



## ANALYSES

Why do international observers claim that the rule of law in Montenegro suffers serious defects

## FOCUS OF THIS ISSUE

What is the difference between the Progress report 2007 for Montenegro and previous ones

## INTERVIEW

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## LEGISLATORS?!

Once again the citizens' representatives have demonstrated how seriously they take their jobs. When a journalist from "Vijesti" asked them three simple questions related to the Stabilisation and Association Agreement, six out of eight of the sample could not immediately respond to the following: how many years does SAA cover, who is competent for the resolution of conflicts arising from the content of SAA, and what is the difference between the Council and Committee for Stabilisation and Association. That, however, did not prevent them to unanimously adopt the document a few hours later.

The picture is the same as two years ago, when most MPs could not even tell the difference between the Council of Europe and Council of European Union. The journalist in question said he was having a great time watching the MPs come up with all sorts of justifications for their irresponsibility and ignorance.

Well, what to do, even the diligent Slovenians admit that in the beginning of the EU accession process they had little clue of the times to come. Only in 2002, two years before Slovenia entered EU, the EC found that the parliament of Slovenia has achieved satisfactory capacity levels. The funny picture from Montenegro has, however, its sadder side, suggesting that in this country everybody is waiting for someone else to do the job. There must be somebody out there who actually reads those SAAs and other agreements and Acquis, it is good enough if one plays a little smart and a little concerned about the future of our tiny but promising country. Or complain how there are no young people in the parliamentary committees, IT and language experts, and do nothing to seek them out, motivate them and employ them. Why would they, if the job is already being done by some non-governmental and international organisations. Perhaps the ignorance of those who make decisions in our names is not as tragic as the complete lack of any interest on their part to participate in the new realities. A month ago, two Slovenian experts held a seminar in the parliament, in an effort to transfer some of the Slovenian experiences of EU accession to Montenegrin MPs. A total of five MPs attended the lecture. The rest were perhaps worrying whether a 100 euros of the taxpayers' money would suffice to cover their phone bills. N.R.

MONTENEGRIN PARLIAMENT UNANIMOUSLY RATIFIED STABILISATION AND ASSOCIATION AGREEMENT

# All for EU



from one of the sessions of the Montenegrin Parliament

MPs of the Montenegrin parliament have unanimously ratified Stabilisation and Association Agreement (SAA) on the 14 November, a document formally institutionalising relations between Montenegro and European Union.

The SAA between Montenegro and EU was signed on 15 January. After it is ratified by the European Parliament, the conditions will be fulfilled for the Interim Agreement to come into force in January next year – the part of SAA containing provisions for the establishment of a free trade area in the next 5 years. The SAA, i.e. the formalised commitment on the part of Montenegro to begin harmonising its legislation with EU standards, will come into force once it is ratified by all 27 member states, which will probably take another two to three years.

With one and four votes against, the Parliament also adopted the visa facilitation agreement, as well as the agreement on readmission. One MP abstained from voting on the Agreement on trade and the related issues.

Members of the entire opposition declared that they support "the European text, not the Montenegrin government", and warned that the road

to the "elite club" will stagnate until the government changes.

Deputy Prime Minister in charge for European integrations professor Dr Gordana Đurović said that by signing the SAA Montenegro proved itself to be a constructive partner in the region, reminding that the document was only signed "before us" by Croatia, Macedonia and Albania.

Movement for Changes (MfC) warned that the Montenegrin Government is trying to hide the consequences of the SAA for Montenegrin economy, and that Montenegro has a serious problem not with administrative, but with production capacities.

They emphasised that joining EU essentially means integrating in a large market – therefore, Montenegro must have the goods to offer on this market, lest the costs of the accession exceed its benefits. The strongest opposition party still believes that Montenegro can use its future membership in the EU to create a rule of law and to avoid becoming an entirely private state.

The Serbian List (SL) explained that they support EU out of necessity, "to prevent turning into a private state".

N.R.

## WHAT IS THE DIFFERENCE BETWEEN THE PROGRESS REPORT 2007 FOR MONTENEGRO AND PREVIOUS ONES



by Vladan Žugić

According to the European Commission (EC), corruption and crime have been the greatest problems in Montenegro during the last year. In the previous three years, the top of the agenda was occupied by administrative capacities, informally referred to by the Brussels' diplomats as "Montenegrin Mladić", in a half-joking parallel with Serbia whose biggest obstacle on the road to EU is its lack of cooperation with the ICTY.

The shift is now obvious both in comparison with the previous reports and in the statements by European officials.

In this triangle of worries on the road to EU, one misses the mention of another fundamental value of European democracy – the rule of law – which is closely related to administrative capacities, especially in the judiciary, and necessary for a successful fight against crime and corruption.

In the progress report for 2005, when Montenegro was still in the State Union with Serbia, and for 2006, the biggest headache for Montenegro seemed to be the lack of administrative capacities for the EU association process.

The same item was emphasised by the officials from Brussels, for whom the fight against organised crime and corruption somehow remained in the shadow of the looming weakness of administrative capacities.

Moreover, the Feasibility Study

## Corruption and crime more troubling than administrative capacities

for Serbia and Montenegro from 2004 indirectly was raising the dilemma if Podgorica in case of independence will have capacity to implement European standards.

However, the latest EC report notes "certain progress" in the strengthening of administrative capacities, while explicitly drawing the Government's attention to the fact that in the fight against organised crime and corruption the results have been, mildly put, nil.

One should not, however, disregard the dissatisfaction regarding the functioning of public administration which, according to the report, remains "weak and inefficient", but, the EC has especially appreciated the work of the Deputy Prime Minister in charge for European integrations stating that her appointment at that position "has ensured continuity and high

quality in management of European affairs, including the SAA negotiations". The point is further reinforced in the EU Enlargement Strategy, which evaluates the abilities of the potential candidate countries, and finds that only Croatia and Serbia possess "significant capacities" to implement the Stabilisation and Association Agreement, while other countries, including Montenegro, continue to lag in this area.

There is no doubt that Brussels will further insist on full professionalisation and de-politicisation of public administration, which is a prominent issue in this year's report too – "additional efforts are needed to ensure impartiality of public administration and to strengthen its capacities".

Unlike the earlier findings that "organised crime still causes serious concern" (2006 progress report), the

## CONFLICT OF INTERESTS THE THIRD BONE OF CONTENTION

For the third year in a row, all EC progress reports, as well as other documents such as European Partnership, have demanded the changes in the current Law on the prevention of conflict of interests, but the Montenegrin ruling elite has turned a deaf ear. Truth be said, the opposition is as guilty, having completely failed to insist on this issue.

The story of this Law goes back to 2001, when it was proposed and adopted by the Government of **Filip Vujanović**, but has for unknown reasons remained at the bottom of the Parliament drawers for the next two or three years. After undergoing amendments that turned into a caricature of itself, according to the experts, the Law was adopted and came into force in the second half of 2004. There were two attempts since to change the Law, but due to joint efforts by the government and the opposition, the amendments were never adopted on the pretext of being unconstitutional.

About a year ago, a special body of the Council of Europe for the fight against corruption, GRECO, gave very clear suggestions about the prospective changes in the Law on the Conflict of Interests, but the Montenegrin "Brussels" government of **Željko Šturanović** has done nothing to date to implement these suggestions.

European Commission in its latest document goes a step further to ascertain that "fight against organised crime is still not a priority" and that "greater efforts are needed to eradicate it".

Knowing who should be in charge of this task, it is obvious where Brussels is pointing its accusing finger.

The same goes for corruption: last year, the authors of the report noted "certain progress in the Government's efforts to fight corruption". The same subtle formulation this year, however, states that the adoption of the first report of the National Commission for the Fight against Corruption "can be considered a step forward, but the legal implementation remains problematic".

Both reports emphasise construction, spatial planning, construction licences, concessions and public procurement as the biggest nests of corruption, urging the government into immediate action. For the first time, however, the latest progress report mentions the need for fighting corruption at the highest level.

"Corruption is widespread in Montenegro, and it constitutes a serious problem", maintains Brussels.

**Therese Sobieski**, head of the section in charge for Montenegro in the Directorate General Enlargement of the European Commission, con-



firms the changing order of priorities on the Montenegrin road to EU.

"Please, do something to fight organised crime...We emphasise once again the importance of establishing independent judiciary and fighting corruption and organised crime", Sobjeski said at the press conference following the presentation of the Progress Report to the representatives of Montenegrin institutions.

Representatives of both government and opposition did not make a direct comparison between this and the last years' progress report, but their reading of the EU communication differs dramatically.

Government's representatives maintain that EC still insists on administrative capacities, public administration and the rule of law as the key priorities on whose achievement depends success of the fight against organised crime and corruption. Opposition leaders, on the other hand, believe that Brussels indicated that there is reasonable basis from which to counter these problems, but that the trouble lies in the absence of political will in the ruling party.

Head of the Montenegrin mission to EU, **Slavica Milačić**, explains that "it is expected that European Union will prioritise the most difficult areas, such as the good governance, administrative capacities, reform and independence of the judiciary and the rule of law, because those are the key foundations of a modern state and the basis for effective fight against corruption and organised crime".

The leader of the Movement for Changes (MfC), **Nebojša Medojević**, disagrees. According to him, it is clear that DPS with its current political leadership cannot make the political decision to clear the institutions from corruption in order to increase administrative and technical capacities, improve the cadre potentials, upgrade its technical abilities and plunge into a comprehensive fight

## THUMBS UP FOR ECONOMY, SCOLDS FOR MONEY LAUNDERING

What stands out from the new Progress Report are both positive assessments of the Montenegrin economy and "serious concern" about money laundering, compared with the last year, when the economy was not judged that well, but neither was the problem of money laundering so severely attacked.

European Commission concludes that Montenegrin economy continues to expand rapidly and that macroeconomic stability has improved, but it warns about the risks coming from the foreign trade deficit and from the failures of the rule of law which create obstacle to the proper functioning of market economy.

The impression is that the previously negative EC judgements about the state of our judiciary remain unchanged, although it acknowledges some progress.

Progress Report finds that the "extent of political influence on judiciary remains high" and that its efficiency is still unsatisfactory.

EC REPORT ON MONTENEGRO: BRUSSELS ACKNOWLEDGES "CERTAIN PROGRESS" AND WARNS THAT THE KEY PROBLEMS REMAIN UNTACKLED

# No sustainable reform track

Progress was achieved in the domain of customs and taxes, competition, public procurement, free movement of capital and agriculture, whereas achievements in the areas of social policy, employment, energy, environment, as well as justice and home affairs remain limited. Legal harmonisation and adjustment of the national legislation with EU standards must be strengthened, state the European Commission Report Strategy on EU Enlargement and Progress Report on Montenegro for 2007.

EC Report, prepared for the Council of EU and European Parliament finds that Montenegro has achieved certain progress with regard to fulfilment of key priorities from the European Partnership and in strengthening administrative capacities.

"The results are, however, limited, and Montenegro has not managed to achieve a sustainable reform course to date. Judicial reform is only just beginning", states the Report.

It adds that "public administration is still weak and inefficient" and

## *Organised crime remains a problem, and greater efforts are needed to fight it*

that "further efforts are needed to ensure impartial public administration and increase its effectiveness".

According to the EC, "corruption is widespread and it constitutes a very serious problem". They add that



the adoption of the first report of the Montenegrin national commis-

## *Corruption is widespread and it constitutes a very serious problem*

sion of the fight against corruption "can be considered a step forward, but the legal implementation remains problematic".

Another "serious problem" is the money laundering, which points at the "limited abilities of the police, as well as the absence of reliable supervision and monitoring of finan-

cial transactions outside of the banking system, especially with regard to real estate and foreign investments".

The Report urges Montenegro to make progress in protecting intellec-

tual property rights, which especially suffers from the weak institutional capacities and poor observance of the laws, as well as from widespread practice of pirating.

"Some progress is notable in the area of police reorganisation. The need, however, remains for further strengthening of the professional capacities of the police, special trainings, and development of a secret service", claims the Report.

It also insists that the fight against organised crime fails to reach the top of the agenda in Montenegro.

"Organised crime remains a problem, and greater efforts are needed to fight it", states the report.

It adds, however, that the Parliament and the Government have adjusted to the requirements of an independent state and continue to improve their efficiency.

According to the report, the control function of the Parliament improved, but the parliamentary committee for European integrations needs further upgrading and it still lacks efficiency and focus.

"The overall capacities of the Parliament must be enhanced. The Government reorganised itself and continues to strengthen new institutions with focus on reforms of defense, foreign affairs, justice and home affairs. However, the efficiency of the Government ought to be

improved, especially with regard to implementation of the laws", emphasises the Report.

EC believes that coordination of the European affairs has improved and that as the preparations for the implementation of the Stabilisation and Association Agreement (SAA) continue, including the new officers in key government's bodies and other agencies must be well trained. EC emphasises that the administrative apparatus has to work both on coordinating the tasks as well as implementing all European Partnership priorities and SAA commitments.

"Some progress was made in the reforms of the judicial system. The Government has adopted the judicial reform strategy for 2007–2012, in an effort to solve current deficiencies. However, the level of political influence in the judiciary remains high...Pre-trial procedures regarding deportation and disappearance of more than 80 Bosnian civilians during 1992 are still in the process, which reinforces the doubts



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about the length of the case", the report emphasised.

It adds that the efficiency of the judiciary remains unsatisfactory and that the significant burden of unsolved cases in both civil and

criminal procedures has only been "slightly reduced", while money laundering remains a cause for serious concern.

Noting that corruption is widespread and that it constitutes a grave problem, EC maintains that "financing of political parties and election campaigns lacks transparency".

The report emphasises that the capacities for international cooperation in justice and home affairs must be improved, and that the living conditions of refugees and displaced persons, including Roma, give rise to deep concerns.

"Roma in particular continue to face very difficult living conditions as well as discrimination, especially in the areas of education, social and health protection and employment", states the report.

It adds that civil society remains vulnerable and notes the existence of tensions between government bodies and non-governmental organisations.

N.R.

## YOU MUST LEARN TO COPE WITH EU COMPETITION PRESSURES

Montenegrin economy continues to expand rapidly and macroeconomic stability has improved, but risks remain, especially with regard to the balance of payments deficit, which is largely compensated by foreign direct investments. In addition to the tendencies towards structural reform, weak institutions and gaps in the rule of law continue to be an obstacle to the adequate functioning of the market economy, EC believes.

Montenegro has made additional progress towards the establishment of a functional market economy, but the pace has slackened.

"The key reforms should enable Montenegro to cope with long term competition pressures and market forces in the EU...the pension system reform continues, there is a rapid growth in the activity of financial mediators, new mechanisms for the improvement of transparency of the privatisation process have been put into place...Still, there are risks to the economic stability, coming primarily from the large foreign trade deficit", emphasises the report.

The growth of industrial production is very modest; the licensing process for businesses is too long, and the credit boom in consumer loans and real estate price hike signal the advent of an even higher macroeconomic and financial imbalance. "Although unemployment has decreased, it remains very high. At the same time, the rise in wages will decrease state competitiveness", warns the Report.

## WHY DO INTERNATIONAL OBSERVERS CLAIM THAT THE RULE OF LAW IN MONTENEGRO SUFFERS SERIOUS DEFECTS

# A circus show

When the socially active scientists or analysts in Montenegro speak about a "facade democracy", and "faked reforms", they sometimes fail to explain themselves. However, the last discoveries of granting highly profitable enterprises to the companies whose owners are business partners of the president of the ruling Democratic Party of Socialists (DPS) sound like a good example to explain why some think that Montenegro is still far from a legal state. Although in different words, officials of the European Commission and other international organisations have been saying the same, warning about corruption and defects in the rule of law.

The rapid pace of the Montenegrin everyday life has become all the more naked, clear and interesting ever since the statehood question was taken off the agenda, a question that has burdened the transformation of the society from a "transition mode" into a modern one. The enormous inflows of fresh money from real estate sales, millionaires of Budva, yachts, jeeps, flashiness, festivals and mask balls are to any more careful observer of today's Montenegro only a circus facade for the greyness hiding inside the tents, among the ticket salesmen, tamers, trainers, jugglers and clowns. They are not anxious about the expectations of the audience, they only worry whether the boss will be satisfied with the profits.

Parallels with the current Montenegrin reality are irresistible, with an ever lauder question: do state institutions exist because of the state or only to fulfil the desires and orders of the power holders.

Only a few days after the latest EC Progress Report noted that "in spite of the tendencies towards structural reforms, weak institutions and defects in the rule of law continue to present obstacles to the adequate functioning of market economy", a prime example came to confirm how right they are.

**Tomislav Čelebić**, a business partner

of the head of DPS got a job worth 13 million euros without a public call, and the head of the Public Procurement Commission says that "broader interpretation of the law" allows for such cases, meaning that the Law on public procurements, the founding anti-corruption regulation, remains intact.

The Police Directorate has recently commissioned the services of the "Čelebić" company for the construction of a new building of the local police unit, without a prior public call. The value of the building to be constructed in the centre of the capital city is estimated at 13 million euros, and is being financed from the Government's capital investments programme. Although it is one of the biggest construction enterprises currently undertaken on the territory of Montenegro, the police and the Agency for National Security skipped the public call, allowing a "tested" construction company – "Čelebić" to begin the work, and justifying their decision by the Article 37 of the Law on police, envisaging that

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the procurement of specialised technical equipment – weapons and offices used by the police – are excluded from the regulations requiring public procurement procedures.

ANS, i.e. the Government, has recently acquired a building from Montenegrobank for about five million euros, and its adaptation was then also entrusted to Tomislav Čelebić's company. Čelebić, by the way, is the key partner to the president of DPS **Milo Đukanović** in the establishment of the University Donja Gorica whose four floors building has been constructed without a building permit.

Asked whether the said application of the Law on Police is legally founded, given that construction of an entire



building is not equivalent to "procurement of equipment, weapons and offices", president of the Commission for the control of public procurement procedures **Marko Lazarević** is categorical: "Yes, broadly speaking, the construction of a building is equivalent to procurement of offices".

The European Commission officials did not have to wait for this information to conclude that Montenegro suffers from partial implementation of the rule of law. Those who laughed at the idea that the

relevant EU institutions know more and see clearer the situation in their potential candidate countries than the very citizens of those countries should now think twice. And as soon as the public "institutions" went to defend themselves in saying that nothing has changed, the American ambassador **Roderick Moore** went on TV to explain why there are no major American investments in Montenegro.

Without roundabouts, he sent a loud and clear message to the Government: only once you have arrested and tried someone for corruption can we be sure that the country is indeed governed by the rule of law.

**N. RUDOVIĆ**

ANDREJ ENGELMAN, SECRETARY OF THE EUROPEAN AFFAIRS DEPARTMENT OF THE GOVERNMENT OF SLOVENIA

# EU is like a golf club – they will not change the rules because of you

Negotiations on the Stabilisation and Association Agreement (SAA) are much narrower than membership negotiations: SAA is first of all a trade agreement which does not have consequences for each and every area of Acquis, says **Andrej Engelman**, Secretary of the European Affairs Department of the Government of Slovenia.

In the interview for *EIC Bulletin*, Engelman emphasised this as the main difference between SAA negotiations, which were completed by Montenegro on 15 October and full-blown membership negotiations like the ones that Croatia is currently involved with.

"I will give you an example. In terms of veterinary regulations, SAA requires Montenegro to harmonise its rules with the part of the Acquis which treats Montenegro as a food exporter to EU. During the membership negotiations, you will also have to tackle the part in which Montenegro is an importer of food", Engelman said.

According to him, SAA still focuses on political criteria, as well as on harmonisation with EU standards and that implementing the SAA is a pass for membership negotiations.

● **Does that mean that SAA negotiations were nothing compared to membership negotiations?**

We call that negotiations, but in fact this is a question of how quickly can you adapt and absorb EU regulations... You will have to explain why you are not able to implement the Acquis at a given time and fight for extension of deadlines, that is all there is to it. You have to understand that the EU was formed more than 50



Andrej Engelman

years ago: there are 27 members states, and you cannot ask them to change whatever they tortuously managed to agree upon and what holds for half a billion people because of some tiny Montenegro. It will not happen, as it did not happen with Poland, Slovenia... Regarding SAA, those were not negotiations, just a debate on how quickly you can adapt.

● **Some Montenegrin officials claim that during the EU negotiations one must guard national interests and that Acquis ought to be adjusted to those interests. Is this at all possible?**

One must bear in mind that with every accession some marginal changes are introduced into the Acquis, and that you must include some of your domestic issues as well – e.g. put your airports in the section on transport, because if they are not part of the Acquis, it is as if they did not exist.

Speaking of national interests,

however, your administration must be clear about what those interests are, it must be aware of how fast you can progress towards EU: the most important thing is that you enter the EU ready. The goal is not to reach the EU membership and then discover you have unsolved problems. You can ask for some degree of protection during membership negotiations, but you must have very good reasons.

● **What did Slovenia ask for?**

We insisted on protecting some bird species, as well as wine which is produced with a technique that is forbidden by EU regulations, and we discussed solutions to this problem. Swedish chewing tobacco is forbidden in the EU, but in Sweden there are many people who use it, and thus they agreed to make an exception for Sweden. These things are possible. The real problem lies elsewhere.

● **What do you mean?**

It is not possible any more to create substantial changes in the Acquis for the sake of any new members. I believe the last case was the entry of Denmark and the issue of their holiday-houses. The new members will not have the possibility of opting out, like UK and Denmark did when they refused to introduce Euro. The newcomers will not have that option.

We always say that the EU is like a golf club. A golf club is an association of the rich, and mostly rich people sit there. Nobody changes the rules in a golf club. Everybody knows the rules and every member must adjust to that. Maybe not immediately: in the first year you can maybe only buy new shoes and sticks,

## THE QUESTION IS NOT WHEN WILL YOU ENTER, BUT WHEN WILL YOU BE READY

- **Would you trust Reuters' estimates that Croatia and Macedonia will join EU in 2012, and Montenegro, Serbia and BiH in 2015?**

I find these predictions senseless, because too many factors are involved to be certain about the future. We never thought about the date of EU accession, but about the moment when we will be ready to join. Our readiness is the first precondition is, EU readiness is only secondary. What is positive is that the Reform treaty will be signed in December and that once it is ratified there will be real opportunities for further enlargements.

I really do not expect Croatia and Macedonia, for instance, to enter together. Croatia is, after all, already negotiating the terms of accession, although it seems to be going a little slower than expected. Somewhere during negotiations it just becomes obvious that the state has changed and that it will barely feel the transformation once it becomes a member. Once you reach the end of negotiations, you are a different state, and that is what matters.

trousers in the second year and so forth. You cannot say that you would rather play with different balls than the ones in the court. That will not happen.

- **Is it true that Slovenia still lags behind with implementing some EU environmental standards, although it became a member in 2004?**

It is true. We completely harmonised all relevant legislation, but we agreed during negotiations on a delay in their implementation, as that would require new technology and our companies do not have sufficient funds to invest in it immediately. We made a list of some 50 companies with clear deadlines for implementing those regulations – if we had not done so, we would have had to close down those factories.

- **Which other economic branches required most investment?**

Slaughterhouses, for instance, had to make huge investments, they had the accession date as a deadline to start working according to the new rules or to close down. Some had problems adjusting, so we agreed on an additional year of transition period, and in April 2005 all those who did not fulfil EU standards had to close down.

We conducted detailed economic analyses for each of these areas, and in some it turned out that we cannot accept all regulations immediately for economic reasons, because consequences would have been dire. So we convinced the EC that we cannot meet all the demands immediately. If you come with substantial expertise supporting your arguments, the EC will most likely accept them in the end.

We did not want to ask for too many transitory periods, as that would show that we are not ready to live according to the EU standards. Our goal was to raise our living standards to the EU level as soon as possible – it meant that we wanted a normal life.

- **Do you have an estimate of the costs Slovenia incurred to harmonise the whole system with EU regulations?**

I do not know the number, I can tell you that the state spent some 2% of its GDP on it every year. The exact amount is nearly impossible to estimate, and the question is whether we do it for EU or for ourselves. Establishment of a Schengen border cost us a lot, and so did environment and the channelling of private sector

investments.

With the breakdown of SFR Yugoslavia, Slovenia lost 2/3 of its market, and in order to survive we had to turn to EU. And if we want to export to EU, our companies had to invest in line with EU standards, otherwise we would have lost this market. The major public budget investments went into the agriculture, and we formed a transfer agency which grew from nothing to a 250-employees strong firm.

- **What was the function of this agency?**

To monitor and distribute funds to farmers. Its aim is to follow and monitor the work of farmers, the state of agricultural sector, its size, and then to distribute the funds. 250 people in a state of 2 million and a tiny percentage of agricultural workers and entrepreneurs is a huge thing. Together with tax administration, this is the most technologically advanced agency in Slovenia.

With EU membership, we knew that the prices will fall because of competition with the cheaper EU products, but our farmers have a different task: they not only produce food, their job is to maintain the crops. We found this important, and so we financed the enterprise.

- **How do you see Montenegrin European perspective?**

Your size is both your advantage and disadvantage. It means you will too have problems with administration, because size is always a problem. EU demands larger administrations, bigger institutions, but your advantage is that you can easily agree on many things.

We too had problems with cadres, but it was easier to negotiate. You are at the very beginning of the integration path, years of work still lie ahead, and these are the processes which are a priority for Montenegro. EU requires a lot of time, for every negotiating position ought to be agreed among all members.

N. RUDOVIĆ

# On officials and analysts

by Brano Mandić

When I don't know how to cut into a column, I go for **St. Thomas Aquinas**. It looks intelligent, and it does not commit you. The Latin quotation in question, commonly ascribed to St. Thomas warns us to beware a man of one book. Originally, it meant the virtuous scholar dedicated to a detailed study of only one text. Like a certain friend of mine who for years now reads only **Lalić**, and is a very dangerous collocutor.

Unfortunately, the modern times have changed the meaning of the ancient quote. A man who only read one book today is still dangerous to talk to, but only because he is a selfish idiot and a braggart. The hero of our times, in other words, sat down one afternoon, memorised a few quotes and bravely walked into that miserable arena that we refer to as the discourse of public debate. And they come in packs – take the numerous opponents or propagators of NATO membership. Armed with a handful of rubbish ripped off the internet, they are ready to face the journalists. Journalists, in the meantime, still with a hangover from the referendum's anxieties, strongly feel that Montenegro would need, for instance, a military analyst. Not to have to call Belgrade and Zagreb for every trivia. And thus the system recruits its own experts, who in their turn recruit the attention of TV audiences. This is where the darkness begins, in these few meters separating an average Montenegrin from his TV screen.

*The MPs do not know the basic clauses of an agreement with European Union that they voted for, State Prosecutor does not understand the role of the media in the society, and the citizens do not understand the raison d'être of a state prosecutor*

The spectator wields his remote controller in a faint effort to use it as a Mauser against the demons, but they keep haunting him, stubbornly, perversely chanting the same phrase "European integrations". Just like my Latin quote: sounds intelligent and it does not commit you.



*The government simply does not need to hurry with economic and cultural self-purges in this nowhere-land. It is not by accident that the state has been so sluggish in starting the long promised renaissance in the north: a man who does not have a cinema in his town, who gives a third of his wage on his electricity bill is by definition easy to break with two creative political advertisements*

The government simply does not need to hurry with economic and cultural self-purges in this nowhere-land. It is not by accident that the state has been so sluggish in starting the long promised renaissance in the north: a man who does not have a cinema in his town, who gives a third of his wage on his electricity bill is by definition easy to break with two creative political advertisements. Given which, I would not be surprised if **Filip Vujanović** get re-elected.

Our voter has no say even in his own family, being unable to pay the bills, let alone earn three millions on the stock market, which is both cool and a measure of success. He is only active during the elections and likes to slander the politicians. He is sad. His father was probably in Goli Otok, thus he under-

stands that politics is a man's job and that one to have own opinions. That is the birth of the homo politicus in Montenegro, who now intends to take up serious business. He is probably just obsessed by suicide, sex, gambling or something else, which he keeps at bay through escapes into parliamentary sessions, live. Remember: **Milošević** had biggest support among the pensioners while they were hunting pigeons for goulash and in the villages he brought back into stone age.

Which makes me suspect that there was a hidden agenda behind those contracts which force a citizen to give a third of his wage for the electricity bill. It is even less incidental that for two and a half months we have not had a minister of culture. Without economic emancipation (awful), and without a remedy to the cultural complexes of Montenegro, there will be no "healthy oppositional thinking", or more precisely "awareness of a free, critical being". A being who read at least one old book, the book of



this old government.

Now to **Vesna Medenica**. I do not trust too much a person who spends so much money on a car. If the European standards are to come via one lady who is still paying back a 70.000 worth loan in the First Bank, spent on a jeep, than all to the alligators. That we might just be on that road was already admitted by

ens administrative capacities. (To quote professor **Milan Popović**, cadres are not a problem, the problem is the recruitment system)

Instead, to keep it on the light side, the MPs do not know the basic clauses of an agreement with European Union that they voted for, State Prosecutor does not understand the role of the media in

*What good is the writer of books on tourism in the state Commission for fighting the conflict of interests? Lack of administrative capacities, obviously, like the Ombudsman who climbed up the judiciary ladder back in the nineties, hand in hand with the minister of justice*

Ms. State Prosecutor last week. When she urged the journalists to cooperate with the prosecution, she revealed that Montenegro is in a state of war. We all know when a state goes into pacts with the media to safeguard its own interests: when the enemy is knocking at the door. The media then turn into the information sector of the authorities – they are not any more the geese saving Rome, they are just geese who should toil for free and be informers to a system with 30 unsolved murders.

Medenica should first set the wage. Let her then recruit journalists at will, but only if for every employed journalists she agrees to fire one of the members of her current team. This is how one strength-

the society, and the citizens do not understand the *raison d'être* of a state prosecutor. This is a perfect circle where a journalist is offered to become external collaborator with the authorities, while the European Commission is booing us with some alleged organised crime. As a cherry on the cake comes INTERPOL to arrest an occasional officer convicted of war crimes. Now we should ask who is responsible, if not the minister of defence. But before that, let us take a look at his biography.

It is a man with certain connections to the military: he was the head of the Archery Association of Yugoslavia. Well, some would say, a minister of health does not need to be a brain surgeon, nor

should a minister of defence necessarily be a soldier. It is enough if he is a lucid manager. Did the prior position of the minister of spatial planning recommend Mr **Vučinić** for a new function, given that all international organisations are fuming about building and construction as the prime site of corruption?

Finally, "Budvanisation" is a practical and terminological contribution of the Montenegrin authorities during the mandate of minister **Vučinić**. The same gentleman was, among other, a member of the presidency and president of the executive board of DPS. A dream cadre for a government of experts.

That DPS works like heroin on its members can be derived from the crazy roars of the Commission for Prevention of the Conflict of Interests. The say: MP **Milo Đukanović** acted in accordance to the law, although not within the legal deadlines". That is an excellent example of legal mysticism, a new genre based on a banality: inability to accuse the head of the party. And if the head of your party is an able youth and a millionaire whom the party elects unanimously, you are at best a tiger without teeth, to quote the poetic outburst of Mr **Leković**. A man with a decade-long experience in tourism. What good is the writer of books on tourism in the state commission for fighting the conflict of interests? Lack of administrative capacities, obviously, like the Ombudsman who climbed up the judiciary ladder back in the nineties, hand in hand with the minister of justice. And what did the judges do in order to climb that ladder back in the nineties? The same they are doing today – they were silent.

The government displays unfathomable talent to appoint professional clerks to the positions of key interest to Brussels – bureaucrats by vocation, people who never caused a stir. Those are the wardens of Montenegro. They do the work for organised crime, act authority and pervert every attempt at the rule of law. They wear grey suits and grey ties to fit in comfortably in their favourite state of invisibility.

Thomas Aquinas would probably say – cowards.

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

GROWING INDICATIONS THAT MONTENEGRO WILL HAVE TO PROCEED THROUGH THE NEXT PHASES OF EU ACCESSION TOGETHER WITH SERBIA AND ALBANIA

# A package for slowing reforms

This summer's announcement by the deputy PM in the Government of Serbia, **Božidar Đelić**, has been confirmed last week by **Goran Svilanović**, official of the Stability Pact.

Đelić's suggestion that the European realpolitik will lead Brussels to consider the entire region of the West Balkans as a single unit and that all of them, except for Croatia, will be steered into the same pace in the upcoming phases of EU accession found little echo in the Government of Montenegro. Now Svilanović maintains the same, explaining that the advocates of the regatta system in the EU are in a minority and that Montenegro will probably have to wait for Serbia and Albania to submit the application for the candidate status for EU membership. Montenegrin officials remain silent on the matter, although Svilanović's speech was attended by the deputy PM for European Integrations in the Government of Montenegro, Prof Dr **Gordana Đurović**. The only protesting voice came from the secretary general of the European Movement in



Goran Svilanović



Momčilo Radulović

*The regatta system has always been the official stance of EU, but most enlargements so far happened in larger waves, along the lines of the so-called "caravan" system*

Montenegro, **Momčilo Radulović**, who expressed his profound disagreement with such intentions in certain circles.

"By the end of 2008 we can expect candidatures from Montenegro, Serbia and Albania. At the moment, Brussels believes that Montenegro may be ready and waiting for Serbia, whose candidacy is expected by the end of 2008, whereas Albania will be taken on the bandwagon even if it is not ready by the time. This is unofficial information. A positive reply can be expected in the course of 2009, most probably during the Czech presidency. Our common denominator is to try to fulfil all the undertaken commitments in order to become candidates for EU membership together in 2009", Svilanović said at the panel discussion "Montenegro on the road to EU – progress and challenges", organised by the Centre for Civic Education (CCE) and Balkan Investigative Reporting Network (BIRN).

Right before his speech, Đurović repeated that Montenegro will submit its candidacy for EU membership in the first half of 2008, after signing the Stabilisation and Association Agreement – its next step towards the membership in the European Union.

The regatta system has always been the

official stance of EU, but most enlargements so far happened in larger waves, along the lines of the so-called "caravan" system. This implies that the West Balkan countries would be progressing from one phase to another

together, whereas the "regatta" system stands for individual accession and merit-based evaluation of each country. For the time being it is obvious that Croatia will be able to avoid being a part of this "caravan". Croatia has already protested against such a possibility in its Resolution on EU accession. The government of Montenegro is of the same opinion, at least according to the officials' statements, although this stance has not been formalised in any document by the

*By agreeing to wait for Serbia and Albania on its road to EU Montenegro would halt the process of reforms and democratisation, which only plays into the hands of its monopolistic structures, claims EMiM*

government or parliament.

Montenegro signed its SAA on 15 October, and Serbia initialled its own a few weeks later. Albania has already signed the SAA, while the other two Balkan countries are well ahead – Croatia is a candidate since 2004, Macedonia since 2005. And while Croatians have opened their membership negotiations in October 2005, Macedonians are still waiting for the EU to set the date for

the beginning of negotiations, at whose end stands the prized membership in EU.

Momčilo Radulović believes that by agreeing to wait for Serbia and Albania on its road to EU Montenegro would be likely to halt the process of reforms and democratisation, which is likely to be welcomed by its monopolistic structures.

"At the moment, Montenegro is in the situation to have to wait for Serbia and depend on the course of political developments in Serbia, as well as on the situation in Albania, which means that the pace of our progress towards EU would be conditioned by these two countries. It would be very helpful if the Montenegrin officials insist clear and loud on the continuation of the regatta principle and demand individual treatment of the states based on merit. Anything else would be unjust", Radulović warned.

According to him, if we allow our-

selves to wait for the others, the reform processes will stagnate, which would only reinforce the monopoly structures in politics and economics.

"If the government agrees to the caravan principle, we will understand it as acquiescence to slowing down the reforms", Radulović said.

N.R.

**JOŽICA VELIŠČEK, CDP INTERNATIONAL CONSULTANT AND FORMER SECRETARY GENERAL OF THE PARLIAMENT OF SLOVENIA**

# You are all in the same boat

The parliament is the place where all the questions relevant to the country and its accession to EU ought to be discussed, the questions of whether this process will be good for the country and what may be the difficulties, says **Jožica Velišček**, CDP (Programme for Capacity Development) international consultant and former secretary general of the Parliament of Slovenia.

She said that the role of the parliament should be to monitor harmonization of the national laws with European regulations (Acquis communautaire) and that in order to fulfil this role the parliament must urgently upgrade the existing capacities.

"For a good harmonisation process the parliament must create an efficient legislative procedure to enable it to implement harmonisation with and adjustment to EU standards quickly but effectively. The most important element in this process will be the parliamentary expert groups whose task is to prepare proposals for parliamentary debates", Velišček said.

She emphasised the importance of involving the parliament as soon as possible in the preparing the negotiating positions for negotiations between the Government and the EU.

"The way you structure this interaction now will determine the future developments. If the parliament does not assume this role now, it will be difficult to change the situation later... If the

***Never forget that in the final count accession to EU depends on ratification by the national parliaments of EU member states. Parliamentary diplomacy can be of great help for the future ratification of the official treaties***

national interest of Montenegro lies in becoming a full EU member as soon as possible, then you must foster cooperation among all institutions, especially between the government and the parliament.



Jožica Velišček

In the context of European integrations, both the government and the opposition share the same goals, and the road must be travelled by the government and the parliament together. You are all in the same boat", Velišček said.

***For a good harmonisation process the parliament must create an efficient legislative procedure to enable it to implement harmonisation with and adjustment to EU standards quickly but effectively***

She suggests that the success of the enterprise lies in a clear division of labour between the Government and the Parliament with regard to European integrations, emphasising the importance of the so-called "parliamentary diplomacy".

"Delegations visiting other parliaments have a chance to study the way in which the new EU members and can-

didates have weathered this road and to bring back their experiences to their home countries. It is even more important not to forget that in the end the accession treaty to EU depends on ratification by the national parliaments of

EU member states. Parliamentary diplomacy can help to influence the attitudes of these parliaments. This is very important, and everyone should be aware of it", Velišček said.

Regarding expertise potential in the Government, she emphasised that the Government ought to be responsible for the process of harmonising national legislation with the EU rules, while the parliament monitors the process.

"The parliament can never have as many agencies as the government to be able to thoroughly examine every EU directive and ascertain whether it has been correctly transposed. This responsibility lies with the Ministry that must include the description of the incorporated EU directives with every law it proposes", Velišček warns.

She reminds that the Parliament of Slovenia gave a great contribution to EU integration process by treating the EU

regulations as a priority in the parliamentary debates.

"The special feature of the Slovenian parliament is that it had to approve Government's negotiating positions. They were continuously informed about every step of the government and had to agree any Government's proposal regarding European integrations. Parliament's role in information and communication was also of great importance, as it opened numerous questions in different ways in order to present EU to the citizens and acquaint them with its functioning, benefits and shortcomings. It helped convey the fact that the EU is a club with its own rules, and that if we wish to join them, we must accept their laws, and not the other way around", Velišček said.

N.R.

## ENLARGEMENT POLICY AND ITS INFLUENCE ON THE REFORM PROCESSES IN THE WEST BALKAN COUNTRIES



by Maja Vujašković

All West Balkan countries have tied their "destinies" to the European Union membership perspective. Montenegro has in its hand the first important document in a complex series of contractual relations with European Union. These days Serbia too has initialled the SAA, which leaves Bosnia as the only West Balkan country still lagging behind this first step. The road from the SAA to membership is, however, long, and marked by an unequal pace of reforms and adjustments, as well as moods that a potential candidate country needs to overcome in order to integrate into the EU.

It is no news that Europeans today have little enthusiasm for further enlargements. Those acquainted with the situation in Europe realise that the European Commission is ever lonelier in its fervent advocacy of enlargements, while the national politicians and even European MPs are ever more wary of this topic, following the public opinion of their national constituencies, ever less eager for another round of enlargement. It is no wonder, given that some of the new members immediately caused trouble in the European-level decision-making process. The "case" of Bulgaria and Romania and the consequences of their (lack of) readiness to assume

# Contagious fatigue

duties that come with EU membership is another hard lesson for EU.

Most researches, however, show that enlargement has positive effects on cultural diversity, peace and stability on the continent, democracy, and strengthens the role of the EU on the international stage. Europeans are, however, more concerned about economic parameters, and the fact that many production sites are relocating to the new member states where labour costs are lower, while there is a threat of floods of workers from the new member states seeking work in the old members. It all decreases support for

further enlargements. West Balkan countries certainly have their promised membership perspective, however, if that perspective continues to hang on a very long rod, the enlargement fatigue can spread to the candidate and potential candidate countries, in the guise of a reform fatigue, allowing conservative political actors to conquer the stage.

The same goes for the phases of EU accession which determine the levels of financial assistance for the candidate and potential candidate countries. Apart from political, membership poses various economic

*West Balkan countries certainly have their promised membership perspective, however, if that perspective continues to hang on a very long rod, the enlargement fatigue can spread to the candidate and potential candidate countries, in the guise of a reform fatigue, allowing conservative political actors to conquer the stage*

## PROLIFERATING MEMBERSHIP CRITERIA

A change in the EU enlargement policy was first felt in the enlargement strategy of 2006, when the membership requirements of successful conditionality policy extended into the realm of consolidation and absorption capacities. EU's ambivalence towards the enlargement is neither in its own, nor in the interest of Balkan states: the EU would lose the benefits of enlargement, and the West Balkan countries their reform dynamism. Many believe that the lack of support for further enlargements is a result of EU's failure to clearly communicate the benefits of enlargement to its citizens, but also a result of manipulating the consequences of enlargement for political purposes, whereby national politicians use it to justify their own economic failures.

The Thessaloniki promise remains on the table. The conditions for its fulfilment have changed significantly since 2003, on both sides – but the commitment to the goal remains steady. In those moments when the EU seems to be faltering on its own words, one need only take a look at the map – physically, the Balkan is at the heart of EU. All that remains is to work towards the promised membership perspective and make our status formal.



requirements, and most West Balkan countries are lagging far behind the European average and are in need of substantial financial support. The most effective strategy could then be to try end minimise the distance between the new members and the candidate and potential candidate states.

A good example is a comparison between Bulgaria and Serbia, with approximately the same population size. In 2006, Bulgaria received half a billion euros from various assistance programmes (PHARE, ISPA, SAPARD), while Serbia, as a potential candidate, only got 160 millions. By 2009, the gap is likely to be ever wider, as Bulgaria will be receiving 1.6 billion as a member state, while Serbia will at best stay at the current level of financial assistance. IPA will soon replace the existing PHARE, ISPA, SAPARD and CARDS programmes but is likely to make the things worse, increasing the gap between potential candidate countries which have access to only two components of the programme, and candidate countries, who are entitled to all five components.

The justification given by EU for such differences is that the potential candidate countries lack adequate administrative capacities to manage the funds from other three components. The argument is, however, hardly acceptable if we compare the

administrative capacities of the two countries mentioned above.

A clear European perspective for the West Balkan countries is there, but the dynamic of accession also matters – especially in the long, most demand–

***Today, membership in the EU is perceived as a guarantee of a better life and the rule of law, but in order to intensify reforms, the membership must be certain and every progress rewarded***

ing period between signing the SAA and accession, which is as a rule accompanied by declining levels of public support for European integrations. Should the citizens of the candidate and potential candidate countries realise that their countries' membership does not depend solely upon the fulfilment of all requirements, but is conditional upon processes they cannot influence, such as the enlargement fatigue, potential national referendums on further enlargements, EU integration capacities, undefined dates for membership negotiations, there is a danger that they may accumulate feelings of impotence and uncertainty, weakening the necessary public opinion pressure on the national governments and slackening the pace of reforms.

This is rather dangerous, if we know that the key engine of reforms in these countries is their European perspective.

In the Balkans in particular, histo–

ry of relations with European Union in the 90s of the last century is not always viewed positively. There are numerous occasions where the EU failed to act quickly and efficiently in the region or it imposed awkward solutions which were not always well received. Today, membership in the EU is perceived as a guarantee of a better life and the rule of law, but in order to intensify reforms, the membership must be certain and every progress rewarded. The mention of "privileged partnership" as an alternative to full membership caused an outrage in the Turkish public opinion, especially given the objectively very long history of contractual relations between Turkey and EU. The problem is not so much in the postponement of membership as in the feeling of being let down and becoming a victim of some other processes taking place in the EU and capable of endangering Turkish European perspective. Some

EU circles believe that "junior membership" would be a solution superior to "privileged partnership", as a transitional state which would allow politicians and citizens in the candidate countries to feel accepted by EU, and to work on fulfilling the criteria without having to worry whether the membership will finally be granted to them or not. On the other hand, opinion polls show that EU's insistence on reforms and pressure on the national governments are not negatively perceived – just the opposite, the rule of law and attainment of standards gain credibility if they are based solely on the progress achieved by each country on its European road.

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SOME OF THE COUNCIL OF EUROPE RECOMMENDATIONS RELEVANT FOR THE EUROPEAN UNION ACCESSION PROCESS



by Emil Kriještorac

One of the processes that was simultaneously advised to all East European countries on their respective paths to EU, and to Montenegro among them, was certainly lustration. Although EU itself never dealt specifically with the issue of lustration, it has clearly embraced the recommendations and resolutions of the Council of Europe as a part of its own tradition and a necessary step on the road to democratisation of any society.

After a couple of European states conducted the lustration process, the Liberal Party of Montenegro submitted a proposal of such a law that has not made its way yet onto the agenda of the Parliament.

Parliamentary assembly of the Council of Europe adopted in 1996 Resolution no.1096 recommending lustration and warning that absence of such a process might lead to a repeated violence and human rights' violations. In the same spirit is the Resolution no.1481, adopted in 2006 as a condemnation of crimes committed by totalitarian communist regimes. Related are also Recommendation (2000) 13 on the European policy of access to archives and Recommendation to the Committee of Ministers of Member

## Lustration on the road to EU?

states, adopted parallel to the Resolution 1481, recommending: "establishment of a committee of independent experts for the investigation of communist crimes; adoption of an official declaration on the international condemnation of those crimes and compassion for the victims, initiation of a campaign for raising awareness on the committed crimes; revision of the national legislation in order to harmonise it with the relevant recommendation on the European policy on the accession to archives, initiation of a campaign for rising awareness of the crimes committed in the name of the communist ideology, including the revision of textbooks..."

What exactly is lustration? The term comes from Latin, and it entered political language in the early nineties under the heading of "removing from political life opponents of democracy and those who violated human rights during the previous regime". Today the notion denotes purging the pub-

report in March 1991, from the investigative commission formed with a task to establish whether the MPs themselves were collaborators in the state security service of the previous regime. The recent past of lustration is, however, rich, and it has been used after the World War II under different names: in France (epuration), Italy (de-fascistisation), and Germany (de-nazification).

Lustration is usually undertaken based on a specific law. Some countries, however, dealt with the issue of lustration by laws mandating opening of the dossiers of the former secret police, or through administrative acts (i.e. redefining conditions for citizenship) and other similar measures.

The first such law after the fall of the Berlin Wall was adopted by the Czech Parliament in 1991, forbidding all persons "under suspicion" of having worked for the secret police and the dictatorial regime from performing any public functions. In Slovakia, any person wishing to run for a public

***CoE recommends establishment of a committee of independent experts for the investigation of communist crimes; adoption of an official declaration on the international condemnation of those crimes and compassion for the victims, initiation of a campaign for raising awareness on the committed crimes...***

lic institutions and circles of authority from the members of the elite, beneficiaries and collaborators of the former totalitarian regimes. Lustration is, in other words, an important part of a broader process of facing the heritage of the past and marking discontinuity with the politics of a non-democratic regime.

Credit for reviving the use of the term lustration goes to the Czech parliament, which commissioned a

office could to write a statement declaring his or her ties with the former regime. The statements were later verified and if they happened not to be true, the person in question would end up in the court. The same legal solution was designed in Poland. However, in the Czech Republic, as well as Slovakia and later Poland, there were attempts to politicise and abuse the lustration process. There was even a case of an alleged list of

## MISTAKES IN EASTERN EUROPE

Dozens of citizens have been targets of the lustration process in Eastern Europe, some of them unjustly. In Lithuania, for instance, the Parliament impeached president **Rolandas Paksas** because of the alleged connections with KGB, derived from the fact that he used to be a pilot in aero-meetings in the Soviet times. Lithuanian prime minister **Kazimira Prunskiene** was condemned as a former collaborator of KGB in 1992. After she appealed against the verdict and won the case she returned to politics, and is now minister of agriculture. We already mentioned the case of Lech Walesa, who was accused by the brothers **Kaczynsky** and finally won the case after several processes investigating his "purity". Most Solidarity officials are still fighting to prove their innocence. Bulgarian president **Georgi Parvanov** admitted that he wrote a review for a book written by a communist agent, but it was established that Parvanov was never an agent himself.

The former Polish prime minister **Josef Olesky** had to resign in 1995, accused of being an informer for the Russian intelligence service, and having lost the case in the court. A popular Romanian politician **Mona Monica** admitted that she spied on foreign students during the seventies while she was working as a university professor, and the confession cost her parliamentary office. Among the targets of lustration were also religious officials, the cases of Romanian patriarch Teoktist and Polish archbishop **Wielgus** attracting most media attention.

"collaborators" that appeared in public carrying the names of **Vaclav Havel** and **Lech Walesa**, although later on it turned out that the list was forged for the purposes of manipulation and political discreditation.

The process of lustration in Albania was extremely politicised. The

potential employer would decide whether to accept the application or not. The same process in Bulgaria and Hungary was incomparably milder.

In Montenegro and other former Yugoslav countries, the lustration as a process against those involved in human rights' violations ought to

*Credit for reviving the use of the term lustration goes to the Czech parliament, which commissioned a report in March 1991, from the investigative commission formed with a task to establish whether the MPs themselves were collaborators in the state security service of the previous regime*

law was adopted in the midst of an electoral campaign, and it was directly relevant for almost all candidates of the Socialist Party because of their communist past, but not for the members of the ruling party in the previous regime. In the former East Germany, the lustration process involved giving out a document to all persons connected to the former secret agencies and other party bodies that contained all incriminating details from their past. It was their duty then to present this document when applying for a job, whereupon

encompass both the period of communism and the war that followed, including the media who bear significant responsibility for inflaming hatred.

However, there was no such process to speak of. During the reign of HDZ and **Franjo Tudman** some sort of lustration was conducted in Croatia, but it mainly took the form of purging political opponents, among whom former party colleagues and those of "wrong" nationality. Twice the proposal for the law came to parliamentary debate, but it failed to

mobilise the necessary majority in Sabor both in 1998 and 1999. In BiH the process also took the form of a political witch hunt. As regards the war period, it is unimaginable that those parties, and often the same people who came into power in 1991 and led the country through the chaos would now engage in lustrating.

In 2003 Serbia adopted a Law on responsibility for the violations of human rights, which mandates enquiry into the human rights record in the period 1976–2003 of all candidates for representative offices in the next ten years. The law concerns state officials, but also the members of the Security and intelligence agency and its predecessors, whose files will be investigated by a special commission.

According to this law, if it turns out that a person running for a public office has a record of human rights' violations, the Commission ought to inform him or her about it, and the person in question has a right to appeal. If the candidate still insists on running for the office, the relevant data will be made public.

The most famous opponent of lustration, **Tina Rosenberg**, who has studied this process at length, explains: "Because lustration violates human rights and punishes people, sometimes only because their names have appeared on a certain list of dubious validity, I believe it is not a useful road to building democracy..." She insists on the courts and judicial proceedings as the best possible way for dealing with the past: "If the courts are competent in dealing with such cases, they can be of great help to the victims of the past, and contribute to the creation of a democratic society".

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



by Raško Konjević

European Union today is a topic which every political structure is ready to support. From those who in the nineties believed that "European values" are a mantra of the Western elites conspiring against the right to keep the former state of the Yugoslav nations within its existing borders by force, to those who, unfortunately, still do not understand the failure of the project and keep on lamenting that it was not accomplished, regardless of the consequences. Very few of them have sought European values in the nineties as the only goal for the transformation of the existing system.

After more than a decade, new forces have matured that invariably wish to construct European values to enable us to become a part of the united Europe. To the great fortune of Montenegro, such forces seem to have appeared everywhere, in the government and in the opposition, in some of the media, non-governmental organisations...In the last few years, public opinion polls have continuously confirmed the desire of the Montenegrin citizens to be a part of European integrations.

Unfortunately, most of the citizens still lack information on what the European Union really means. Many see it as a promised land, a solution to grave social problems. It is an imperative to step up education and informa-

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

tion in this process. The efforts of the non-governmental sector can justifiably be singled out as an example of well implemented projects. Reading *EIC Bulletin*, I have frequently come across information that helped me broaden the knowledge of the European integration process and the experiences of others.

Is there a realistic alternative to EU accession that would help us to reach our goals in a faster, easier way – the rule of law, market economy, respect of human rights, further democratisation...the answer is NO. If we want to invest into Montenegrin society with all the values that are recognised today as

Montenegro remains the building of new institutions to replace the old habits that are so entrenched in our tradition. Only strong institutions can contribute to faster attainment of the envisaged European goals. Fostering of responsibility, not only among the political elites but also in other segments of the society, in the media and among non-governmental organisations will establish the foundations for the future European Montenegrin home. We must be quicker in the game of European integrations – those who are unable to follow the rhythm of such changes ought to cede their place to those who are faster and younger. It is necessary to

*If we want to invest into Montenegrin society with all the values that are recognised today as a trademark of the developed Europe our only way is to continue and intensify fulfilment of the European tasks*

a trademark of the developed Europe our only way is to continue and intensify fulfilment of the European tasks.

The preconditions have largely been met. By restoring our independence, we have reacquired the necessary levers and are capable of deciding our own priorities. It was sickening to listen to the arguments of those who then contested, and unfortunately still do, the reasons for Montenegrin independence. As it usually happens, the time has quickly proven them wrong. Montenegro was quickly accepted in all international organisations, it was complimented with political maturity it demonstrated during the referendum. Some of the European sceptics also admitted the defeat. One cannot, however, rest for too long on the laurels of the past glory. We must ride the tide of positive results and press for the fulfilment of all gaps that remain in our society.

The key European challenge to

leave behind the phase of blanket criticism and to work on constructive critique and concrete solutions. Criticism is always welcome – it is an incentive for further work, but empty criticism whose only aim is to score small political or other scores returns as a boomerang to the whole of the society. There are no ideal conditions, people and situations – there are only real opportunities which we must use.

We must work together on supplementing the economic and political transition that is nearly accomplished with a transition in the mentality of the Montenegrin society. We cannot think of the state any more as of someone who is capable of solving all of our problems. We must take up our destiny in our own hand, work on ourselves, learn new skills and tasks in different areas. The state is there only to create equal conditions for everyone, and this is already a great challenge. Equality before the institutions, the feeling that justice is quick and



always attainable are the ideals that must be conquered. We cannot embrace new values with old habits.

Montenegro is undeniably progressing along its European road. It makes some mistakes, but they are also a part of dedicated work. There are issues ahead that demand our attention – corruption, crime, the existence of some "rotten planks" in our justice system are the challenges which are also present in other countries, but the readiness to solve them must be stronger. These are the priority areas for the adoption of European standards, otherwise they will become a terrible burden weighing down the future generations. An independent judiciary is not a measure of this or that government or opposition – it is a goal of every democratic society and the fight for these values can never cease.

Why do we want Montenegro in the European Union? Because we believe in a brighter future for ourselves, for our families, friends... Because we are convinced that the Montenegrin society can and deserves to become a part of the united Europe. Because we want every citizen of Montenegro, a citizen of Herceg Novi, Pljevlja, Bijelo Polje or Plav, to proudly feel him or herself a citizen of Europe. This is not an easy way, but is the only right one. Many changes lie ahead. We witness the appearance of new generations, who are not burdened with the relics of the past, who are ready to invest knowledge and effort to help

Montenegro build a society with the rule of law and democratic and European values. If we just think back to the nineties – we will see war-mongering, inflamed crowds and nationalist aspirations. The idea of European unity seemed so remote back then. Because of the mistakes from the last decade of the last century, we are still paying with delay on the path to accession.

By strengthening the administra-

***Corruption, crime, the existence of some "rotten planks" in our justice system are the challenges which are also present in other countries, but the readiness to solve them must be stronger. These are the priority areas for the adoption of European standards, otherwise they will become a terrible burden weighing down the future generations***

tive capacities, professionalisation and engagement of the young, educated people, we will strengthen our institutions and be readier to face the future challenges ahead. All institutional structures must further open for the young able people who think of Montenegro as of their home and see their future in it.

We cannot only understand EU accession as an opportunity to travel to some of the European metropolises – it is a challenge to use the membership as an opportunity to have Montenegrin economists, lawyers of political scientists equal with their European colleagues on the European markets and the best representatives of their countries in European institutions and big

firms. That is how Montenegro will best prove its capacities.

With Europe, many more new investors will come to Montenegro, many job opportunities and chances for faster growth. To be citizens of Europe should be our guiding idea in the next five years – when we have all the right to expect the social elites to show the results of the citizen's trust and lead us to the promised values and standards, signs that we have become a part of the family of European states and nations.

I remember an even from the summer 2006. I walked into a bookstore in Washington, looking for a present for the family that was hosting me during the "visitors" programme. The heat that settled on Washington those days made me even more nervous for having forgotten the book on Montenegro I prepared for them. I hurry through the titles of European cities and states. Prague, Czech Republic, Dubrovnik, Croatia, Milan, Rome, Italy...at the very bottom of the shelf I spotted it – Montenegro. I buy the edition, browsing through the wonderful pictures of the Bocca di Cattaro, proud to be able to show to my hosts

in words and in pictures the new member of the United Nations.

The pride I felt that evening I will remember forever. Just like the day when we restored our independence, and that other day when we can proudly say that our Montenegro, brimming with its contradictions, has finally achieved its other great goal – membership in the European Union.

*The author is the participant of the I generation of the European Integration School, member of the Presidency of Social democratic Party of Montenegro and teaching assistant on subject Basics of Management at the Business School of the University of Mediterranean in Podgorica*

EUROPEAN COMMISSION PREPARED POLITICAL PROGRAMME FOR 2008 AIMING TO STRENGTHEN EU'S POSITION ON THE WORLD SCALE

# EU to be the first in the global race

The European Commission has released its political programme for the coming year, with a core focus on issues such as growth and jobs, climate change, energy and migration – confirming its desire to move on from matters of institutional reform.

The programme sets out the EU executive's key strategic priorities for 2008 and, according to Commission President **Jose Manuel Barroso**, will focus on "equipping Europe for a globalised world", notably by investing in people, growth and jobs, energy security, fighting climate change and stepping up cooperation on fighting crime and terrorism.

"The Commission will be delivering results for citizens to confirm that Europe matters more than ever in the age of globalisation," he said.

The programme confirms the EU's desire, expressed by several leaders during last week's informal meeting of heads of state and government in Lisbon, to concentrate on other issues than institutional reform, a subject which has plagued the EU for the past few years.

Among others, UK Prime Minister **Gordon Brown** had called on Europe to "move away from the institutional, inward-looking debate of the past, to deal with the full agenda of globalisation".

EU leaders are expected to adopt a declaration, at their next summit on 13 December, underlining this shift in priorities. They thus have less than two months to agree on a strategy for responding to the challenges posed by globalisation, including increased competitive pressure from China and global warming.

The basis for the declaration will be a Commission paper, presented in Lisbon on 16 October, which calls on EU leaders to reject protectionism and



focus instead on "shaping globalisation" by breaking down trade barriers in third countries and demanding reciprocity.

*The goal is to equip Europe for a globalised world, by investing in people, growth and jobs, energy security, fighting climate change and stepping up cooperation on fighting crime*

"Protectionism cannot make Europe wealthier. Protectionism would impoverish, not protect our citizens. But we are not naïve. We are no soft touch. We can and will require a level playing field. We want others to open more," stressed Barroso, when he presented the paper, which, among others, says that foreign companies wishing to do business in Europe should "not be allowed to by-pass the rules applied to European companies in the single market".

The discussion is likely to raise tensions between France and the UK, due to their differing views over the extent to which the bloc should open up to the rest of the world.

While French President **Nicolas Sarkozy**, the EU's strongest advocate

for a more protectionist Europe, wants the accent to be on the reciprocity principle – saying that the bloc's strict environmental and social requirements

should also be placed on non-European businesses – the UK's Gordon Brown has called on the Union to focus on promoting "free trade and openness, with the EU leading by example in breaking down barriers to create a free and fair multilateral trading system".

Commenting on the new political programme, **Margot Wallstrom**, Vice-President for institutional relations and communication strategy, added, "The programme combines initiatives that enhance European competitiveness with those that address the interests of consumers and citizens, and reflects the concerns of all to achieve a sustainable development. It also includes communication priorities, another step in strengthening the Commission's efforts

## WORLD'S BIGGEST EXPORTER, AND IMPORTER

The European Commission laid particular stress on the external dimension of economic policy. It makes clear that the EU, a single market of 500 million people, the world's largest exporter of goods and services and its largest importer of goods, is a major beneficiary of an open world economic system. This economic power gives Europe a lever as a force for good in tackling global issues and in making sure international trade governance and global regulatory standards reflect Europe's interests.

Third country companies will be welcomed to do business and to create jobs in the EU, but will not be allowed to by-pass the rules applied to European companies in the single market. It is important for the EU to maintain its openness, to use its influence in international negotiations to seek openness from others and to defend itself against unfair trade.

Among the most important components of the programme is a comprehensive review of the functioning of European Monetary Union nearly 10 years after the launch of the euro. The review will present ideas on how policies, coordination and governance can help the euro area to work to best effect. The paper points out that the euro has already proved an anchor of stability that has protected the EU economy as a whole, not only the euro area. Reforms carried out during the last years have made Europe's economies more resilient, have already helped them remain healthy in the face of high energy prices and will also help them weather the recent financial market storm.

to better communicate Europe.

The Work Programme for 2008 constitutes a comprehensive approach to realise the ambition of a Europe addressing citizens' expectations for the future. It addresses many of the most pressing issues of today – growth and jobs, climate change, energy, migration, enlargement. The Work Programme was developed following detailed discussions with the other institutions, and picks up many of the themes recently discussed in the globalisation debate at the informal European Council in Lisbon.

As well as new initiatives, the Work Programme sets out how existing initiatives will be taken forward and where the Commission's responsibilities for implementing and overseeing agreed policies will be brought to bear. To better reflect the current multi-annual nature of most of the activities of the Commission, the Programme devotes a new section to areas where work in 2008 will involve impact assessments and consultations which may lead to specific initiatives

in the future.

The proposals to be presented illustrate many of the key features promoted by the Commission: they

### *EU leaders preparing a strategy for an all-European response to the challenges posed by globalisation, including increased competitive pressure from China and global warming*

cover many cross-cutting themes, call for partnership with the Member States and other key actors, and look to tackle some of the longer-term issues facing Europe in the decades to come. They include a particular stress on better regulation, including a detailed list of simplification measures for the year ahead. The Programme also sets out the consequences in terms of communication, and includes areas foreseen as inter-institutional priorities for communication in 2008.

The Lisbon Strategy for Growth and Jobs is the right backbone for the European response to globalisation. Its further deepening is the way to create the wealth that can give practical meaning to core European values of

social inclusion and of European and international solidarity. This means increasing the EU's adaptability to provide for the sustainable well-being of its citizens.

According to the EC President Jose Manuel Barroso said: "The EU's raison d'être for the 21st century is crystal clear: to equip Europe for a globalised world".

"In order to do so, we must invest in people, in growth and jobs, in energy security, in fighting climate change, in giving consumers a fairer deal, in stepping up cooperation to fight crime and terrorism. European leaders now need to maintain the vision and redouble their ambition", he said.

Among the political objectives identified in the discussion paper are: boosting economic reforms to build sustained prosperity; widening opportunity for citizens by ensuring better access to employment, education, social services, health care and other forms of social protection; tackling poverty in Europe and abroad; adopting and implementing the Directives the Commission will propose in December to meet targets for reduc-

ing greenhouse gases and using renewable energy sources; building a 21st century internal market based on the single market review the Commission will publish in November; making legal migration into the EU a motor for wealth creation; and stemming illegal migration.

The paper points to a renewed confidence in Europe's ability to deliver, based on improved economic performance, on the bold decisions taken on tackling climate change at the 2007 Spring Council and on the success of the June European Council in agreeing a mandate for the Reform Treaty.

N. RUDOVIĆ

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 yet entirely comfortable with the field of EU integrations.

**Cohesion:** This means, literally, 'sticking together'. The jargon term 'promoting social cohesion' means the EU tries to make sure that everyone has a place in society – for example by tackling poverty, unemployment and discrimination. The EU budget includes money known as the 'Cohesion Fund' which is used to finance projects that help the EU 'stick together'. It is available to the countries and regions with a GNP below 90% of the EU average, and its purpose is to provide financial support for the infrastructure, transport, and environmental projects.

**Comitology:** More correctly known as "committee procedure". It describes a process in which the Commission, when implementing EU law, has to consult special advisory committees which constitute a discussion forum. The Committees are made up of experts from the EU countries who enable the Commission to establish dialogue with national administration prior to the adoption of certain measures.

**Common market:** When the EEC was founded in 1957, it was based on a 'common market'. In other words, people, goods and services should be able to move around freely between the member states as if they were all one country, with no checks carried out at the borders and

# Eurojargon

no customs duties paid. However, this took a while to achieve: customs duties between the EEC countries were not completely abolished until 1 July 1968. Other barriers to trade also took a long while to remove, and it was not until the end of 1992 that the 'Single Market' (as it became known) was in place.

**Community method:** This is the EU's usual method of decision-making, in which the Commission makes a proposal to the Council and Parliament who then debate it, propose amendments and eventually adopt it as EU law. In the process, they will often consult other bodies such as the European Economic and Social Committee and the Committee of the Regions.

**Competencies:** This is eurojargon for 'powers and responsibilities'. It is often used in political discussions about what powers and responsibilities should be given to EU institutions and what should be left to national, regional and local authorities.

**Competent authority:** This usually means the government department or other body responsible for dealing with a particular issue. It is 'competent' in the sense of having the legal power and responsibility.

**Constitution of the EU:** At present, the EU is founded on four basic treaties that lay down the rules by which it has to operate. These treaties are big and complex, and EU leaders intended to replace them with a single, shorter, and simpler document containing clearly defined goal of the Community. The new document, (known as 'Constitutional Treaty') was to resemble national constitutions, although the EU is not, nor it attempts to become, a single state. The text of the Treaty was completed in June 2004, and signed by the member states' representatives in October 2004 in Rome. It was rejected in referenda held in France and the Netherlands in 2005, and was since replaced by a newly agreed "reform treaty".

NON – GOVERNMENTAL  
ORGANISATIONS  
IN EUROPEAN UNION



## UNION OF EUROPEAN FEDERALISTS

UEF is a non-governmental, non-profit organisation dedicated to the promotion of democratic, federal Europe. The organisation consists of 20 members working on the European, national and local level and has been active all across Europe for more than 50 years.

It was founded shortly after the World War II by a group of advocates of the ideas of federalism, who believed that only a European Federation, based on the values of democracy and the idea of unity in diversity, could overcome the division of the European continent that had caused the World War II.

UEF Federalists believes that only a common effort of European citizens working towards this goal could create a peaceful and democratic Europe guaranteeing freedom and the protection of human rights.

To that end, UEF works on bringing together citizens and their associations who share the wish and will to work on the creation of a federal Europe, who would be the carriers of the democratisation process in Europe and a stimulus of a public debate on the current affairs related to the political content of the project of uniting Europe into a community governed by a federal system.

UEF works independently from any political parties and is an autonomous political movement connected to the parties only through cooperation on different projects and initiatives. The movement also cooperates with the European national and local institutions and associations, as well as with EU institutions.

Among the supporters and members of the movement are the people who act as decision-makers in the EU institutions, giving the movement significant opportunities to exert direct, effective influence on the work of these institutions and on the decision-making process.

The movement has closest cooperation with the Young European Federalists (JEF), European Movement and World Federalist Movement, with whom it shares a similar vision of the future of Europe.

More information on UEF can be found at: [www.federaleurope.org](http://www.federaleurope.org)

Prepared by: Petar ĐUKANOVIĆ

## CCE AND BIRN ORGANISED PANEL DISCUSSION "MONTENEGRO ON THE ROAD TO EU – PROGRESS AND CHALLENGES"

# Freedom of the media below the limits

Centre for Civic Education (CCE) and the Balkan Investigative Reporting Network (BIRN) organised on 16 November a panel discussion titled "Montenegro on the road to EU – progress and challenges", which gathered some 120 participants.

The debate was introduced by Dr **Gordana Đurović**, deputy PM of the Government of Montenegro, **Goran Svilanović**, official of the Stability Pact and **Eric Trotemann**, representative of the European Commission delegation to Podgorica.

Noting that Montenegro can be satisfied with the results achieved in 2007 with regard to European integrations, Đurović stressed that from January on the agreements on free trade, visa facilitation and readmission will come into force and announced that the National Integration Programme, currently in the drafting phase, will soon present a clear picture of the commitments undertaken for the next years.

"Our choice are European integration and a dynamic change of the society...I hope that we can overcome all the challenges lying ahead of us", Đurović said.

She believes that Montenegro's advantages lie in its growing possibilities resulting from the economic and democratic progress.

"Montenegro should build a credible reform momentum...further efforts are needed to complete the current reforms, to broaden the consensus on European integrations and



focus on implementing the laws", warned Troteman.

According to Svilanović, the main challenges are fight against poverty, corruption and organised crime. He also recommends more extensive communication between the Government and the civil sector and the media.

He emphasised that Montenegro will have to improve the environment for the free functioning of the media, reminding that two years and a half one editor was shot, and another beaten up just two months ago. He also said he expects that the EU will liberalise its visa regime, and insisted that the EU should intensify its economic assistance to the potential candidate countries in order to help them catch up with the new states, warning that the gap is already in the making, since Bulgaria, for instance, receives several billion euros per year whereas Serbia only gets 200 million.

## INSTITUTE ALTERNATIVE FOUNDED IN PODGORICA

# A new approach to the democratisation of the society

A group of leaders of the Montenegrin non-governmental sector led by **Stevo Muk** and **Daliborka Uljarević** founded a new non-governmental organisation "Institute Alternative", which is envisaged as a think-tank organisation.

"Institute Alternative" was created with a goal to contribute to the development of democracy, rule of law and human rights through analysis of public policies, and monitoring and reporting on the functioning of public institutions in Montenegro. Our intention is to offer a significant contribution in the domain of analysing policies and institutions in Montenegro" said the president of the Board of Managers of Alternative, Stevo Muk.

Muk stated that the Institute Alternative will be preparing case study analyses which are indicative for the state of affairs in certain areas.

Except for Muk and Uljarević, among the founders of the Institute are **Vera Šćepanović**, **Maja Vujašković**, **Aleksandar Saša Zeković** and others.

"Founders of the institute are lawyers, economists and political scientists, with MAs and PhDs from the national and foreign universities. We believe that the NGO sector ought to focus more on the fields of democratisation, rule of law and anti-corruption, and to do so in a systematic, comprehensive and methodologically sound manner. We want to tackle some of the issues that nobody else is willing to take up, as well as those where the efforts have remained limited", stressed Muk.

In the upcoming period, the Board of Managers of the Institute will appoint an Advisory committee and Executive Director.

The first research project of the institute will be dedicated to the public administration, focusing on the wages of the civil servants – the system of salaries, bonuses and motivation. The research is financially supported by the Foundation Open Society Institute, Representative Office in Montenegro.

The institute will be working on the

## CIVIC SECTOR ON ONE YEAR OF GOVERNMENT'S WORK

# Intensify communication

On the 13 November in Podgorica, Centre for Development of Non-Governmental Organisations (CDNGO) with support of the Foundation Open Society Institute, Representative Office in Montenegro (FOSI ROM) organised a round table on the topic "A year of the work of the Government – Democracy, Rule of Law and Human Rights in Montenegro – post-referendum declaration of non-governmental organisations". The immediate cause for the round table was the one first anniversary of the formation of the current Government, and the goal was to jointly analyse the situation in the areas of democracy, rule of law and human rights, in the context of the post-referendum Declaration of NGOs. The conference discussed the extent to which the suggestions from the Declaration have been achieved, identify the shortcomings and obstacles for the implementation of these suggestions and give further recommendations for appropriate actions aimed at implementations of NGO initiatives.

Participants at the round table were representatives of the Government, public administration, political parties, NGOs, trade unions and the media.

The introductory speech was given by the deputy PM Dr **Gordana Đurović**, researcher of the the violations of human rights **Aleksandar Saša Zeković** and director of the Centre for Civic Education **Daliborka Uljarević**.

Deputy PM presented the achievements of the Government in the last year, admitting that "more could have been done" and expressed her readiness to jointly increase the efforts to advance mutual communication and cooperation.

It was concluded that the Government failed to prepare a series of laws whose adoption was demanded by NGOs, and that the cooperation between the NGOs and the Government has been improved in a formal sense, but not quite substantially.

The signatories of the Initiative agreed to work of updating the content of the Declaration, widen the circle of signatories, establish mechanism for monitoring implementation and for informing the national and international public.

expansion of a network of permanent and temporary collaborators and on strengthening its own capacities. In that sense, it has established cooperation with the European Stability Initiative (ESI), a non-profit research institute with offices in Vienna, Brussels and Istanbul, and with numerous others think-tank organisations in the region and in European Union.



## INTERGOVERNMENTAL FISCAL RELATIONS

Summer course on Intergovernmental Fiscal Relations will be held between June 30–July 11, 2008 (with a distance learning segment starting on February 1, 2008) hosted by the summer program of the Central European University (CEU), Budapest. A detailed course description is available at:

<http://www.sun.ceu.hu/3Courses/descriptions/WEB-Intergov-Descript.doc>

The course has been designed for practitioners, researchers/academics and trainers in the area of public finance related to local government issues and intergovernmental fiscal relations. The language of instruction is English. Financial aid is available (see the eligibility and funding information in the detailed course description at the link above).

The application deadline is **December 14, 2007**. Applicants are encouraged to apply online at <https://online.ceu.hu/osun/osun> and send the attachments via regular mail by the December 14 deadline.

For further information queries can be directed to the SUN office (email: [summeru@ceu.hu](mailto:summeru@ceu.hu), skype: [ceu-sun](https://www.skype.com/name/ceu-sun), tel.: 36–1–327–3811).

## MASTER IN COMPARATIVE LOCAL DEVELOPMENT

The University of Trento, coordinator, (Italy), the Corvinus University of Budapest (Hungary), the University of Ljubljana (Slovenia) and the University of Regensburg (Germany) offer a num-

## FOR THIS ISSUE WE RECOMMEND:

ber of fellowships for incoming Scholars from non EU countries.

The main objective is to enhance the exchange of teachers and researchers dealing with issues in Comparative Local Development, also from an interdisciplinary point of view, in order to share, acquire and contribute to create knowledge and to pursue research in Local Development.

The Call is open to scholars submitting research projects for the study of Local Development in the main disciplinary areas of Law, Economics, Sociology and the Political Sciences.

The normal length of each fellowship is three months. Scholars will be able to spend their period at one or more of the Partner Universities. During this period, they will be requested to conduct research in Local Development, to participate in the activities of the Joint European Master in Comparative Local Development, including teaching, giving seminars and supervising students.

Scholars can make their staying period between September 2008 and March 2010.

### 1. Schedule for application

The deadline for submitting the application documentation is February, 16th, 2008.

In case of documentation sent by mail, only applications which arrive by the deadline will be considered.

### 2. Fellowships

A number of fellowships is offered to scholars who meet the eligibility requirements. The amount of the grants offered is Euro 13,000.

Each fellowship consists of a fixed amount of Euro 1,000 for covering the travel expenses, and a scholarship of Euro 4,000 per month.

### 3. Eligibility Requirements and documentation required

In order to qualify for the fellowship the applicant must be a non-EU country citizenship.

Candidates meeting this requirement are requested to submit the following documentation: Letter of Application (including a motivation for applying and the preference for one or more of the partner universities), CV, list of publications, research project

### 4. How to Apply

Interested scholars should send the requested documentation

electronically to the following address:

[master-code@economia.unitn.it](mailto:master-code@economia.unitn.it)

by mail to the contact address Contacts

Joint European Master in Comparative Local

Development Dipartimento di Economia

Universite degli Studi di Trento

Via Inama 5 38100 Trento Italy

## THE BERLIN SCHOLARSHIP PROGRAMME

The Berlin-Scholarship – Program allows international students to study for one year at Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin or at one of its partner institutions: Freie Universität Berlin, Technische Universität Berlin, Universität der Künste Berlin, and Fachhochschule für Wirtschaft Berlin.

Along with their studies in Berlin, the scholarship holders work together in small groups on a project. In the academic year 2007/2008 the topic is "People in Motion – Migration and Integration in Historical and Current Contexts". The project is supervised academically. The scholarship holders meet once or twice a month to discuss and develop their project ideas.

Grant holders can carry out their study proposals within two semesters by attending courses at one of the universities in Berlin. The study proposals should be developed according to the home university's academic requirements.

The program starts on September 1 and ends on July 31.

### Application requirements

Students of all fields of study may apply. We encourage students in particular from Central and Eastern Europe, the CIS–States, Israel and the USA to apply. The program is directed to students with a good proficiency in German and a special interest in the history of National Socialism. We especially encourage descendants of former forced laborers and other victims of the National Socialist regime to apply.

Please submit a draft proposal for a project that can be accomplished within the scholarship year. Proposals should include a description of the content, plans for its realisation and a list of results envisioned by the project. Once granted a scholarship, participants will be divided into work groups on the basis of their proposal during the first session of the seminar. The results of the project work will be published in a yearbook.

### Scholarship

The scholarship includes a one-year study period, a monthly stipend of 700 Euros, a subsidy towards travel expenses, a one-month German language course as well as an accompanying program

More information on [http://http://www.aia.hu-berlin.de/int-en/evz-en/index.html-en?set\\_language=en&cl=en](http://http://www.aia.hu-berlin.de/int-en/evz-en/index.html-en?set_language=en&cl=en)

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