Copenhagen criteria, not only in word but through the establishment of sustainable institutions.

● The new Montenegrin constitution does not stipulate the precise pro-

cedure for the final decision on the accession to EU and NATO. The question is whether to do this at the referendum or in the parliament. What is the better solution?

With such high popular support for EU, about 80%, I think the referendum would be a better solution. The best would perhaps be to decide in the parliament by simple majority, but if two-thirds is the rule it would strengthen small, destructive parties and coalitions which could block the process. Two-thirds majority is the worst solution.

It is best to define it through the Constitution, that if the Government wishes to delegate parts of its sovereignty to international organisations, federations, or state unions, it should require a special procedure. For instance, parliamentary majority, then referendum, and then a second parliamentary vote after elections. This is after all an issue of transferring competences to the international level.

● Some claim that small countries like Montenegro should make the NATO accession a priority instead of EU, and that Montenegro can lose more than it can gain from EU membership. What is your opinion?

I do not know how sustainable is the Montenegrin economy, but you already have enough experience to fulfil more than a half of requirements. You have adopted the Euro even without EU membership, which is an issue that most countries tackle after-

wards. You can easily judge whether the Euro helped or damaged your economy. I think that Montenegrin accession to EU is a natural step after having adopted the Euro.

How sustainable are you? Much of the Montenegrin land is already owned by foreigners, not the EU citizens but Russians. This is interesting, it means that the EU membership will not be the only prerequisite to your sustainability.

Being a part of EU is not bad, especially because the greatest natural resource of Montenegro is its climate, sea, land... Membership will bring more investments in tourism – it is important to provide loans to entrepreneurs, e.g. to owners of small restaurants. If you wait, somebody will come from the West, buy up your small restaurants and make profit on them. You must already seek the ways to enable Montenegrin citizens to profit from the income from tourism.

● What was Poland's main benefit from EU accession?

All EU-related fears have been dispelled: some prices soared, but only temporarily. The fear was that our agricultural products will not be competitive on the EU market, but the reality is just the opposite: Polish cheeses are being sold everywhere in Europe at very competitive prices. Our farmers receive significant subventions. Poland had a huge unemployment problem, up to 18%, but it largely fell once the borders were opened. The first to open the doors to our workers were Norway, England and Ireland, and then Spain.

Now we have an employment deficit in construction and other areas. It is very important that the young people can leave and come back to their country, that they do not have to emigrate. There are no passports nor checks, and that is quite useful to broaden the views and experiences of these young people. Before accession, we had about 65% support for EU – now we have 85%.

N. RUDOVIĆ

# Star negotiators wanted

by Brano Mandić

Something makes me very cheerful: from now on, once can doubt the intentions and actions of European politicians. Now that we signed the agreement, it means we made some sort of partnership, not to say a deal, and that the slick European Union officials are now also a political force to be judged, pledged allies on the project of making the future of the Republic of Montenegro. Until now it was all bowing, curtsying and a game of donations – now, we're going to see, when the gentleman says that European Union will help to disband organised crime, what do they really mean by that.

Let us put aside for the moment the darkest anxieties that behind the Brussels' upholstery the players are much the same as our own, or at least that the rules of the game follow a spell that an ordinary journalist cannot comprehend. Better stay with the journalists, who should now get a couple of briefs, entrench themselves on the agenda of various seminars, renew their interest for international politics, because what Bulgaria just did, the scandal of Euro and Evro, is the very image of one imperfect constitutionless edifice to which Montenegro faithfully crawls.

A joke, of course, Euroscepticism is

*In a country where croupiers have more revolutionary spirit than the students and with such a wise minister of tourism nobody in their right mind would dare to prophesise bright future. On paper, however, we are getting better. The last week was so pretty one almost feared that we would go conquer Italy in the wave of euphoria*

less than half of the voters turned up at the ballots before 17h, which is a piece of information that commands awe.



The indifference of the honourable Slovenian people is the best compliment to their politicians. In

past dinner time. But if most of the citizens do not have to think about politics until the evening news, than this is the model one should follow. To be sure, Slovenians had Kučan in the 90s, while Milošević had Momir and Milosav. The difference deserves respect.

This is also the reason that the Slovenian model is hard to emulate: Montenegrin European trajectory which began last week will be a truly unique tale of the prodigal son with no capacities for negotiating, as declared exactly by those from whom the help is expected. The state of the art is that we lack administrative capacities to enter negotiations, yet we signed them with a smile, and now Brussels is to give a hand in making the local administration come of age in order to be able to play by the Big World's rules. It all sits a little heavily on the digestive tract, especially if the citizens fail to sweep away the Democratic Party of Socialists at the next elections – which is a prospect bordering on madness. Instead of the much proclaimed Change-in-Power, one should maybe start getting used to the idea of gradual changes, which according to the analysts seems to be the strategy of the MfC.

In the meantime, one should give credit to all the government employees who translate European regulations, browse through the laws, stay in their offices past the working time and stand in the background of our ministers, making them less ridiculous. This structure of the mid-rank clerks of the reform Government seems to be the biggest unknown factor and arguably avoided by the media, because the

*Is there a list of people who work with Brussels? All aids and advisors out into the sun – that could make the media turn away a little from the central authorities with the picture of the ex PM in the entrance hall. Someone must be doing a real good job out there*

not fashionable yet, although we could found a couple of NGOs just to spice up the atmosphere, to make our debate a little closer to that of Slovenia where the populace found itself in the midst of a few redundant theories regarding membership. At the yesterday's elections in this beautiful land

Montenegro, the passionate voter only goes to thwart the victory of the Other. It is inadvisable to believe that Slovenians entirely believe that all of their candidates are more or less trustworthy and that no catastrophe will ensue if the voting is put away until





Government wants it that way. Is there a list of people who work with Brussels? All aids and advisors out into the sun – that could make the media turn away a little from the central authorities with the picture of the ex PM in the entrance hall. Someone must be doing a real good job out there (how else would you explain the fact that the NATO-accession process is led by a minister who so far only

alone powerless to resist political calculations – it is only a matter of timing or campaign when she will find herself in the whirlpool of inter-party haggles. Or wrack her nerves again on disputes with the NGO sector...

Can we, then, expect at least 15 new people to appear in front of the cameras on behalf of the government in the next 15 months, and how to mobilise the citizens' support and our

***Organised crime are not the pickpockets and bandits – organised crime consists of journalists, lawyers, judges, bankers, policemen, politicians, sleepers, businessmen etc. Support to integrations will make sense only to the extent that Brussels is willing to help dismantling this system***

overviewed his own party and construction works).

One should, therefore, change the profile of desirable official. It need not have moustache. Responsibility and power should be distributed in the right places: by sectors, offices and directories, agencies, services. Or at least make it look so on TV. Launch the background faces onto the media sky, faces aged 25 to 35, if there are any. Even better if they have so much expertise that investment into their own education prevented them from rising high in the hierarchy of the ruling party. As a prototype of such official, under the slogan "politics-deprived" appeared **Gordana Đurović**, but alas! She is

daily trust without such a break. Just like the Parliament: a couple of new MPs immediately changed the rhythm of things. Voted in the Constitution. Changed the standard jokes in the parliament's buffet. Even the porters and the waitresses changed their attitude.

In conclusion: in a country where croupiers have more revolutionary spirit than the students and with such a wise minister of tourism nobody in their right mind would dare to prophesise bright future. On paper, however, we are getting better. The last week was so pretty one almost feared that we would conquer Italy in the wave of euphoria. All we need is as few people as possible identifying with the chau-

vinists, dirty jokes and hysterical gags involving shredding the papers in prime time. And that the EU negotiators should themselves promote the people whom they believe to be credible partners. New star negotiators wanted, free of KGB attitudes.

European Union, on the other hand, if it really wants us so badly could for once say out loud that we are a party state in the jaws of two police forces and one TV station. Organised crime are not the pickpockets and bandits – organised crime consists of journalists, lawyers, judges, bankers, policemen, politicians, sleepers, businessmen etc. Support to integrations will make sense only to the extent that Brussels is willing to help dismantling this system.

For the time being, it is touching that three quarters of the citizens want into the EU because the government said so. Without a single sensible informative campaign to explain to them whether a glass of schnapps from a cauldron in Kuči can or cannot become a world famous brand(y). This is business, not hunting down some Brussels' bureaucrat on a corridor to ask whether he or she likes Montenegro. And if they answer "You had me at hello", it's the news of the day. You speak languages, you are a journalist, and the neighbours are proud of you. This soc-realist vision of the journey to the promised land, when fuelled by the media, is the greatest spectre haunting our freshly signed agreement. This miserable feeling that everything will be solved at once, in a fit of inspiration, in a catharsis of some Cetković-Maček deal...This gambler's logic or religious fanaticism, whatever you wish to call it, brings nothing but votes in the next elections.

Presidential first. The village rumours have it that it may turn out to be a showdown between the current PM and the leader of the Movement for Changes. If they also choose not to reach out to their citizens along the well-known pre-electoral model of a country-wide spitting bowl the citizens may yet understand what it was that we really signed last week in Luxembourg.

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

## ARE COUNTRIES OF THE REGION REALLY READY FOR REGIONAL COOPERATION?

# Miločer group on a long stick

When the regional conference dedicated to exchange of experiences among the West Balkan countries with regard to EU accession process began, on 8 October in Pržno near Budva (Miločer), everything seemed ready for the Memorandum on technical cooperation to be signed. The document was prepared by Prof Dr **Gordana Đurović**, Montenegrin Deputy PM for European Integrations. However, in the afternoon of this same day it was clear that nothing will come out of this initiative and the proposal was to postpone the Memorandum until the next such conference next year in Croatia. Several high ranking participants explained where the problem was: none of the representatives of the governments of Croatia, Albania, Macedonia and BiH had the authority to sign the Memorandum, although they had a chance to study it beforehand. The most difficult are, reportedly, Croatians, who are already very far on the path to European Integrations and they have no interest in sharing their hard-won capital with their neighbours.

**Serbian Deputy PM Božidar Đelić explained that he understands the reluctance of Croatia to accept the proposal coming from Podgorica and Belgrade, and that other countries could, for instance, agree to pay Croatia for the costs they incurred so far in translating the European regulations**

This, however, is the core of the Memorandum on technical cooperation in the European integrations process: to gather all West Balkan countries around their common goal – faster and more efficient progress towards the EU membership. The basic idea is to strike an agreement between Montenegro, Serbia, Croatia, Macedonia, BiH and Albania to exchange useful information regarding the EU accession process, exchange experts in certain areas and translate together the EU regulations (Acquis Communautaire). The initiative was supported by the European Commission.

The idea, which gained momentum this summer in the context of the formation of the so-called "West Balkan Group" in mimicry of the "Visegrad Group" has so far been favourably received only in Serbia. Suggestion to formalise cooperation among the countries in the region appeared for the first time at a meeting between Đurović and the Deputy PM of the government of Serbia **Božidar Đelić**. Immediately afterwards, Belgrade announced the intention to create a "West Balkan group" that would even be in charge of negotiating



From the final press conference in Miločer

with Brussels on the issues of common interest, to which the Government of Montenegro reacted cautiously, insisting that it would be better to remain on the level of technical cooperation in order to prevent the conflict of interests arising between the countries.

The model for the initiative was the Visegrad group, formed by the Czechoslovak republic, Hungary and Poland in 1991 in order to strengthen their position on the way to EU through close cooperation and exchange of

experiences.

"After the first round of consultation, all the reactions to the draft Memorandum were those of enthusiastic support...Let Miločer be the place where the initiative began", said Đurović immediately after the conference.

Croatian ambassador to Podgorica, Petar Turčinović, said that he hopes that Croatia will be ready to sign the memorandum by 2008, that this would be a good move, but that "the

Serbian Deputy PM Božidar Đelić explained that he understands the reluctance of Croatia to accept the proposal coming from Podgorica and Belgrade, and that other countries could, for instance, agree to pay Croatia for the costs they incurred so far in translating the European regulations.

He also tried to dispel the fears that Serbia is using this memorandum to impose itself as the regional leader.

"Serbia supports all regional initiatives and we do not always need to be leading them", he said, adding that Montenegro and Serbia could proceed on their own if the others refuse to join them for the moment.

"If political reasons prevent others from participating, it is better to start with a few of us, and then the rest will join. I believe that the last week's conference in Miločer gave birth to a Miločer group which I hope will soon come to life", Đelić said.

If we look back at the trouble in the Croatian public that was caused by the promise of the PM Ivo Sanader that Croatia will hand over to Montenegro some 30.000 pages of translated Acquis Communautaire, it is clear that regional cooperation in the West Balkans still remains on the rhetorical grounds, and **Sanader** was quick to deny his words. Warnings by the Brussels representatives that "the EU accession process is not a race" and that "it can only be improved through effective cooperation among the neighbours" seem to have been to the point. The main challenge now is to figure out how to prevent the circulation of technical assistance among the countries from becoming a pretext to Brussels to postpone the next enlargement until they all arrive at an equal footing.

It is now up to Brussels to dispel Croatian

**Warnings by the Brussels representatives that "the EU accession process is not a race" and that "it can only be improved through effective cooperation among the neighbours" seem to have been to the point. The main challenge now is to figure out how to prevent the circulation of technical assistance among the countries from becoming a pretext to Brussels to postpone the next enlargement until they all arrive at an equal footing**

technical negotiations and timing are running out" and that the joy of Croatia as a host would be all the greater if it were signed in Croatia itself.

fears and give its utmost contribution to the development of genuine regional cooperation.

N.R.



AT THE SUMMIT IN LISBON EUROPEAN UNION LEADERS AGREED ON A NEW TREATY TO IMPLEMENT MORE EFFICIENT DECISION-MAKING SYSTEM

# Framework for new enlargements

European Union created a new legal framework for the next wave of enlargement – tortuous negotiations on the new treaty which ought to serve as a basis for the more efficient EU with a swifter decision-making system were successfully brought to a close after midnight of the 20 October, at the summit of the 27 EU leaders in Lisbon.

The new treaty on the institutional reform that will replace the discarded Constitution and the currently operating Treaty of Nice should come into force in 2009, on the eve of the European Parliament elections, after being ratified by all member states.

The treaty should enable further enlargements of the EU, replacing the Treaty of Nice that was designed for a maximum of 27 countries. The key parameters of the document were already agreed at the June Summit in Berlin. According to this agreement, the new treaty will contain most of the solutions envisaged by the failed Constitutional proposal, whose adoption was



European leaders at the last EU summit in Lisbon

Affairs Minister, but Britain insisted that the word "minister" be left out. At the June Summit, the UK has also opted out from the closer home and justice affairs cooperation, and is also excepted from the Charter on Fundamental Rights as UK insisted it would not accept the Charter provisions guaranteeing broad rights to strike.

The persistent Poles managed to push

*The treaty does not mention the symbols, the flag or the anthem of EU, the word "constitution" has been erased, and a new decision-making system introduced. It envisages a double-voting mechanism, which means that a decision is adopted if approved by at least 55% of the countries in the Council of Europe, representing at least 65% of EU citizens*

blocked in 2005 by the French and the Dutch voters. The treaty does not mention the symbols, the flag or the anthem of EU, the word "constitution" has been erased, and a new decision-making system introduced. It envisages a double-voting mechanism, which means that a decision is adopted if approved by at least 55% of the countries in the Council of Europe, representing at least 65% of EU citizens.

However, at the request of Poland, the current voting system remains in place until 2014, and until 2017 it may still be used upon request of some of the member states. After 2017, the double majority mechanism will remain the only valid voting system.

The new treaty also introduces the function of the President of the European council for a two-year mandate instead of the current six-months rotating presidency, as well as the post of the High Representative for Foreign Policy who will simultaneously perform the function of the vice-president European Commission. According to the failed constitution, this was supposed to be the EU Foreign

through another provision allowing a group of countries who are slightly short of the "blocking" minority to negotiate "reasonable" delays in implementing the decision in question, which in practice should mean several months. The clause, known as "Ioannina compromise" after the Greek town where it was

*The new treaty also introduces the function of the President of the European council for a two-year mandate instead of the current six-months rotating presidency, as well as the post of the High Representative for Foreign Policy who will simultaneously perform the function of the vice-president European Commission*

first invented in 1994, was never used to date. Ioannina compromise is a concession to Poland for its agreement to the double majority rule. Another of the Polish wishes will be fulfilled by the treaty: the number of independent consultants at the European Court of Justice will be increased from the current eight to twelve, of which one will be reserved for a Polish citizen.

Independent legal consultants help ECJ

decide, and although their advice is not legally binding, the Court usually accepts it.

Italians, dissatisfied with the current number of places at the European Parliament will get another seat. The number of MPs with the voting right will remain the same, however, as the President will not have the right to vote. European Parliament has 750 MPs plus the president.

Italy had no objections to the Treaty itself, but it expressed disagreement with the proposal to redistribute the number of seats at the next EP assembly, where it would for the first time have fewer representatives than France and UK, countries with a similar population size. According to the ensuing compromise, Italy will have 73 MPs, the same as UK, while France would keep its 74 MPs.

Prior to the summit, the leaders solved another hurdle: how to write the name of the European currency in Bulgarian Cyrillic. Despite of the resistance from the European Central Bank which insisted that Euro should be written in the same way in all languages, it was finally agreed that Bulgarians can keep writing Evro, as until now, instead of Euro.

"This is an important landmark in the history of Europe. Europe is now stronger, more confident, and readier to face future challenges", said the Portuguese PM **Jose Socrates**.

When the agreement was signed just after midnight, the leaders hugged each other and popped champagne to celebrate the agreement which will be signed on 13 December in Lisbon.

UK Prime Minister, **Gordon Brown**, who is heavily criticised at home for refusing to organise a referendum on the treaty, declined

champagne. French president **Nicolas Sarkozy** suggested that the former British Prime Minister **Tony Blair** or the Luxemburg's veteran PM **Jean Claude Juncker** would be excellent candidates for the new presidential post. He also announced that he would accept the second mandate of **Jose Manuel Barroso** as president of the European Commission.

N.R.

## WHAT IS WRITTEN IN THE GOVERNMENT DRAFT DOCUMENT "MONTENEGRIN FOREIGN POLICY PRIORITIES"

# First NATO, than the EU

By establishing and implementing basic foreign policy priorities, Montenegro will strive towards integration into European and Euro-Atlantic structures and all regional initiatives; follow the global trends and endorse them in accordance with own interests and abilities; develop good relations with its neighbours; establish and maintain good relations with a number of most developed and strongest partners worldwide; and in all this, it pledges to remain committed to the accepted international obligations and principles.

So reads the Government's draft document "Montenegrin Foreign Policy Priorities", which also emphasises, in addition to EU and NATO membership, the "special importance" of relations with the United States, and "exceptional significance" of those with Russia.

Among the top priorities of the Government of Montenegro is the strengthening of relations with Germany, United Kingdom, France and Italy, with China ranking similarly "high". On the same list are the Mediterranean countries and large countries such as India, Japan and Brazil.

Participation in the working of international organisations – United Nations, Council of Europe, OSCE – is also singled out as important, especially "in the light of preparations for and progress toward membership in EU and NATO".

"Montenegro, standing between the East and the West inextricably linked to its Balkan and Mediterranean neighbours, recognised as a factor of stability and as a part of European and Euro-Atlantic integrations, currently belongs to one of the most dynamic and most promising regions", states the Draft.

The document emphasises EU



From the session of the parliamentary committee for International affairs and European integrations where the draft was presented

photo: VIJESTI

membership as the key strategic goal which in the following period will "dominate" Montenegrin foreign policy, as the most important task both domestically and internationally.

"Montenegro views the EU as the best framework for further development

and reformed", states the document.

In the foreign policy context, the most important role will be accorded to the permanent dialogue between Montenegro and EU (its member states, the president, the EU troika), as well as to the long-term harmonisation with

*Among the top priorities of the Government of Montenegro is the strengthening of relations with Germany, United Kingdom, France and Italy, with China ranking similarly "high". On the same list are the Mediterranean countries and large countries such as India, Japan and Brazil*

of general reforms, harmonisation with European standards and their implementation, as well as for the improvement of bilateral relations with the Union members", states the document.

It also points at the overall consensus in Montenegro on the necessity of integration into EU, which is an additional impetus for faster progress in this direction.

"The speed of our progress with respect to integrations will depend on the dynamics of economic, political, judicial, security and overall reforms, i.e. on the speed and extent to which the society as a whole can be engaged

the EU foreign and security policy.

Another key strategic goal is the NATO membership.

"It is a process that is also expected to last, although presumably less so than the EU accession process", warns the Government of Montenegro.

According to them, the question of NATO membership is "not only one of the most important foreign policy priorities", but that it also "guarantees stability and security necessary for the fulfilment of other strategic goals, such as EU membership".

"NATO integration will provide Montenegro with the best strategic



## DRAWING MOTIVATION FROM THE SUCCESS OF OUR NEIGHBOURS

Our foreign policy priorities depend on the common efforts and cooperation with other countries of the region. In this context, success and achievements of any country in the region serve as a motivation for further development of Montenegro – states the Strategy.

It adds that Montenegro supports development of regional strategy and further improvements of the mechanisms for cooperation in the South East European region.

"In this way, we strengthen the bilateral relations with countries of the region and contribute to our own and the progress of the region towards European and Euro-Atlantic integrations. Montenegro is a credible partner in all regional organisations and initiatives (SEECF, CEI, JJI, SECI, SEDM, A3+3 etc.). We are strongly committed to the transformation of the Stability Pact for South Eastern Europe into RSS, an initiative which has the potential to demonstrate the readiness of our countries for regional ownership and mutual cooperation", states the document.

It reminds that so far Montenegro was recognised by 105 countries and has established diplomatic relations with 85 countries, followed by the opening of embassies in Podgorica and development of a world-wide Montenegrin diplomatic network.

frame for defence against potential crises and challenges to the stability of the state, region and wider surroundings, for the promotion of its image as a stable democracy, for acceleration of economic development, FDI flows, and for equal participation in the making of geostrategic decisions", states the Draft.

According to this document, NATO integration is closely related to EU integration, as the two are seen as both parallel and compatible.

"Together with other relevant institutions, the Government will be actively contributing to the wider societal consensus for better understanding and acceptance of this strategic orientation...

Democratic institutions, rule of law, market economy, stable security situation, are the necessary preconditions for every country that wishes to join either EU or NATO", states the document.

The government Strategy warns that the strategic integrative goals of Montenegro – EU and NATO membership – are impossible to attain without active Montenegrin participation in regional cooperation, in development of good neighbourly relations

and policy deliberation in the regional context.

"Although in the strict sense Montenegro borders on Albania,

*NATO integration will provide Montenegro with the best strategic frame for defence against potential crises and challenges to the stability of the state, region and wider surroundings, for the promotion of its image as a stable democracy, for acceleration of economic development, FDI flows, and for equal participation in the making of geostrategic decisions", states the Draft*

Bosnia and Herzegovina, Italy, Serbia and Croatia, due to historical and political reasons, Montenegro counts among its neighbours also the other ex-Yugoslav republics: Macedonia and Slovenia, as well as the neighbours of former Yugoslavia: Austria, Hungary, Romania, Bulgaria and Greece. With regard to all this countries, Montenegro aims at development of good relations and communication with mutual respect and continuous fostering of political, economic, security, cultural, scientific contacts and cooperation, as well as infrastructural links", emphasises the Strategy.

Especially important are the relations with Serbia, which, due to a host of historical, cultural and economic

reasons, as well as to the common European and Euro-Atlantic perspective, will continue to be strengthened and nurtured.

"This means equal partnership and mutual respect also on the part of Serbia", states the draft document.

"Relations with the USA are of special importance to Montenegro. The US being the most influential partner in the North Atlantic alliance and a very prominent ally to EU and the region, as well as the most important player in all international organisations, it is logical that Montenegro should dedicate significant attention in its foreign policy decisions to development and strengthening of the partnership with the USA", states the document.

Immediately following is the declaration of the "exceptionally significant" relations between Montenegro and the Russian Federation.

"Montenegro considers it extremely important to continue cherishing the traditionally friendly relations with Russia, for both historical and cultural reasons", states the draft.

According to this document, Montenegro also fosters special relations with the countries of Central Europe – Poland, Czech Republic, Slovakia, as well as the Baltic and Scandinavian countries. Podgorica will also develop its relationship with the "small European states" – Iceland, Cyprus, Malta, Andorra, Luxembourg, Lichtenstein, Monaco and San Marino", "based on exchange of experiences regarding the success of small, flexible administrations".

Finally, among the foreign policy goals is also development of relations with the countries of the Mediterranean circle, especially Turkey and Egypt.

N.R.

IN SPITE OF THE COMMISSION'S EU BUDGET 2006 FINANCIAL REPORT  
CONCLUSIONS THAT EU-10 ARE IMPROVING THEIR ABSORPTION CAPACITIES

# New members still lagging behind on EU funds

The ten countries that joined European Union in 2004 must do better to gain a larger share of EU funding, according to the Commission's 2006 budget report, which indicates that 'old' members still profit most from EU monies.

According to the EC report, published on 24 September, of the EU's 106.6 billion budget, only 11.5 billion was spent in the EU-10, whereas the five largest member states accounted for 97.4 billion euros of EU spending in 2006. As much as 91% of EU expenditure, more than EUR 97.4 billion was spent within the EU-25 Member States. The five biggest Member States got 57.8 billion euros or nearly 60% of total expenditure within the EU-25. The largest recipients were the most populous Member States: France (13.5 billion), ahead of Spain (12.9 billion), Germany (12.2 billion), Italy (10.9 billion) – apart from the United Kingdom, which received 5.2 billion euros.

The share of EU-10 practically doubled as compared to the year of their accession (2004) and grew by 2.4 billion euros to 11.5 billion or nearly 12% of total expenditure within the EU-25. The main beneficiaries were: Poland (5.3 billion, up by 1.3 billion from the previous year), Hungary (1.8 billion, up 0.5 billion) and the Czech Republic (1.3 billion, up 0.3 billion). In addition almost 1.1 billion euros in



*The largest recipients were the most populous Member States: France (13.5 billion), ahead of Spain (12.9 billion), Germany (12.2 billion), Italy (10.9 billion) – apart from the United Kingdom, which received 5.2 billion euros*

pre-accession payments went to Romania and Bulgaria.

"This was globally a positive performance for new Member States as all of them received more money from the EU budget than in 2005. Yet, they need to do better this year, especially in the cohesion policy" – reminded **Dalia Grybauskaitė**, Commissioner for Financial Programming and Budget.

The EU-10 could be doing a lot better, with 43% of their structural funds and 78% of their cohesion funds going unused. "Don't

dream about an endless possibility to absorb these funds," Grybauskaitė said. "Absorption levels are not satisfactory and time is running out." In 2007, for the very first time, money available from structural funds but not spent by them might be automatically cancelled.

According to the commissioner, Poland is the worst-performing among the new member states concerning money left unspent. "Don't look for excuses, because there will be no excuses. If Poland



## MOST OF THE EU MONEY COMES FROM GERMANY AND FRANCE

National contributions to the EU budget in 2006 reached 87.3 billion euros, an increase of less than 0.6 billion compared to 2005. The main contributors did not change: Germany (20.1% of EU total), France (17.6%), Italy (13.7%), UK (11.3%) and Spain (9.9%).

The rest of the revenue came from traditional own resources – customs and agriculture duties (15 billion euros) collected by the Member States on behalf of the Union, the surplus from 2005 (2.4 billion) and other sources (3.7 billion).

In relative terms, however, when compared to EU wealth, the size of the EU budget decreased last year to 0.93% of EU Gross National Income.

isn't able then Poland loses out," she said.

Last year, Poland received 5.3 billion euros from the EU budget, mainly as support for farming (2.142 billion) and in structural funds (1.951 billion). At the same time, Polish dues to the union purse amounted to 2.175 billion euros, which gives Poland exactly 2.997 billion net from the Union, constituting 1.16 % of Poland's GDP in 2006.

Still, according to the European media who follow carefully the trends in the EU, the latest financial data for 2006 confirms positive trend in the EU's budgetary development.

More funding for competitiveness was ensured by further modernisation of expenditure; improvements in monitoring and planning kept the budget execution rate at a historically high level. Supposedly, the substantial increase of the EU-10 countries' share of the budget

continued devotion to the Growth and Jobs agenda. "2006 was the closing year of the previous financial period, which saw an almost

*Spain retained the biggest share of funds for structural actions (5.8 billion euros or 17.8% of EU total), followed by Italy (14.0%), Germany (13.6%), Greece (11.1%) and the United Kingdom (9.3%).*

70% increase in spending on Competitiveness for Growth and Employment," commented Commissioner Dalia Grybauskaite.

Only in 2006, funding directly devoted to competitiveness increased by 19% as compared to 2005.

Out of EUR 106.6 billion executed in 2006 more than 37% was spent to promote Cohesion and Competitiveness for growth and employment in all EU Member States. 35% went in direct aid and market related expenditure and 12% for rural development, fisheries and environment. 5% was devoted to strengthening the EU as a global player.

*More funding for competitiveness was ensured by further modernisation of expenditure; improvements in monitoring and planning kept the budget execution rate at a historically high level*

would also secure their growing participation in EU policies.

According to the EurAktiv web portal, the EU Budget 2006 Financial Report proves the EU's

Spain retained the biggest share of funds for structural actions (5.8 billion euros or 17.8% of EU total), followed by Italy (14.0%), Germany (13.6%), Greece (11.1%)

and the United Kingdom (9.3%).

As in previous years France was the largest recipient in agriculture (EUR 10.1 billion or 20.3% of EU total), ahead of Spain and Germany (13.4% and 13.2% respectively), Italy (11.0%) and the UK (8.7%).

Summarizing the 2000–2006 period Commissioner Grybauskaite noted that the biggest increases in EU spending were registered in the areas of Freedom, security, justice and citizenship (78%) and Competitiveness for Growth and Employment (68%). This trend will be further boosted over the period 2007–2013.

In the past seven years Spain was the biggest recipient of all EU

funds (99,5 billion euros over the period), followed by France (89,6 billion), Germany (79,1 billion), Italy (70,2 billion) and the United Kingdom (36,6 billion euros).

Among the EU-10, for the period 2004–2006 covering their membership, Poland benefited the most (12.1 billion euros), ahead of Hungary (3,9 billion), the Czech Republic (3.2 billion), Lithuania (2.0 billion) and Slovakia (1.7 billion).

Overall, the execution rate continues to improve and reached 99.3% in 2006. This progress is mainly due to better planning and monitoring by the Commission's services. The early warning system introduced into budget management through a joint effort of the Commission, the European Parliament and the Member States significantly contributed to this result.

N. RUDOVIĆ  
V. ŠČEPANOVIĆ



by Olivera Vukadinović

With quite a bit life, educational and working experience behind me, having looked at all the advantages and disadvantages of joining the European family of nations, if you still ask me whether I would like to be a citizen of Europe and when – the answer is yes, NOW, as soon as possible!

There are so many reasons for that!!!

Because I am already tired and I find it more and more difficult to explain to others, to my children especially, that we were actually once Europe and now we are not any more, that we would become Europe again once we become European...and so forth. If, in other words, we fulfil the numerous "normal" conditions for life and work that come so naturally to the orderly states of the Old Continent, which is ours too, all we need is to be accepted and recognised.

Why?

Because it makes me terribly sad,

*We want to be Europe and we want to move forward, faster. How, if we just received one young countrymate of ours, a top student, Master of Science form a prestigious European university who is sought after by over 40 research centres in Europe and the USA with a modest teaching post at the University and a monthly salary of 300 euros*

and note that I am one of the lucky ones whose work allows me to visit world metropolises, when in those places I encounter our compatriots, citizens of what was once a great coun-

# Why do I want to be a citizen of Europe?

try, scattered around the world. Who are abroad out of necessity, not out of choice: who look elsewhere for a spare homeland, shelter from war, vengeance, poverty. It makes me sad because they are not there like the rest of the "normal" world – for tourism, for studies, to broaden their educational horizons, and carry those treasures back to their home countries. Many have no place to return. Those that do can find no work, and most of them just stay there not knowing where they belong any more: for almost two decades they have been living "long way from home".

That is why I would like to be a citizen of Europe. To be together with

want to move forward, faster.

How, if we just received one young countrymate of ours, a top student, Master of Science form a prestigious European university who is sought after by over 40 research centres in Europe and the USA with a modest teaching post at the University and a monthly salary of 300 euros?

They say, that's the average, the same for all. But all are not the same. Someone will have to get more, a lot more, to be able to give back a lot more. Our young scientist returned to Europe and left us to "our own Europe", to ponder and mourn over the hardships of life. They left us to

*But why would our millionaires of the day bother with Europe, or with investments into European-style production? They are doing very well without Europe, and without production. They excel in proving, once they take over the most successful enterprises, that before them those were actually complete failures*

them, to exchange our experiences, to open up the doors for them of another, better, brighter life in their homeland, which will be able and willing to provide them with real opportunities. To grow together in the European family of nations. To use our knowledge which commands admiration from the most diligent Germans, entrepreneurial French, Mediterranean-leisurely Italians... We are everywhere: in all sectors, on all continents. In numerous research projects, the most wanted in

count the cranes around the city, buildings, apartments, casinos and casinos, the first, second and the nth million of some or another individual, but there are no scientists among them, no researchers, no doctors...

The media will tell us about it every day. We read how that person bought something for a million, for five millions, for 10, 40 etc...Hard to believe, in such an underdeveloped country, with the average wage below 300 euros, with masses living at or below the poverty levels!

This is why I would like to be in Europe, as soon as possible, to see the miracle happening, to start wondering at the first million made by a scientist, an innovator, a physicist... and to note that the also paid huge sums in taxes to the state, because his knowledge made him rich. To invest this knowledge in developing those "small and medium enterprises" that we keep talking about although they are nowhere in sight. And if they also began to produce, to





employ, what miracle would that be?

But why would our millionaires of the day bother with Europe, or with investments into European-style production? They are doing very well without Europe, and without production. They excel in proving, once they take over the most successful enterprises, that before them those were actually complete failures! There are no more laws and regulations that can stop them, nothing that the workers can do, except to go home. All that is left from the once Europe-wide exporters is the space and the land. Thousands of acres. A dreamland for mass construction projects of those individuals who came to rescue cooperatives. I would like to be in Europe, to make them show us how the money is "laundered" on the seaside and on the land, and what to do with those "cleaners". Maybe we even manage to stop them before their laundering washes away all the land that the nature has granted to this country. To preserve something for us, ordinary citizens, for ours and their children. What does it matter that some individual are moving fast-forward if we are all heading in the wrong direction? The experience of many centuries of economic and civilisational development taught the human kind some lessons in the "art of living". The rules were always there, and the achievements came only as a result of fair play. Does it work to be a rich individual in a poor neighbourhood? How long can they enjoy it if so many people envy them and even more hate them for having fallen so far

behind the dignity of life?

"Whatever happens to the land will happen to the children of the land" says an old adage. I would like to be a part of the European family, to ask the lords of transition, privatisation, stockmarket, about crime and corruption, and not to be found guilty of high treason. The set the rule of law above us all. To do something, finally, to declare less, talk less...

"If you speak, you cannot listen, and if you do not listen, you do not learn".

Many of us will have to learn, understand their mistakes and prejudices in order to prevent their repetition and alleviate consequences. This is the goal of control. These conse-

*I would like to be a part of the European family, to ask the lords of transition, privatisation, stockmarket, about crime and corruption, and not to be found guilty of high treason. The set the rule of law above us all*

quences are results of individuals' actions, and the bill is handed to us all. Control is thus normal for all Europeans, except for us, until we realise that one can learn the least from those who are always on our side.

There are many more stories to be told about transition, corruption, crime... especially in the open media. With all suppression, the word survives, I am convinced of it. Nobody can stop it, words can "kill" but they have not been "killed" yet. Still, this whole thing is taking too long, or maybe it is me who is in a hurry – I belong to a generation which has seen a better side of life. When we had, when knowledge

and education were in high esteem, although we know the dark sides of the past as well. For the last 18 years, the child has grown and become an adult. Unfortunately, it has grown through crises, war, sanctions...

This is why I have grown a little tired from talking, from waiting for this country to become a genuine, European, democratic society.

This is why I want Europe in my house, as soon as possible, not to have to explain to my children any more why, with two university diplomas and quite a bit of working experience, their parents cannot send them to the schools they want, unlike some other parents, and many, many other

things...That we have to live on loans and with the help of our parents. That I thought that with my life in my own hands I will be able to help them instead, that they would be fine even on their own with their hard-earned pensions.

Evidently, one can live neither from one's pension nor from a salary. When we are able to do so, we will be Europe, we will be free citizens. We deserve it.

*The author is a programme editor of TV Montenegro. She attended IV generation of the European Integrations School*

**DR SRĐAN GLIGORIJEVIĆ, DIRECTOR OF THE ANALYTICAL DIVISION OF THE BELGRADE INTERNATIONAL AND SECURITY AFFAIRS CENTRE (ISAC)**

## Balkan stereotypes still threatening security of the region

Threats to security and peace in the Balkans still exists. Regardless of the fairly developed regional cooperation, our region still harbours all the negative prejudices and stereotypes that have been the core and the guiding star of our conflicts, says Dr **Srđan Gligorijević**, director of the analytical division of the Belgrade International and Security Affairs Centre (ISAC).

In the interview for *EIC Bulletin* he explains that countries of the region did not manage to overcome all prejudices, which is the precondition for eliminating the security threats in the Balkans.

"Naturally, one of the main ways to overcome this challenge is the Euro-Atlantic and European integration of the whole region. The security situation is, however, a priority, in order for all the countries of the Western Balkans to become a part of the same security context and a wider security community", Gligorijević said.

He adds that it should always be emphasised that the European Union is first and foremost a security community which was founded in the early 50s in order to overcome the century-old conflicts of France and Germany.

"It was, of course, very effective also in overcoming other entrenched conflicts: between the British and the Irish, Slovaks and Hungarians...The expansion of the security community in the entire region is the absolute priority", says Gligorijević, who completed his specialisation at the European Union Institute

***European Union is first and foremost a security community which was very effective in overcoming centuries-old conflicts between the British and the Irish, Slovaks and Hungarians...Expansion of the security community in the entire Balkan region is the absolute priority***

for Security Studies in Paris (EUISS).

Answering the question of why he advocates the membership of his and other countries in the region in NATO, Gligorijević emphasises the importance of the Article 5 which stipulates that attack on any one member state constitutes an attack on all others, obliging



other members to join in defence of the attacked country.

"In the West Balkans and in the entire Balkan region the tensions are still high. This is a very delicate environment.

***In the West Balkans and in the entire Balkan region the tensions are still high. This is a very delicate environment. It is enough that one of those countries becomes a NATO member and thus covered by the Article 5, and the other countries would immediately find themselves in an inferior security position***

It is enough that one of those countries becomes a NATO member and thus covered by the Article 5, and the other countries would immediately find themselves in an inferior security position", warns Gligorijević.

According to him, the exceptionally low level of public support for the NATO

membership in Croatia could frustrate the accession of this country to the North Atlantic Treaty, which is expected to happen in 2009.

"We shall see how the process develops and how the Croatian public will react in the future. It also depends on the NATO attitude towards it. If the

popular support for the Croatian accession to NATO continues to decline, it may create serious problems: the Riga Declaration clearly states in the section on Croatia that any advance of this country towards NATO membership must be underpinned by convincing public support. NATO is clearly aware of all the challenges", explains Gligorijević.

It is therefore very important, he adds, to continue emphasising the security component of the entire regional security structure, because "the Balkan countries are very different economically, socially, politically and culturally, but from the security point of view, one must bear in mind that those differences have always led to conflicts".

"Placing those countries in the same security framework must therefore become a priority. If any country decides to opt out, it would immediately create serious problems", Gligorijević claims.

The ISAC analysts find it very interesting that most countries in the region lack convincing popular support for NATO membership.

"This is not necessarily the outcome of some political or ideological attitudes – it is simply the consequence of the general ignorance of the nature and principles of NATO. People's attitudes are therefore simply informed by their emotions. In any case, the future NATO membership should be based on a broad popular support. An informational campaign that would introduce the citizens to the principles of NATO actions, its institutions and challenges it faces ought to be a priority not only for the government structures in the region, but also for the non-governmental sector", emphasised Gligorijević.

N.R.



## Southeast European Times

# Romania launches pension overhaul

With more pensioners than employees, Romania is having trouble supporting its state-run pension system. The country is now joining 31 others that are shifting to private funds

by Gelu Trandafir

Under a new system launched last month, more than 3 million Romanian workers under 35-years-old must opt for one of 14 competing private pension funds before January 17th, 2008. Those ages 35 to 45 can also decide to join one of the private funds.

Starting in 2008, 2% of every worker's general income will be redirected from the state budget to the chosen private fund. This contribution will gradually increase to 6% by 2015, and the current 9.5% social security contribution to the state system will diminish accordingly.

"Several million Romanians will become investors, and the private pension system will educate them in the spirit of a free market economy," says Romanian President **Traian Basescu**.

"The launch of the private pension system marks the end of the process of transition from a socialist economy to a capitalist one, creating the premises for a long-term economic stability," says Finance Minister **Varujan Vosganian**. "The privatisation of the public pension system will thus ensure the transition from populism to guaranteeing the freedom and dignity of retired people."



The current, state-run pension system has been plagued by inadequate monitoring methods and poor management. It also faces intense pressure because of demographic changes. A scarcity of younger workers is leaving the elderly without enough financial support for their pensions.

"Romania is already the only country within the EU having more pensioners than employees — in 2050 Romania would have 145 pensioners for every 100 employees," Basescu said. Authorities also hope the switch to private funds will trim the black market in labour, since it will now be in the workers' interest to have their real salaries recorded.

A Commission for the Surveillance of Private Pensions System has been set up, and 17 companies have been licensed to administer the private funds. "The system is

safe," insists Commission President **Mircea Oancea**. "A company not able to reach the minimum efficiency needed for a pension fund would be placed under a special supervision. If it continues to fail, the Commission would designate another company to take over the fund."

According to Oancea, the new private system "increases individual responsibility". It develops "consciousness that only through saving during a long period of his active life, an individual could enjoy similar living standards once retired," he argues.

The minister acknowledges that the initial 2% contribution is small. However, he says, a decision was made to gain employees' confidence progressively.

Romania cautiously now joins a club formed by 31 countries — Bulgaria, Macedonia and Croatia among them — that have decided to address the demographic pressure on state budgets through privatisation.

The political context for the reform is not friendly, however. Romania faces European, local and general elections within a year. In June, the Romanian parliament unanimously voted to increase the state pension system, a hike that will cause a projected budget deficit of 2 billion euros a year.

## A GUIDE TO 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 to and not yet entirely comfortable with the field of EU integrations.

**Applicant country:** A country that has applied to join the European Union. Once its application has been officially accepted, it becomes a candidate country.

**Benchmarking:** This means measuring how well one country, business, industry, etc. is performing compared to other countries, businesses, industries, and so on. The 'benchmark' is the standard by which performance will be judged. "Benchmarking" is also applied in the Lisbon Process.

**Best practice:** One way of improving policies in the EU is for governments to look at what is going on in other EU countries and to see what works best. EU itself or the member state can then adopt this 'best practice', adapting it to their own national and local circumstances.

**Candidate country:** A country that has applied to join the European Union and that has officially been accepted as a candidate for accession. At present there are three candidate countries: Croatia, former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia and Turkey. Before a candidate country

# Eurojargon

can join the EU it must meet the 'Copenhagen criteria'.

**CAP reform:** Reform of the Common Agricultural Policy.

The Common Agricultural Policy (CAP) was first introduced in 1960, to ensure that Europe had secure food supplies at affordable prices. But it became a victim of its own success, generating unwanted surpluses of some products such as beef, barley, milk and wine. Also, the subsidies paid to European farmers were distorting world trade. So the European Commission began reviewing the CAP in 1999. The EU agreed further reforms in 2003, with the emphasis on high-quality farm produce and animal-friendly farming practices that respect the environment and preserve the countryside. The EU plans to cut back on direct subsidies to farmers, so as to redress the balance between EU agricultural markets and those of the developing world.

**Civil dialogue:** Consulting civil society when the European Commission is drawing up its policies and proposals for legislation. It is a broader concept than 'social dialogue'.

**Civil society:** The collective name for all kinds of organizations and associations that are not part of government but that represent professions, interest groups or sections of society. It includes (for example) trade unions, employers' associations, environmental lobbies and groups representing women, farmers, people with disabilities and so on. Since these organizations have a lot of expertise in particular areas and are involved in implementing and monitoring European Union policies, the EU regularly consults civil society and wants it to become more involved in European policymaking.

## NON – GOVERNMENTAL ORGANISATIONS IN EUROPEAN UNION



## EUROPEAN MOVEMENT

European Movement is an international organisation whose objective is to contribute to the establishment of a united, federal Europe founded on the respect for basic human rights, peace principles, democratic principles of liberty and solidarity and citizens' participation.

European Movement has 41 national divisions and 20 associated divisions both within and outside of the EU. European Movement is also active in Montenegro. All divisions cooperate, working jointly for the fulfilment of their common goals.

The European Movement was formally created on 25 October 1948, when the Joint International Committee for European Unity decided to change its name. The first major achievement of the European Movement was the setting up of the Council of Europe in 1949. The European Movement was also responsible for the creation of the College of Europe in Bruges and the European Center of Culture in Geneva.

One of its major functions during the 1950s through to the 1990s of the last century was the setting up of think-tanks across Europe, also in countries that were then still ruled by totalitarian regimes. Since 1948, the European Movement has lobbied for further integration, on numerous subjects. It worked in favour of the direct election of the European Parliament by all European citizens, and fought for the adoption of a European Constitution. One of its major objectives is to organise the relations between the citizens of EU and its institution through a model of a federal state.

The Movement focuses its attentions on seeking further integration in the political, social and cultural arenas within European countries. It organises its activities both as an expert group and as a pressure group. As a study and information group it operates through various projects and activities aimed at disseminating information on EU among the citizens. As a pressure group, it exerts sizeable influence on the European institutions in order to improve implementation of EU policies.

At the top of the organisational structure of EM is the President Pat Cox, who is assisted by six vice-presidents, Secretary General and a Treasurer. More information about European Movement can be found at: [www.europeanmovement.org](http://www.europeanmovement.org)

Prepared by: Petar ĐUKANOVIĆ



ORGANISED BY CCE, CDNGO AND EMIM, WITH SUPPORT OF THE FOUNDATION OPEN SOCIETY INSTITUTE – REGIONAL OFFICE IN MONTENEGRO (FOSI ROM)

## New European Integrations School begins

**V**l generation of the European Integrations School and III generation of the Regional European Integrations School in the north of Montenegro have begun their programme. The School s are organised by Centre for Civic Education (CCE), Centre for Development of Non-Governmental Organisations (CDNGO) and European Movement in Montenegro (EMiM).

Once again, interest for the school was exceptionally high, as evidenced by the number of applicants (221 applications received for 50 available places, of which 30 in Podgorica and 20 in Bijelo Polje. European Integrations School is the oldest programme of alternative education in the area of European Integrations in Montenegro. Continued high interest in the school is a great recognition for the organisers, but it also obliges them to respond to the participants' expectations with a high quality programme.



Until now, the School in Podgorica had three lectures: the first one by Prof **Radovan Radonjić**, on the topic "European Political Thought", and the other two – "European integrations process until 1960s" and "European Integrations Process after 1960s" – by Dr **Tanja Mišević** from the Political Science Faculty of the University of Belgrade who is also an officer at the Government of Serbia EU Association Office. The lecture scheduled for the next meeting is "European Integrations

in the light of world-systems theory" by Prof Dr **Milan Popović** from the Political Science Faculty of the University of Montenegro.

Programme dynamics at the Regional European Integrations School is markedly different: the participants were invited for an intensive three-day seminar in Budva, where they attended eight lectures. In addition to the already mentioned lecturers, they also had a chance to listen to Dr **Zoran Ra-**

**divojević** from the Niš University, **Jovana Marović** from the municipality of Budva, **Momčilo Radulović** – EMiM, **Stevo Muk** – CDNGO and **Daliborka Uljarević** – CCE.

Up to date, the EIS programme was successfully completed by 210 participants who are already using their knowledge in various government institutions, non-governmental organisations, enterprises, judiciary, media etc. The call for the next generation of European Integrations School will be open in February 2008.

PSF HOSTED A LECTURE BY DR WIKTOR OSIATYNSKI, PROFESSOR AT CENTRAL EUROPEAN UNIVERSITY

## A chance to do something for human rights

**C**entre for Civic Education, Centre for Development of Non-Governmental Organisations and European Movement in Montenegro organised, with support of Foundation Open Society Institute – Regional Office in Montenegro and in cooperation with the Political Science Faculty of the University of Montenegro, a lecture by Dr **Wiktor Osiatynski**, professor at Central European University, on the topic "Human Rights as a European Value". The lecture, organised in the framework of the "European Integrations School Forum" programme, took place on 5 October 2007 at the Political Science Faculty.

The discussion was moderated by **Sanja Elezović**, director of the

Foundation Open Society Institute – Regional Office in Montenegro.

According to professor Osiatynski, the human rights regime can be internal or international. In the internal/local framework the mechanisms for human rights protection are Constitution and courts, and the plaintiff is the citizen.

"When these mechanisms are dysfunctional, as is the case in totalitarian regimes, the case is passed on to the international human rights framework, where the plaintiff is not the citizen as in the internal framework, but another state. In this way the human rights have become one of the elements of international politics, which sometimes has as a result double standards in the protection and preservation of human

rights, when other international political factors enter the game: peace, interests of individual countries, previously signed agreements, international security...", explained professor Osiatynski.

He emphasised that the EU accession process is the right period when most can be done for institutionalisation of human rights, as this is the time to adopt the laws guaranteeing human rights, to create durable institutions and courts for their protection, and to form non-governmental organisations which should oversee their implementation.

"The role of the civil society is crucial in this period. When the country becomes a member of EU, the pressure mechanisms will disappear", says professor Osiatynski.

## FOR THIS ISSUE WE RECOMMEND:



## 2008 STANFORD SUMMER FELLOWS ON DEMOCRACY AND DEVELOPMENT

Center on Democracy, Development, and the Rule of Law (CDDRL) at Stanford University's Freeman Spogli Institute for International Studies invites policymakers and activists from countries undergoing political, economic, and social transitions to participate in its fourth annual Stanford Summer Fellows on Democracy and Development program.

The 2008 program will be held from July 28 – August 15, 2008, at Stanford University in Palo Alto, California.

The Stanford Summer Fellows on Democracy and Development Program (SSFDD) is a three-week executive education program that is run annually on the Stanford campus by an interdisciplinary team of leading Stanford faculty. The program brings together a group of approximately 30 civic, political, and economic leaders from transitioning countries. Stanford Summer Fellows are former prime ministers and presidential advisers, senators, attorneys general, journalists and civic activists, academic and members of the international development community. Since the program was introduced in 2005, we have typically received more than 800 applicants each year.

This program is aimed at early to mid-career policymakers, academics, and leaders of civil society organizations (such as representatives of trade unions, non-governmental organizations, the media, business and professional associations) who will play important roles in their country's democratic, economic, and social development. We anticipate recruiting a group of 30 individuals dedicated to democracy and development promotion within their home

countries (particularly in, but not limited to, the Regions of Middle East, Northern and Sub-Saharan Africa, Central Asia, and other parts of the former Soviet Union).

Successful applicants will be proficient in spoken and written English and will have academic and practical credentials necessary to benefit fully from the course and actively contribute to programmatic discussions. The ideal course participant will have extraordinary motivation, at least three to five years of experience in a relevant field of democratic development, and a keen interest in learning and sharing knowledge and experiences in transforming his or her country.

To learn more about the program, past participants and curriculum, and to apply, go to: <http://cddrl.stanford.edu/fellowships/summerfellows>.

Applications must be received by **December 7, 2007**, for the 2008 Summer Program.

## REPRESENTATIONS OF THE PAST: THE WRITING OF NATIONAL HISTORIES IN EUROPE (NHIST)

**Institute for Social and European Studies, Koszeg, Hungary, 30 June – 6 July 2008**

The five-year European Science Foundation-funded Scientific Programme "Representations of the Past: The Writing of National Histories in Europe (NHIST)" runs since 2003. It aims to

- analyse in depth national historiographies and their relationship to wider national historical cultures,
- study systematically the construction, erosion and reconstruction of national histories across a wide variety of European states,
- bridge the existing historiographical gap within Europe by bringing together the histories of Western and Eastern Europe,
- combine cultural transfer and comparative

approaches in examining the relationship between national historiographies and national historical cultures.

The programme is the collaborative effort of more than one hundred scholars from around 30 European countries. Its agenda is being implemented by four teams occupied with

- the institutions, networks and communities which produced national histories and were themselves influenced by the idea of national history (Team 1)
- the construction, erosion and reconstruction of national histories in their relationship with competing representations structured by the social cleavages in a society (Team 2)
- national histories and their relationship with regional, European and world histories (Team 3)
- the national histories in their spatial relationships and mutual interdependency with other national histories (Team 4)

For more details please see the programme's website: [www.uni-leipzig.de/zhsesf](http://www.uni-leipzig.de/zhsesf)

The aim of the summer school is to promote the results of the NHIST programme to the next generation of academics across Europe and to identify new projects and researchers in the history of historiography using comparative and cultural transfer approaches. Leading NHIST scholars who will be present at the summer school include Professor Stefan Berger (University of Manchester), Professor Christoph Conrad (Université de Genève), Professor Chris Lorenz (Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam), Dr. Frank Hadler (Geisteswissenschaftliches Zentrum für Geschichte und Kultur Ostmitteleuropas), Professor Ilaria Porciani (Università di Bologna).

Travel Costs are reimbursed up to a maximum of EUR250, accommodation, including meals, is provided. The trip includes one day of sightseeing in Budapest (5th July). The group will have a final dinner, stay for the night and depart the next day from Budapest.

Please send a 100 word CV and a 300 word abstract of your proposed paper via email to:

Sven de Roode ESF NHIST Programme Coordinator School of Languages, Linguistics and Cultures, University of Manchester

Email: [Sven.DeRoode@manchester.ac.uk](mailto:Sven.DeRoode@manchester.ac.uk)

Abstract and CV should reach the programme coordinator by **15 December 2007**. The executive group of the NHIST will select the participants of the summer school and the programme coordinator will inform successful applicants by the end of February 2008 at the latest. In case of withdrawals a list of additional potential students will apply.

Homepage [www.uni-leipzig.de/zhsesf](http://www.uni-leipzig.de/zhsesf)

**EIC Bulletin is electronic magazine established within EIC programme, with the support of the Friedrich Ebert Stiftung. The publisher is Centre for Civic Education.**

**EIC Bulletin is registered with the Ministry for Culture and Media as item No. 578**

**Editor in Chief: Neđeljko Rudović**

**Editorial Board: Vera Šćepanović, Daliborka Uljarević, Dragan Stojović, Vladimir Vučinić**

**Technical Editor: Blažo Crvenica; Language Editor: Milena Milunović;**

**English Language Editor: Maja Mugoša; Translation: Vera Šćepanović**

**Njegoševa 36 / I**

**Tel / fax: + 381 81 / 665 – 112, 665 – 327**

**E-mail: [eicbilten@cg.yu](mailto:eicbilten@cg.yu)**

**EIC Bulletin can be downloaded at the [www.cgo.cg.yu](http://www.cgo.cg.yu)**