



## FOCUS OF THIS ISSUE

What are the  
implications of the  
Memorandum on the  
participation of  
Montenegro in the  
special European Union  
Entrepreneurship and  
Innovation Programme?

## INTERVIEW

Ilir Aliaj,  
director of the Centre  
of Development and  
Democratisation  
in Tirana

## ANALYSES

Why do Montenegrin officials  
insist that Montenegro should  
submit EU membership  
application as soon as possible?





## PROMISES

If we are to believe the candidates for the Office of the President of Montenegro and their electoral promises, in the next five years Montenegro is sure to be among the richest members of the European Union. Maybe it does not even have to join EU, for we can do it all on our own, if the voters can only pick the best one. The ruling coalition's candidate **Filip Vujanović** says there will be no unemployment, minimum wage will be 515 euros, during his next mandate the EU will "move to Montenegro", thousand flowers will bloom, and the citizens of our little state will be satisfied and cheerful. His competitors claim they will bring in a Russian pipeline, build a highway Belgrad-Bar, return dignity to the army, send the "government of robbers" where they belong, eradicate the narco-mafia, root out corruption, establish order and discipline... Whoever wins, it seems, Montenegro cannot lose.

Perhaps the losers are really the potential statesmen together with the current president who is undoubtedly contributing to the illusions among some of the Montenegrin public. There is a bitter aftertaste to the Vujanović's thunderous promises of an economic boom, on the condition that he gets the votes, which is a lame way to underestimate Montenegrin citizens and thus undermine development of political culture in Montenegro. There is nothing he can do, indeed, unless the government does it. Instead of using the presidential campaign to improve communication with dissenters, Vujanović is trying to convince his followers that his three opponents should not have been allowed to run at all, because two of them have opposed Montenegrin independence, and the third abandoned the nation in the most difficult times. This curious premise is contradictory to the broadcasted government's intention to take the hand of the opposition so that they can build the state of Montenegro together, a state that would be home both to the pro- and to contra-independence camp. The explanation is simple: the government is either lying, or they feel the ground slipping from under their feet.

N.R.

## EUROPEAN COMMISSION APPROVES FINANCIAL PACKAGE FOR MONTENEGRO FOR ASSISTANCE TO TRANSITION

# IPA funds within reach



European Commission headquarters

IPA funds aimed at assistance for countries in transition and strengthening of institutional capacities will be available from 21 March onwards, the Government announced.

European Union Delegation notified the Foreign Affairs Ministry of Montenegro that the EC has approved the agreement, which means that Montenegro will soon be able to draw on the EU funds through the new assistance programme: Instrument for pre-accession assistance (IPA).

The programme is a unified extension of the earlier programmes (CARDS, PHARE, ISPA and SAPARD) available to countries aspiring to EU membership. Montenegro can claim 131.3 million euros through the IPA programme for the period 2007–2013, which makes it the state with the highest per capita assistance in the West Balkan region.

Like other potential candidate countries for EU membership (Serbia, Bosnia and Herzegovina and Albania), Montenegro has the right to two components of the IPA programme – transition support and institution building and regional and cross-border cooperation, while the candidate countries (Croatia, Macedonia) can apply also for the three remaining components – regional development, development of human resources and rural development. The fifth component brings the most funds. If everything goes according to the government's plan, Montenegro could apply for projects in these three components by 2009.

Support for transition and institution building is a component aimed at the ministries and their bodies, while the funds from the second component can be used by non-

profit organisations, such as local governments, non-governmental sector, associations...

The first component brings larger assistance than the one aimed at projects on regional and cross-border cooperation. For 2007, IPA budget for Montenegro is 27.5 million for support to transition and institution building and 3.9 million for the projects within the second component.

The first component of transition and institution building encompasses policy, socio-economic projects and support for European integrations.

During project planning, applicants should take into account the evaluations and commitments of Montenegro from the Stabilisation and Association Agreement (SAA), Progress Reports and European Partnership. For IPA 2009 the basic point of reference will be the National Programme for Integrations (NPI).

Ministries and their agencies submit their projects to the Secretariat for European Integrations which forwards them to European Agency for Reconstruction (from next year this function will be taken over by the EC Delegation in Podgorica) which selects the best and most urgent ones among them.

The selected project proposals are then sent to the European Commission in Brussels for approval. Once the project receives green light, the EC and the applicant country sign a Financial Agreement for the transfer of funds, whereupon the money becomes available to the applicant within four to six months.

N.R.





by dr Susana del Rio

Now, it is the moment to improve the communication between Europe and its citizens. This is an essential labour, requiring intensive exchange in order to develop a coherent and consolidated communication policy that would occupy a

*It is fundamental to implant seriousness in the "informative sequence" institutions-media-individuals, as the media plays a pre-dominant role as guide of public European opinion*

distinct position with regard to fostering EU credibility among the citizens.

Today, following the Treaty of Lisbon and its constitutional character, it is important to distinguish between "false innovations and true innovations". The new communicative European impulse is a real novelty. The media generate public European opinion, providing an opportunity for the citizens to encourage and support democracy. Building a political public European sphere is the nexus around which we must build up stronger European communication. Participation on the part of the citizens and civil society is one of the key components of a powerful European communication policy. What are we looking for attending the new participative initiatives and exploring alternative arenas for debate? A European model of debate.

## A VIEW FROM EUROPE

# Media generate public opinion

This effort to renew the European governability shall permit the unfolding of democracy, making governance more human and agile, giving fresh air to the institutions.

A comprehensible, stable information policy is necessary in order to allow the citizens to follow in a complete and timely manner the decisions within European institutions, positions taken by different member states, and thus create a unique voice of Europe.

It is fundamental to implant seriousness in the "informative sequence" institutions-media-individuals, as the media plays a predominant role as guide of European public opinion.

Civil society could thus acquire the knowledge of the ways to become involved in the EU dynamic, and of opportunities offered by EU institutions for cooperation, par-

*Perhaps it is even unnecessary to talk about seeking solutions for Europe today: perhaps we do not need a solution, only reinvention of our approach to discussion and to ways to win over Europeans*

ticipation and partnership. The best results would follow if we organise "stable spaces" for discussion with citizens, instead of using the words to "institutionalise" interaction.

The scope and the definition of public spaces compose "a map of Europe" that media shall know how to manage by adding a new goal to its communicative capacities: to give the citizens of Europe a common European idea. How can we construct such an idea? – By transmitting the "European version" of reality.

Associations and Non Governmental Organizations are an actor to take into account, given their role as information multipliers in the European society. This "tactic" is fundamental to generate interest in the EU: citizens identify themselves with social movements and solidarity, making this field an excellent starting point for community-building.

In everyday life the key communication transmitter is culture: cinema, art, literature, music, as well as sport. Cultural forces must be harnessed as catalysts for Europe. Regarding Internet communication, the big digital support, the "handicap or impediment" is the screen and the challenge is the non-perception of a virtual mechanism by the European society. A measure of certainty is necessary to endow this practice with clear, tangible results. The dynamic of work is the same as in other EU initiatives: finding consensus through dialogue. Perhaps it is even unnecessary to talk about seeking solutions for Europe today: per-

haps we do not need a solution, only reinvention of our approach to discussion and to ways to win over the Europeans. Or, in the words of Saint-Exupéry, the author of the Little Prince: "there are no solutions, just forces in progress".

*The author is a senior consultant in the field of participation and communication with EU citizens. The extract is from her paper "Communication with citizens: the framework for European renovation".*

## WHAT ARE THE IMPLICATIONS OF THE MEMORANDUM ON THE PARTICIPATION OF MONTENEGRO IN THE SPECIAL EUROPEAN UNION ENTREPRENEURSHIP AND INNOVATION PROGRAMME?



by **Bojana Stanišić**

Since early March, Montenegro can compete with EU member states for the funds aimed at supporting competitiveness and innovation capacities of small and medium enterprises.

The first to take advantage of this new opportunity was the Directory of Small and Medium Enterprises, applying with the project "European Information and Innovation Centre Montenegro". The new centre will replace the existing Euro Info correspondence centre of Montenegro. EC Directorate General for Entrepreneurship and Industry gave a green light to the project, and the agreement should be signed already in early April.

"The goal of the project is to enhance competitiveness of Montenegrin small and medium enterprises on the European and domestic markets, by creating a joint network of integrated service provision in the areas of entrepreneurship and innovation", says for the *European Pulse* **Dragana Vukčević**, promotion consultant in the SME Directory.

She adds that the Directory has prepared the implementation programme for the next three years,

# European funds open for Montenegrin firms

starting after the agreement is signed with European Commission.

Montenegro gained the right to participate on an equal basis with EU member states in the development programmes for small and medium enterprises on 3 March in Brussels, where the Montenegrin Minister of Economy **Branimir Gvozdenović** and European Commissioner for Industry and Entrepreneurship **Gunter Verheugen** signed a Memorandum of Understanding between European Community and Montenegro on the participation of Montenegro in the Entrepreneurship and Innovation Programme (EIP) in

the framework of Competition and Innovation Programme 2007–2013 (CIP).

Small and medium enterprises are the engine of EU economy, and the Union has consequently devoted a lot of effort to their development.

Across Europe there are some 23 million SMEs, or 99% of all enterprises, employing 75 million people.

For many years EU has been working on a political framework for SMEs in order to create synergies and increase transparency of European approach to small and

## CONSORTIA FOR INNOVATION GAP

The project "European Information and Innovation Centre Montenegro" will be implemented by Directory for SMEs with three partners members of the consortia: Engineering Faculty of the University of Montenegro, Chamber of Commerce and Business Start-up Centre from Bar.

The consortia will provide their clients with all relevant information needed by SMEs and other target groups for internationalisation of their activities.

The priority is to reduce "innovation gap" and offer support in creating new jobs, growth and sustainable development through distribution of information and raising awareness about innovation policies, legislation, support programmes, research findings and offering mediating services in transferring knowledge and technology, and stimulating innovation capacities.

Finally, the consortia will work on raising awareness in small and medium enterprises about the EU framework programmes on research and technological development, assist SMEs in identifying their needs for research and development and locating relevant partners, and offer services in preparing and coordinating project proposals for participation in the EU framework programmes for research and development.



medium enterprises.

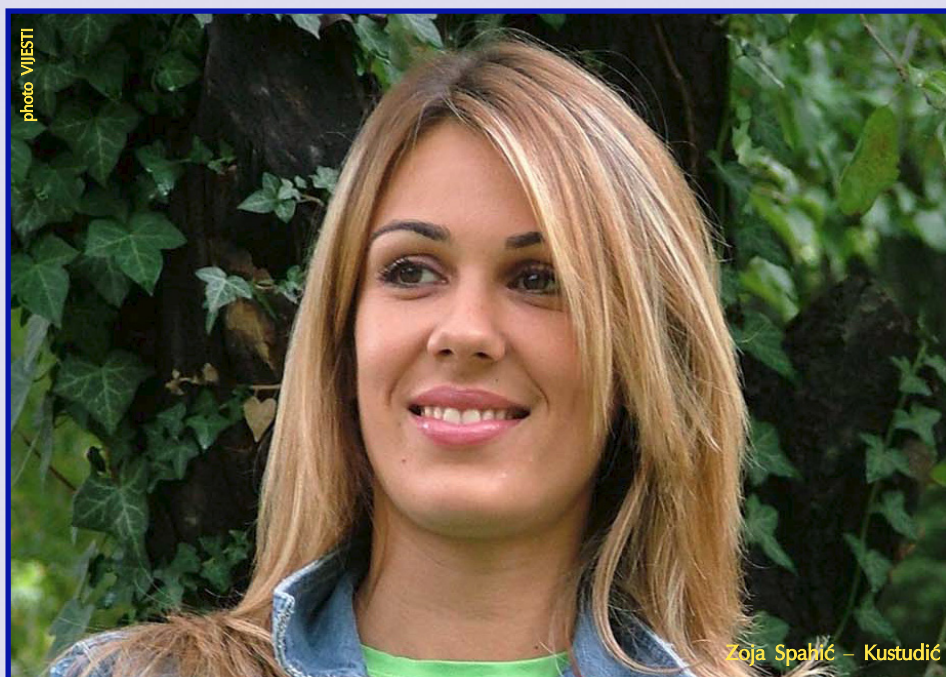
On behalf of EU the responsibility for SMEs belongs to the SME Commission (within the DG Entrepreneurship) whose task is to develop programmes and implement the overall policy of member states with regard to SMEs.

In 2005, the European Commission adopted a Europe-wide comprehensive policy for development of SMEs, ensuring that the policies and activities of EU are SME-friendly, and contributing to Europe's increasing attractiveness for functioning and establishment of such firms.

The new Commission policy regarding SMEs, which applies to the Montenegrin entrepreneurs as well if they want access to EU, is based on the principle "First think small". It is geared towards improving business environment for SMEs, reducing administrative costs, improving market access, creating jobs and fostering dialogue and consultations with SMEs in order to create ideal conditions for improved competitiveness.

According to the Ministry, the Memorandum opens numerous opportunities for local projects aimed at improving entrepreneurship and innovation.

"Montenegrin membership in this programme will contribute immensely to our research systems, to competitiveness of small and medium enterprises, to promotion



of innovations, and establishment of a sustainable, competitive, innovative information society", said for European Pulse **Zoja Spahić-Kustudić**, port parole of the Ministry of Economy.

She adds that participation in the Entrepreneurship and Innovation Programme will contribute to quality implementation of the goals set in the Strategy for Development of Small and Medium Enterprises 2007–2010 with regard to stimulating innovation and technology competitiveness.

"Entrepreneurship and Innovation Programme (EIP) will provide small and medium enterprises with a simpler and more effective access to European Union through various modes of assistance to development

of business innovations", Spahić Kustudić said.

Access to EU will be made possible first of all through channels for financial assistance for the establishment and development of SMEs, support for business development and innovation through a network of regional centres, as well as through cooperation among SMEs in the area of cross-border cooperation.

"We believe this to be a great success for Montenegro, which has become an equal member of the new European business support network", Dragana Vukčević said.

Framework Competitiveness and Innovation Programme 2007–2013 (CIP) was introduced by the Council of EU decision of 24 October 2006, in order to support competitiveness and innovation.

The programme includes all Community activities in the area of entrepreneurship, small and medium enterprises, innovation, industrial competitiveness, ICT development and implementation of environment-friendly technologies and intelligent energy solutions.

Although the project is aimed primarily at European organisations and businesses with a special focus

## 2.16 BILLION EUR FOR ENTREPRENEURSHIP

**T**he overall budget for implementation of the framework Competition and Innovation Programme is 3.621 billion EUR, out of which 2.16 billion goes for the Entrepreneurship and Innovation Programme. Support programme for information and communication technologies will receive 728 million, while 730 million has been allocated to the Intelligent Europe programme.

There is no information yet on the amount that Montenegro can count on in the next five years.





Government of Montenegro

on SMEs it is also open for participation for the third countries, including the West Balkan states. Except for Montenegro, which has joined the programme on 3 March, Croatia and Macedonia are so far the only members from the region. They have joined the programme in September 2007. The Commission expects other West Balkan countries to join by the end of the year.

The goal of Enterprise and Innovation Programme is to assist development of business innovation

by providing access to financial assistance through risk and profit sharing arrangements with private investors and cross-guaranteed loans for national support schemes.

Within this programme SMEs will have a simple, clear and effective access to European Union through business support networks which provide information and advice on the existing Euro Info centres.

In addition to being based on tested programmes, CIP encompass-

es new elements such as instrument for high-growth and innovative companies, safeguarding the structure of bank loans to SMEs and greater role for the business and innovation support networks.

Support programme for the policy on information and communication technologies will encourage a new integrated market for electronic networks, media content and digital technologies. It will be aimed at finding solutions to remove the barriers to wider usage of electronic services in Europe. It will also support modernisation of public sector services, leading to greater efficacy and quality of services.

The Intelligent Energy for Europe programme supports wider usage of new renewable energies and improvement of energy efficiency, strengthening harmonisation with energy regulatory framework.

The goal of the programme is to speed up activities in the field of renewable energies by increasing the share of renewables and diminishing overall energy consumption.

*The author is a journalist of TV "Vijesti"*

## THE SPANISH MODEL

Spain is a very good example of how one can use international experience to assist and support small and medium enterprises.

Spanish programmes for SMEs include employment promotion, export promotion, research, development and innovation and quality management. Within the employment promotion programmes numerous projects exist offering financial support for the businesses that are willing to create new jobs and participate in the fight against unemployment. The assistance is provided through subsidies, tax cuts, waivers on social security contributions etc. In the last few years a majority of such schemes was focused on the employment promotion for certain segments of the population which are typically disadvantaged in the labour market (youth, women, persons with disability, long-term unemployed etc.).

Realising how important it is for SMEs to invest in research, development and innovation if they wish to succeed in a competitive environment, the state has created several schemes providing co-financing for research and development projects.

ILIR ALIAJ, DIRECTOR OF THE CENTRE OF DEVELOPMENT AND DEMOCRATISATION IN TIRANA

# We are no longer the black sheep of the Balkans

Albania is now shaken by a clash of generations. After the fall of communism all major political parties are still staffed with people left over from the old political structures whose mentality did not change a notch, says Ilir Aliaj, director of the Centre for Development and Institutional Democratisation from Tirana in the interview for *European Pulse*.

The situation is no different in the business world, he added.

"And we know how hard it is to turn an apparatchik into a businessman. On the other hand, today there are hundreds of young people who have studied abroad and are coming back to Albania, and they bring a different kind of mentality. The result is a clash of generations, with the older ones defending the status quo and the younger ones trying to speed up reforms", says Aliaj, who works on issues of European integrations, public administration reform, fight against corruption and strengthening judicial capacities. He graduated in geography and law from the University of Tirana and earned his MA in European Studies from the European College in Bruges.

● **How would you evaluate the position of Albania in the EU integration process?**

Albania has already signed and ratified the Stabilization and Association Agreement in 2006. Since then the European Parliament and 16 EU member states have ratified the agreement. We expect this process to be complet-



Ilir Aliaj

ed by the end of this year and that next year Albania can apply for the candidate status. There is generally a lot of optimism with regard to

*This is a very big problem for Albania. Each time another party comes to power, they introduce a new "reform" of public administration, which really means firing the people appointed by the previous government and hiring their own partisans*

the process, and in the last three years Albania has made a lot of progress: we are no longer the black sheep of the Balkans ruled by organised crime, although more remains to be done.

● **What are the key challenges in Albania today?**

There are too many challenges. We cannot forget our past when we talk about EU integration. Albania was the most isolated country in the communist block. Having that in mind, I prefer to

divide our problems in two groups: the first concerns the mentality, the second our legislation and infrastructure. With regard to mentality, years of complete isolation have to be overcome if we are to fulfil the requirement of carrying out important reforms in order to join NATO and EU. Who are the people who can carry this task?

Another thing is the infrastructure which is outdated and inappropriate for the times we live in. In order to improve this, the government will have to invest a lot of money and energy. Then there is the issue of legislative harmonisation and the need to bring Albanian laws in line with EU standards, but of course that is only the tip of the iceberg. The next step is implementation, and then we are back to the beginning of the story, the mentality.

● **How is Albania coping with the lack of administrative capacities?**

This is a very big problem for Albania. Each time another party comes to power, they introduce a new "reform" of public administration, which really means firing the people appointed by the previous government and hiring their own partisans. Another problem is that a lot of highly qualified individuals, who had been educated at the prestigious universities abroad,



prefer to work in the private sector where they earn more and have more space for their ideas. It is not so difficult to create a professional public administration, it would be enough to implement the law, which on paper is a very good one, but in reality comes to nothing.

● **Support for EU integration is very high among the Albanian citizens, more than 80% in favour. Why is this the case?**

That is correct, Albanians are highly supportive of EU integration, but do they know what this means? I believe not, but then why are they in favour of it? It looks like a puzzle, but the answer is very simple: Albanians want to leave the old politics and old mentality behind, and they believe EU integration is the best way to do it.

In fact, very little is done either by NGOs or by other stakeholders to raise the awareness of the EU integration process, although this could be the source



of many important projects. EU has a very tough policy on agriculture, for instance, but the Albanian farmers do not know anything about it, and this is only one such

example.

● **Where do you see opportunities for concrete cooperation between Albania and Montenegro in the process of EU and NATO integrations?**

Albania and Montenegro have very good cooperation in all fields, although both countries could be doing more. I believe that integration is stronger if it comes from bottom-up and not the other way around. People have to get to know each other better. If we manage to dispel all prejudices towards each other our governments will surely cooperate more. I visited Montenegro a few weeks ago with a group of NGO activists, journalists and academics. We met with many people from different fields and we had many fruitful discussions. This is only one step, but there is certainly space for improvement. Forging more contacts on different levels of the society will foster integration and bring mutual benefits.

*Albanians want to leave the old politics and old mentality behind, and they believe EU integration is the best way to do it*

## AFTER VISAS, ELIMINATE TARIFFS

● **How do you see the region in the near future? Could the Balkans become a mini-EU, a region without borders and customs?**

I am optimistic about the future of the region. It is true that some countries still view their neighbours with suspicion, but I believe that soon things will change. I am convinced that such prejudices simply stem from the lack of knowledge. I speak from personal experience: I was the only Albanian in my grade at the College of Europe, and there was a Macedonian and two Serbian students with me. In the first year our relations were a bit tense, but when we got to know each other, we started calling each other "komšija" (neighbour). Today we are very good friends and when I visited Belgrade for the first time in 2003, my Serbian friend invited me to his house where we discussed various issues with him and his family, including the problem of Kosovo. It was the same when I went to Skopje.

Albania and Montenegro have already established a visa-free travel regime and are discussing abolishing the customs duties. We have the same agreement with Kosovo and Macedonia, and we will hopefully soon sign one with Croatia, Bosnia-Herzegovina and Serbia. Albanian government has abolished visa requirements for these three countries, and we hope that soon they will reach the same decision.

N. RUDOVIĆ



WHY DO MONTENEGRIN OFFICIALS INSIST THAT MONTENEGRO SHOULD SUBMIT EU MEMBERSHIP APPLICATION AS SOON AS POSSIBLE?

# For Filip and Serbia

While the Government is busy preparing the National Programme for Integrations, an important document specifying the timetable for the adoption of regulations necessary to implement the Stabilisation and Association Agreement (SAA) within deadlines, some of the highest officials have suggested that Montenegro should apply for EU membership as soon as possible. Although the roadmap for the fulfilment of SAA commitments is not yet ready, the authorities are preoccupied with the next phase of accession. Given that Brussels has repeatedly warned that the most important thing is to implement SAA adequately and thus demonstrate readiness to proceed on the road to membership, and that the government could not fail to understand the message, insistence on the application for candidate status can only be read as a tool for domestic politics, which could potentially add some wind to the sails of the ruling party's candidate **Filip Vujanović** on the eve of presidential elections of 6 April. Either that or the Montenegrin leaders figured that Brussels might be pondering closer ties to some of the West Balkan countries in order to encourage democratic forces in Serbia ahead of the decisive parliamentary elections on 11 May. Reuters has already insinuated that after the declaration of Kosovo's independence and the deadlock between Skopje and Athens over the name of Macedonia the projected "nightmare" for integrations may yet give way to a more optimistic scenario.

"Some EU officials say that Bosnia, Albania and Montenegro could submit membership applications in the next few months, possibly at the same time, in a symbolic joint act", Reuters reported.

Formally, Montenegro is free to apply for EU membership although it only signed the SAA on 15 October last year.

Experiences from the neighbouring countries, Croatia in particular suggest that it is not necessary to wait for full implementation of SAA in order to apply.

Croatia signed its SAA on 29 October 2001, and submitted its membership application to EU on 21 February 2003, before the agreement even came into force. It was



photo: VIJESTI

Krivokapić and Đukanović

granted candidate status in June 2004, and is currently negotiating its membership. There is no time limit on the duration of these negotiations, and once they are successfully completed Croatia could become the 28th member of the "elite club".

Four new EU member states: Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania and Slovenia had a similar experience, applying for membership before their Europe Agreements came into force, and Slovenia and Estonia even became candidates before the ratification process was completed.

*Given that Brussels has repeatedly warned that the most important thing is to implement SAA which would show readiness to proceed towards membership, and that the government must know about it, insistence on the application can only be read as a tool for domestic politics, which could potentially add some wind to the sails of the ruling party's candidate Filip Vujanović on the eve of presidential elections of 6 April*

After Croatia submitted its membership application on 21 February 2003, the Council of EU responded in less than two months, on 14 April 2003, with a request to the Commission to formulate avis on the Croatian application. Following the standard procedure deciding on the avis, EC forwarded the so-called Questionnaire to Croatia on 10 July 2003 with 4.560 questions on various issues regarding public institutions, economy etc.

Response to the questionnaire gave a detailed picture of the situation in Croatia. Answering the questionnaire is a cumbersome job which in this case took three months, and the Questionnaire was returned to the Commission on 9 October 2003. In December 2003 and January 2004 EC sent

Croatia additional 184 questions.

Since then, Croatia has been opening chapter by chapter with EU experts for the last 2 years, while confusion reigns among the Montenegrin leaders. Earlier this month, during his visit to Zagreb, PM **Milo Đukanović** claimed that the decision on membership application will be made in agreement with the European Commission, EU presidency and other EU members, while his predecessor **Željko Šturanović** insisted that the procedure will be initiated in early 2008. A week later in Ljubljana President of the Parliament

**Ranko Krivokapić** said that application will be sent in the next few weeks, and that he knows the exact date, a proposition rejected by the head of the Montenegrin mission to EU **Slavica Milačić**, who said that "the experience of all accession countries suggests that one ought to be wary of setting strict deadlines in all phases of the accession process". Đukanović immediately agreed, saying that "one shouldn't worry about deadlines".

"At the moment, I would only say we intend to apply soon...we will continue coordination and close cooperation with our European partners", said cryptically Slavica Milačić.

N. RUDOVIĆ

# Property lost in translation

by Brano Mandić

Old loves are hard to forget, and my love was the text devoured by Toshiba Satellite L40-14F less than five minutes ago. Thus, let me begin by hijacking the attention of the Eurocentric reader by one banality: always save the document you are working on, for your punch lines could reach the peak on the point of Word's breakdown, and the pain of the loss will be immense.

Led by this great wisdom already the ancient Romans founded their system on enumerating life's gifts, such as property. The Western civilisation is but an immense registry of real estate and cars. That bit that the citizens won over the last two hundred years nobody can take away: the sense of living among orderly books, the belief that even the most secret scribbles will be laid open in some fifty years and that the sons of our sons will finally know who killed Kennedy.

If the cadastre of Montenegro was managed in the last few years by **Dan O'Brian** himself, if **Umberto Eco** slipped in his eager on every misdeed fingers, if **Aristotle's** lost manuscript on laughter had been printed

*We also found out that the Montenegrin political shepherds personified by the leaders of Democratic Party of Socialists have inherited property in Bijelo Polje. And we all agreed like eager freshmen that property can only be inherited from a physical person. When we asked the head of the party who is the grandpa they ripped off, he responded that the party legally acquired the property through its famous company Prominent DOO*

in the royal seat of Cetinje – the tortured Montenegrin public would not have been so overwhelmed by one chaotic turn of tale on the public takeover of clerical bookkeeping in the last fortnight. Or it was the other way around for the last twenty years.



Taken by revolutionary zeal, the Real Estate Directory deprived the diocese of the Serbian Orthodox Church of what was not its property, in the midst of euphoric vote-grabbing. The key postulate for the overthrow (every revolution is an overthrow, even the administrative one) was found to be H.E. Mistake. Someone ascribed the property to the Diocese by mistake. Whose mistake it was we will never know, all we know is that no one will be held responsible for forging a paper on thousands square meters of property,

few anathemas in the near future.

We also found out that the Montenegrin political shepherds personified by the leaders of Democratic Party of Socialists have inherited property in Bijelo Polje. And we all agreed like eager freshmen that property can only be inherited from a physical person. When we asked the head of the party who is the grandpa they ripped off, he responded that the party legally acquired the property through its famous company Prominent DOO.

Another mistake. I wish I could make suffer those guys at the cadastre who spread confusion and uncertainty through worldly regulations that we have dutifully observed from **Valtazar Bogišić** onwards. Do take a friendly advice and go check your own property lists to make sure it was not inherited or declared a mistake in the meantime.

Bear in mind the painful example of the ancient brotherhood of Rafailovići from Budva whose inheritance is being dug up by **Sergej Polonski** and **Svetozar Marović** to make space for a phallusoid sky-





scraper intended as a hotel for Russians and friends.

Private-public-private-public-private, the riddle of today's Montenegro would be bearable if the legal-administrative reform would not entail a reform of the private capital. One such in Rožaje bought two hotels and forbade the police to enter. He's the big boss on the block and he wants his agents to leave the boots outside and don on dancing shoes before his doormat.

Once upon a time the agents asked his compatriots to take off their shoes and beat them on the soles of

will have all the papers for themselves and the ancestors. A decent alibi for the nineties. To make a fool out of everyone who would seek accountability in the damp cellars of the cadastre, for we all know that

*The author of these lines can only sleep soundly after having spread defeatism and fatalism among the campaign crowds while the optimists are trumpeting the victory of the opposition or the big duke, all the same*

property is like poetry: lost in translation. Take the case of Mr. Marović—good connections in the cadastre, vocation: philosopher.

Monitor will publish the photo of

*Will Montenegro join EU? We can check the electoral tribunals for an answer. The only positive development is that the audiences are thinning out and there are fewer maniacs waving flags*

their feet. Now we need a local lord who can keep in check tribal memories and ensure autonomy within the province which is the poorest in Montenegro but is at least free of the hateful uniforms who haunt the local's common subconscious.

According to the government, dignity can be restored to the poor Bosniaks in the north even by the man commonly known as the key supplier of heroin to the famed Zemun clan. Zemun clan killed Zoran Đinđić, and Harry Lee Oswald killed Kennedy, until proven wrong.

By which time the political power looming behind similar filth

him on the front page from seventeen years ago with plastic glasses in the lapel and a lame outfit of a Czech tourist taking a walk on the shore with two party friends, but soon the front page too will disappear like an independent weekly in the lands of no return.

Bought or bankrupt.

Portraits of the leader will be made by the handpicked court pointillists ready to brush up so many dots to make the overall picture of the robbery disappear.

May I not come across as an opposition hawk, this is only a pre-electoral lamentation without com-

mission and a cry to the reader to leave the country, if possible. The author of these lines can only sleep soundly after having spread defeatism and fatalism among the campaign crowds while the optimists are trumpeting the victory of the opposition or the big duke, all the same. Because that feeling, like when a text written from the heart disappears before your eyes, or a piece of land inherited from grandfather's grandfather disappears, or when B.S. tells you "thank you on the attention", that thing probably resembles the moment when you tell the patient: You will not live long enough to see Montenegro become a normal state with a rule of law. Or a tad less painful: during your active sexual life, Montenegro will never become a normal state with a rule of law. Will

it join EU? We can check the electoral tribunals for an answer. The only positive development is that the audiences are thinning out and there are fewer maniacs waving flags. That nobody will mention on Brdo by Kranj next week, and the Balkans will be discussed on the high ministerial level in EU. A couple of smooth diplomats' jokes, fancy dining, a few conclusions, but you, my dear reader, are not of the same luck. You will have to wait for some real electronic newspaper in Montenegro, navigable and without these terrible PDFs, with zillions of links to the real estate registry where you can track down the fraud. This is one very poetic amateur letter, but at least I have not mentioned once European and Euro-Atlantic integrations. Rest a little.

And before I forget: good luck at the elections, apstinents!

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



COOPERATION BETWEEN THE MUNICIPALITY OF KOTOR AND THE ITALIAN TOWN CAMPOMARINO FROM MOLISA PROVINCE LED TO AN IMPORTANT PROJECT



by Emil Kriještorac

As a result of cooperation between municipalities of Kotor, Montenegro and Campomarino, Italy (Molise), as well as of successful promotion of cross-border cooperation for the establishment of Adriatic Euroregion (AE), similar effort will soon be crowned by the creation of a Eurodistrict Southern Adriatic, gathering coastal municipalities of Montenegro (Kotor, Budva, Herceg Novi, Tivat, Bar and Ulcinj), two Albanian municipalities (Kruj and Skoder) and several municipalities in the Italian province Molise.

It is noteworthy that the European Commission already allocated 30 million euros for the establishment of the Adriatic Euroregion and the future South Adriatic Eurodistrict. It is all the more obvious why Montenegro should be working on cross-border cooperation with the countries and region of the Adriatic basin if we know that one third of the overall EU budget goes for supporting less developed regions, and that through such projects these funds can be made available also for the non-members.

It is therefore important to make use of these mechanisms to apply for funds and establish a firm position, since the money aimed at equalising living conditions in European regions

# Eurodistrict for European funds

are available both for the members and for the countries participating in the association process. In this context, it is of paramount importance to gain access to structural funds as 90% of the money aimed at assistance to less developed regions is channelled through them. All regions are eligible if their GDP per capita is less than 75% of EU average, or if they have been hard hit by social restructuring or high unemployment. Consequently, a number of countries that have never had a tradition of regionalism engaged in decentralisation in order to acquire access to these funds.

The region of Molise was long working on establishing cross-border cooperation among local and regional authorities in the Adriatic basin, culminating in the creation of the Adriatic Euroregion officially established at the

first statutory session of the Adriatic Council in Pula on 30 June 2006. The initiative involves various cities and regions of Italy, Slovenia, Croatia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Montenegro and Albania. It is based on the European Framework Convention on Cross-Border Cooperation among territorial units adopted on 21 May 1980 in Madrid and published in the series of European treaties under the serial no. 106. The key goal of the initiative is development of integrated territorial cooperation among the countries in the region, as well as sustainable economic development, social cohesion and good governance on the local level, in accordance with the broader EU policy towards Western Balkans.

Both Euroregions and Eurodistricts are among the "Model and draft agreements, statutes, cross-border coopera-

*EU assistance aimed at equalising living conditions in European regions is available both for the members and for the countries participating in the association process*





tion treaties among territorial units or authorities", proposed by the Council of Europe. Eurodistrict is a harmonious segment of a network of Adriatic cooperation that is capable of playing an important role in the framework of Adriatic Euroregion. Relations among the individual members of the South Adriatic Eurodistrict will be regulated by a separate convention regarding its organisation and functioning. The preamble of the Convention reminds of the existing conventions and protocols, as well as the prior agreements on cooperation and fraternisation between Kotor and Campomarino. The Convention also stipulates the scope for the Eurodistrict, its goals, duration, mode of accession of new members and dissolution. The second chapter lists the bodies within the Eurodistrict: Council, Executive Board and President. The Council will consist of



bers: two from Montenegro, one from Albania, the rest from the Molise region. President of the Eurodistrict is the legal representative of the institution and represents it before the local, national and European authorities. President is elected for a two-year term.

***The goals of Eurodistrict are based on its ambition to become a pilot region of the Adriatic basin laying foundations for a common European region premised on sustainable development, social cohesion and cultural dialogue***

mayors of the cities within the Eurodistrict, who elect the chairmen among themselves for a one-year term by qualified majority. Executive board consists of the chairmen, deputy chairmen and a maximum of seven mem-

The signatories of this convention are obliged to promote, manage or support initiatives regarding territorial cooperation, projects and programmes in the following priority fields: fishing, agro-industries, environment, sustain-

able tourism, marines for vessels used for free activities and building vessels for sports and entertainment, universities, research, culture, transportation, social and health care as well as local democracy, good governance and European citizenship.

The goals of Eurodistrict are based on its ambition to become a pilot region of the Adriatic basin laying foundations for a common European region premised on sustainable development, social cohesion and cultural dialogue. Among its objectives are also the aim to contribute positively to the activities of the Adriatic Euroregion via membership and participation in its internal bodies and direction participation of the citizens in cooperative activities in order to upgrade the instruments of local democracy and strengthen the sense of belonging to a common history and European culture.

These activities are accompanied by the "New European scenario", mostly regarding innovation in legislation, such as the adoption of the Regulation no. 1082/2006 on 5 July 2006 establishing European Group For Territorial Cooperation (ETCG). This is an ad-hoc instrument for the promotion and development of cooperation programmes and legal projects, with capacity to mobilise Community funds, and is open for participation of the central, regional and local authorities. The second innovation is the recently published Green Book "Towards the future maritime policy of European Union: European vision for seas and oceans", under the aegis of the European Commission. This document confirms the commitment of EC for the promotion of integrated, cross-sectoral and multidisciplinary maritime policy of EU, encompassing various aspects of relevance for the seas and oceans (maritime transport, industry, coastal regions, offshore energy, fish crops, maritime environment and other related issues).

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

## THE UNITING LINE

As a semi-closed sea bordering member states as well as third countries, Adriatic is certainly one of the most propitious regions for tangible implementation of the local development policies supported by the Council of Europe and European Unions. Such regional and cross-border cooperation could stem incipient and rising nationalisms, mediate conflicts and strengthen the support for common solutions to regional problems. The solution lies not in rigid transactions across regional administrations but in flexible asymmetric cooperation based on political, economic and scientific cooperation as well as cooperation among the civil sectors. No one can set the priorities for each community as well as the citizens who populate these regions and local communities. And the problems and priorities are usually the same, regardless of the borders. The borders are, after all, not a result of some natural laws, but usually the outcome of conflicts, historical wounds or nature itself. Through these projects, the borders are transformed into lines that unite and do not divide. South Adriatic Eurodistrict is a promising instrument for the accomplishment of these goals.

**JELENA MILIĆ, EXPERT ON REGIONAL AND SERBIAN POLITICS AND DIRECTOR OF THE CENTRE FOR EURO-ATLANTIC STUDIES**

# Kosovo test for EU as a global player

European values exist in the region, but none has taken root, says **Jelena Milić**, expert on regional and Serbian politics and director of the Centre for Euro-Atlantic Studies.

Asked to specify which values she has in mind, Milić says that the key problem concerns modern understanding of democracy which goes beyond electoral procedures and majority will to encompass the rule of law, stable institutions, compete protection of individual and collective human rights, free markets, and the right to protection.

"And, naturally, assuming responsibility for events around the world based on own behavior", said Milić for *European Pulse*.

She insists there is a lot to be done and that the "region is not isolated – the whole world is living a global 21st century and functions on the basis of interdependencies".

"All the changes and self-searching that goes on in the developed West, some because of the events of the September 11th in the USA, some because of the rising



weakened those of us who have been advocating these changes all along. This is why the new EU policy for the region – of inclusion and guidance, which I fully support, is

spite of the lacking internal consensus. It will also have to continue establishing Eulex mission in the whole of Kosovo once so much money has been invested, for its international credibility is now at stake. If it fails to assert its presence and importance soon enough, I fear that the region may be swept by a new wave of instability, and the EU's credibility will be seriously damaged, alongside its chances to become a global player on par with US and Russia. Taking on a leading role in Kosovo is a major test", Milić said.

She maintains that Kosovo and Balkans in general will be a test case of EU's ability to act as a global player, instead of simply remaining someone who "collects the bill".

Milić emphasises that the way the situation unfolds in Serbia will impact to an extent the rest of the region, "which has proven its maturity in certain ways in the last few years, with CEFTA and RSS".

The region is now split between recognising Kosovo on the one hand and avoiding to offend or isolate frustrated Serbia on the other. To put it frankly, economic interests are numerous and intertwined. I believe there is a lot of space for useful balancing. Both the region and the international community ought to refrain from interfering with efforts of the pro-European forces in Serbia and avoid aggravating their already delicate situation", Milić warned.

She adds that in Serbia these very forces must show more decisiveness and perhaps make some difficult steps and compromises. Delaying it would only drift Serbia

## *Taking responsibility for Kosovo, the EU has almost entirely assumed responsibility for the Western Balkans, which is encouraging*

interventions by an ever-stronger Russia conspire to slow down the consolidation of such values in the region. Which is a pity: not everyone in the region, whether they lived through the recent bloodsheds or not, have started on a good path as Balkans", Milić said.

She reminds that at the Thessalonica summit Brussels sent a clear signal to the region, before the EU itself entered an institutional crisis which led to a halt and to confused policies towards the Balkans.

"The anti-European forces in certain countries and parts of the Western Balkans sensed the reluctance and exploited the moment, and now we have this misunderstanding and distancing deepened by Kosovo's declaration of independence", Milić said.

She reminds that the EU has long debated whether to give up or to continue insisting on the conditionality policy, especially with regard to cooperation with ICTY.

"In its indecisiveness, it did the worst thing imaginable: the process was stop-and-go, without corresponding to any actual changes in Serbia. Neither **Mrđić** nor **Karadžić** were arrested. This only gave wings to nationalists and anti-Europeans and

needed now more than ever. It is only through this mode that we ought to continue fulfilling the remaining conditions and standards. The current dynamic of the association process, and even the candidacy itself, will soon cease to be attractive enough and sufficient to motivate the weakened pro-European forces, especially in Serbian

## *The way the situation unfolds in Serbia will have and impact on the rest of the region, which has shown many signs its maturity in the last few years*

and in Bosnia, but also in Macedonia which is suffering de facto EU sanctions for the last two years", Milić said.

She emphasises that by taking responsibility for Kosovo on itself the EU has almost entirely assumed responsibility for the Western Balkans, which is an encouraging sign.

"There are, however, many shortcomings still: neither international environment nor the internal deliberations are of the most propitious kind. The EU now has no choice but to continue supporting the accession process of the remaining countries in the region at a much greater pace, in

further apart from EU.

"One such step is to present to the public the real situation in and around Kosovo, and their plans how to deal with it, instead of simply stating that they want both Europe and Kosovo. It is even more important, perhaps, to bury the battle tomahawks among themselves and avoid display of personal animosities which are sometimes indeed repulsive for an average citizen who only wants to see Serbia in EU", Milić concluded.

N.R.



## NEW EU ENERGY INITIATIVE GETS A GREEN LIGHT

# Billion euros for hydrogen research

**E**U research ministers have approved a regulation setting up a long-term public-private research partnership on hydrogen and fuel cells, with the aim of reducing the time to market for these technologies by 2–5 years and cutting CO<sub>2</sub> emissions.

Competitiveness Council on 25 February reached an agreement on the essential elements for the launch of the EU 'Fuel cells and Hydrogen' joint technology initiative (JTI).

Faced with climate change and the need to reduce greenhouse gas emissions, these technologies are considered by many to be a clean alternative to traditional fossil fuels. When running on hydrogen, the only exhaust product of fuel cells is steam.

According to the Commission, EU-funded research had found that "introducing hydrogen into the energy system would reduce the total oil consumption by the road transport sector by 40% between now and 2050." But, the EU executive adds that "substantial barriers have first to be overcome" on economic, technological and institutional issues.

Currently, these technologies are



expected "to give confidence" to industry, public and private investors and decision-makers to join this long-term partnership.

"Of course, the private sector should act as usual by following their own interest," said Research Commissioner **Janez Potočnik**, adding that the main role of political actors was to create the right conditions and regulations for market uptake of these tech-

for the next 10–15 years.

EC adopted, on 10 October 2007, its first 'hydrogen package'. This includes a proposal for a regulation to simplify the market approval of hydrogen cars and a proposal for a regulation setting up the Fuel Cells and Hydrogen Joint Technology Initiative (JTI).

The package is said to offer "long term solutions for sustainable energy and transport systems, which will benefit society by mitigating the adverse effects of climate change and toxic pollutants, and reducing dependency on diminishing oil and gas reserves."

The proposal to simplify market approval for hydrogen cars is "an example of a regulation that stimulates innovation by providing for a clear framework and the necessary stability for industry," said Science and Research Commissioner **Janez Potočnik**. "The hydrogen JTI is a prime example of the sort of tools available to us as we develop our energy policy," he added.

However, Commissioner **Gunter Verheugen** said that, even though it presents a promising technological option, he was "not convinced that the hydrogen car will be the car of the future" but thought it was important to give this technology a opportunity to prove whether it will work.

"I don't know whether it will work some day. In any case it is sure that the technology will have no impact in the next 10–15 years."

Verheugen also said that one needs to ensure that the production of hydrogen does not itself lead to an increase in CO<sub>2</sub> emissions. "Hydrogen technology for vehicles is only viable in so far as we guarantee that the hydrogen itself is not obtained from fossil energy sources," he said, adding that it could be produced by nuclear power as the "EU does not have anti-nuclear policy".

**European Research Commissioner Janez Potočnik said that in the short term energy efficiency and creating conditions for markets to use low carbon energy resources were the most important efforts to reduce greenhouse gas emissions**

not commercially available and further research and technological development is needed before they can be widely used. The aim of the joint public-private research undertaking, agreed by the Council, is thus to speed up the development of fuel cells and hydrogen technologies in Europe to enable their commercialisation between 2010 and 2020.

The EU is set to contribute some 470 million to this research programme over the next six years and the private sector is expected to gather the same amount. Reaching the critical mass of the JTI research effort in this field is

nologies "as soon as possible."

According to *EurAktiv*, Potočnik also said that, in the short term, energy efficiency and creating conditions for markets to use low carbon energy resources were the most important efforts to reduce greenhouse gas emissions. In the long term, however, investment in renewables should be the solution.

The Commission has proposed simplifying market approval for hydrogen-powered cars and support research with 470 million over the next six years. However, Brussels admits that the technology will have little impact

N.R. – V.Š.

## WHAT IS WRITTEN IN THE LATEST COMMUNICATION FROM THE EUROPEAN COMMISSION – WEST BALKANS: ENHANCING THE EUROPEAN PERSPECTIVE

# Grants and loans first, EU membership after reforms

In order to strengthen European perspective of the Western Balkans, European Commission prepared a new initiative and submitted it to the Council of EU and European Parliament for consideration. The document envisages greater financial assistance for the Balkan countries, support for reforms, but also clearly specified conditions that each country must fulfil in order to qualify for membership in the EU.

"The future of the Western Balkans lies in the EU. The EU stresses the importance of peace, stability and security in this part of Europe, and welcomes all efforts of the Western Balkan countries to come closer to the EU,

meeting the necessary conditions. The Western Balkans has the potential to accelerate their course towards eventual EU membership, provided they pursue the path of reform and reconciliation, and meet the necessary conditions. The EU will assist them in this endeavour.

The document claims that the current year is a crucial one for the Western Balkans and that ultimately, it is the democratically elected leaders of the region who will determine whether their countries will move decisively forward towards stability and a European future.

In the section concerning Monte-

*Montenegro's further progress towards the EU depends on strengthening the rule of law, especially the fight against corruption and organised crime, enhancing administrative capacity and broadening the consensus on state-building*



negro, EC warns that the principles of judicial independence and accountability need to be fully respected and that the efforts to fight corruption and organised crime need to be enhanced.

"Continuing administrative reform and strengthening administrative capacity will be a key challenge for Montenegro. The implementation of the Interim Agreement and the upgrading of preparations to implement the SAA, once ratified, are essential for the further development of Montenegro's relations with the EU. Strengthening macroeconomic stability and business environment will also be important", the document states.

It adds that Montenegro's further progress towards the EU depends on strengthening the rule of law, especially the fight against corruption and organised crime, enhancing administrative capacity and broadening the consensus on state-building.

"Satisfactory implementation of the Stabilisation and Association Agreement is essential. As soon as Bosnia and Herzegovina meets the outstanding conditions, the Stabilisation and Association Agreement can be signed. The Commission considers that with the necessary political will and consensus, this

## DANILOVGRAD THE SEAT OF REGIONAL SCHOOL

European Commission confirmed that the Regional School of Public Administration (ReSPA), created in May 2006 in order to boost regional cooperation in the field of public administration, strengthen administrative capacities and develop human resources in this field, will be permanently established in Danilovgrad.

"The ReSPA Steering Committee already designated Danilovgrad as the future seat of the school. Preparations for the signing of the host country agreement, providing for the legal personality of ReSPA, have started and the procedures for appointment of the director and recruitment of staff will be launched in the course of 2008, after signing a Memorandum of Understanding among all beneficiaries. The European Institute of Public Administration will be closely involved in the new phase of the ReSPA project, and active cooperation with the national schools of public administration in the Member States is also being sought", the document states.

The EC expressed its support for the establishment of ReSPA and promised funding for the preparatory stages of the project. The running costs of the School will be covered by the participating states.





can be achieved soon. Serbia has a crucial role to play in ensuring stability, good neighbourly relations and regional cooperation in the Western Balkans. The Commission recalls the European Council conclusions of December 2007 that progress on the road towards the EU, including candidate status, can be accelerated. It calls on Serbia to reaffirm its commitment to a future within the European Union" states the document presented by the EU Enlargement Commissioner **Olli Rehn** on 5 March.

Kosovo is a special case – the EU emphasised its commitment to support Kosovo's political and economic development because Kosovo has, like the rest of the Western Balkans, a clear and concrete EU perspective.

"Basic issues of state building, good governance, administrative and judicial reform, rule of law including the fight against corruption and organised crime, reconciliation, socioeconomic development, and civil society development, are key reform priorities for the Western Balkans. Full cooperation with the International Criminal Tribunal for former Yugoslavia (ICTY) remains a condition on the way towards the EU for the countries concerned", states the document.

EC reminds that it has started a dialogue with all concerned countries in the region to establish as soon as possible road-maps on the conditions for lifting the visa requirement and increase the number of scholarships granted to students from the Western Balkans to

study in the EU.

"Efforts to ensure the full participation of the Western Balkan countries in Community programmes and agencies will be stepped up. EC's support to civil society development and dialogue will increase substantially, and a new financial facility is being established to that end. Coordination with International Financial Institutions, in particular the EIB and the EBRD, and with bilateral donors will be stepped up in order to

***European Investment Bank will increase its lending to the region (from a total of 1.9 billion euros for 2005–2007, to an estimated 2.8 billion for the period 2008–2010). This includes lending covered by the Community budget guarantee and lending at EIB's own risk***

mobilise grants and loans for modernisation and development. EC, the EIB, the EBRD and the Council of

Europe Development Bank committed to establish a Western Balkans Investment Framework by 2010 with other IFIs and donors. A Western Balkans Infrastructure

Initiative is being launched by the Commission and a number of IFIs and bilateral donors.

The EC is analysing the feasibility of further initiatives that would increase the leverage of actions in support of the EU's strategic objectives in the region", the document states.

European Commission insists on the strengthening of parliamentary cooperation among the Western Balkan countries, as well as cooperation bet-

ween the European Parliament and national parliaments. The aim is to transfer best practices and to foster reconciliation.

"Further development of regional cooperation is an integral part of the Western Balkans' European agenda. The recent transition of the Stability Pact to the Regional Cooperation

Council (RCC) is a major positive step. The Commission supports CEFTA, the Energy Community Treaty and the Agreement on a European Common Aviation Area. It also proposes the negotiation of a Western Balkans Transport Community Treaty".

"Regional cooperation brings concrete benefits to the peoples of the Western Balkans and assists them in drawing closer to the EU. It requires continued support from the EU and will be closely monitored by the Commission", EC emphasised.

The document reminds that the Western Balkans will receive around 4 billion euros under IPA for the period 2007–2013. This is the equivalent of 30 euros per capita per year, by far the highest amount provided by the EC to any region in the world.

"The European Investment Bank will increase its lending to the region

(from a total of 1.9 billion euros for 2005–2007, to an estimated 2.8 billion for the period 2008–2010). This includes lending covered by the Community budget guarantee and lending at EIB's own risk. EIB lending activities in the Western Balkans focus primarily on projects in the areas of transport, energy, small and medium-sized enterprises, environment, municipal infrastructure, education and health.

A major effort is being made in support of Kosovo. More than 1 billion euros from different EU financial instruments are planned to assist Kosovo's development and to finance the international presence for the period 2007–2010.

**N. RUDOVIĆ  
V. ŠĆEPANOVIĆ**



by Željko Vidaković

In a village school close to Mojkovac, a primary school student answered the exam question: "What is the difference between the mountains in the North and the mountains in the South", with a simple and clear: Everything! Guided by this simple logic without redundant elaborations, my answer to the question "Why do I want to be a citizen of Europe?" could be simply: In order to be a citizen. I will nevertheless try to elaborate on this desire, in an attempt to explain why a citizen, and why Europe.

Not so long ago in our countries individuals would qualify for certain advantages by being members of a given nation in a given moment, not by the virtue of being loyal citizens of a state. The Yugo-communist principle of the national key which decided on the access to university, promotions, office, housing and many other benefits worked miracles for manipulation of the masses. Today, at the end of the first decade of the second millennium certain people still insist that every third person employed in public administration should be "theirs", waving aside merit, cham-

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

pioning national labels over citizenship, freedom and courage as the primary judge of one's destiny. Belonging to a nation of citizens is a guarantee of European values, and a first step towards European working standards for European living standards. Anything else is typically Balkanic.

The question is, of course, what is Europe and where are its borders. The question weighs heavily especially after the 2004 Great Enlargement. Today among the members of the EU are not Iceland, Norway, Switzerland, West Balkan countries and several midjet states in Europe. Europe

*EU citizens are citizens of their own countries, but they are all citizens of Europe, with equal rights and freedoms to work, travel, trade in goods and capital. In order to become a part of this safer future, part of a rational, prosperous environment, we ought to stop calling on to our epic and heroic legends*

today is bordering Ukraine, Turkey, Belarus and Moldova. Are those the final borders of an enlarged Europe? From the standpoint of Russia and Turkey, a portion of each country is geographically on the European continent, more so in Russia than in Turkey, proportionally speaking. Yet while it is possible to imagine Turkey as an EU member, it is difficult to imagine Russia. EU is obviously interested in some countries and not in others. The political moment in the EU varies: once upon a time UK was denied accession, while Greece, Spain, Portugal, Malta, Bulgaria were easily embraced. Not even EU is always as European and democratic as one would like

it to be. But non-democracy European way is not the same thing as non-democracy Balkan way. Democratic tradition of the EU countries champions the peaceful, civic approach in contrast to the rigid national interests that reign in the Balkans, often culminating in warmongering rhetoric. Once the enemies of the times of old that always stood on the opposite sides in every war decided to set aside their narrow national interests and exchange them for economic development the United Europe became possible. Military resources were sacrificed on the altar of enduring

peace, instead of sacrificing the peace itself. EU citizens are citizens of their own countries, but they are all citizens of Europe, with equal rights and freedoms to work, travel, trade in goods and capital. In order to become a part of this safer future, part of a rational, prosperous environment, we ought to stop calling on to our epic and heroic legends, exchange them for European standards and proudly contribute our natural beauties to the map of EU. It will prettier, and our lives better.

Given that the whole of Montenegrin territory safely belongs to the European continent and that our new Constitution aims to establish a civic state, it





seems to me that being a citizen of Europe is a dream that may soon come true. Montenegro has no other plan to achieve stability, democracy, rule of law, protection of human and minority rights and safeguard competition. We can only become equal players in the world's largest economic zone if we play by the European rules.

***The stricter the conditions for entry to the EU club the better our prospects to complete the transition as a healthy society, ready to face the challenges of the future***

Citizens know that, and support European integrations in great numbers.

Few Montenegrins know anything about EU except for the most basic facts, and yet most of the citizens eagerly support the prospect of EU membership. Their reason is the same as of those who study the origin, development and functioning of EU – to be able to live of one's own work. The stricter the conditions for entry to the EU club the better our prospects to complete the transition as a healthy society ready to face the challenges. Strict competition rules in

the European space offer enormous opportunities for a tiny, flexible system like Montenegro. My belief in our chances is only strengthened by the successful implementation of education programmes on European integration and by the enthusiasm in the population for such programmes, and I speak from my own experience. My hopes are

rising with the possibility of using additional resources from the European funds to attain a status of an equal member of the family of rich, developed countries, and I am ready to stand up publicly for my ambition to become a citizen of Europe. This transition can only ensure that we can face all challenges, for it will bring the best and the brightest to all levels of decision making. Citizens of Europe can wield numerous other mechanisms to make their rulers accountable, many of which we lack or are unable to use at the moment.

I am reassured by the fact that

the EU travelled all phases of economic integration, erasing customs and borders, trade and production barriers and focusing on economic matters, while leaving political integration for later. To me, this is a proof of European pragmatism. In the Balkans politics always come first, stirring the spirits of nationhood, borders, history, heritage, and always ending up in bloodshed and senseless wars. If I had no other reasons to support EU, this would be one. Only as European citizens can we move on from wars and murder to work and creativity.

From this perspective, EU is the bastion of accountability and absence of corruption, independent judiciary and professional police. Yet we must try to build Europe "at home" before formally acceding to the Union. Once we all believe in it and behave accordingly, we will be Europe. Displays of civic courage, like it is done in the EU in response to even the slightest mishaps of public administration will testify that we are on the right track, on the European track. I believe that this is our road and that there are more and more like-minded people every day, on all levels. I would like us to become citizens of Europe as soon as possible so that the others can join us too, those that think alike but are afraid to say so in order to defend their means of existence. You can speak your mind in Europe without fearing consequences, and we must win this freedom as a constructive contribution of free citizens to the democratic development of our country. The more of us say it loudly, the better our chances for our wish to come true.

***The author is a manager of an insurance society. He attended VI generation of European Integration School***



AFTER A SHOCKING REPORT ON PAYMENTS TO ASSISTANTS, EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT REFUSED TO PUBLISH EXPENSES

# Cover-ups ruining reputation

The European Union's anti-fraud agency is to investigate whether parliamentarians have been pocketing staff allowances after a damning internal audit.

OLAF, the anti-fraud office, said on Wednesday it had asked for a copy of the confidential report, which exposes misuse of the 140 million euros annual staff budget. The report reveals cases of people claiming for staff they do not employ and routing payments through fake agencies. Shocked MEPs who read the report called in the financial watchdog. Its contents were "dynamite", said **Chris Davies**, a British Liberal. "These allegations should lead to the imprisonment of a number of MEPs," he said. "It is fraud and embezzlement on a massive scale", he said, reports EurAktiv.

Only members of the budgetary control committee such as Mr Davies can enter the locked room to read the report. They cannot take notes and must sign a confidentiality agreement.

An internal parliament auditor examined 167 payments to MEPs' assistants in 2004 and 2005. He did not name the deputies, but warned against excessive discretion of MEPs in paying their assistants: the MEP can basically choose between direct employment, a service provider or an agent.

The report, written by a Parliament auditor, called for a status for assistants under which they would be employed and paid directly by the Parliament, which was already proposed by the Commission in 1998 but was not approved by the Council.

The parliament said the report did not reveal cases of fraud but



European Parliament

*The parliament said the report did not reveal cases of fraud but exposed weaknesses in the system. "It is too complicated and not what MEPs are elected to do," it said*

exposed weaknesses in the system. "It is too complicated and not what MEPs are elected to do," it said.

There are three systems and different social security requirements in each of the 27 member states. Many MEPs use "service providers", usually a bookkeeper, to process payments and ensure that social security arrangements are met.

Reforms that are to be proposed

by the parliament's secretary-general shortly would give all MEPs the same rules, with assistants possibly employed under Belgian law.

**Paul van Buitenen**, whose allegations brought down the European Commission in 1999 and who is now an MEP, read the report. Failure to address the problem would swell the eurosceptic vote in elections next year, he said.



In the meantime, MEPs have agreed to reform their pay and expenses. Salaries will be equalised and MEPs will have to provide receipts for most spending.

Parliamentarians receive more than 15000 euros a month for staff and 4000 for a constituency office. They also receive 287 euros a day living expenses when attending sessions, a travel allowance and 4000 euros a year for trips outside the EU.

However, members of the European parliament have rejected a draft ruling that they should publish how much they pay their staff and claim on expenses in a move set to fuel the debate over their use of taxpayers' money.

The European ombudsman said in September that MEPs should detail staff wage bills and expenses claims. The Financial Times has learned that in a reply sent last Friday, the bureau of senior MEPs who run the house refused, citing privacy concerns.

However, for the first time they have agreed to publish how much each of the 785 members is entitled to, and for what. In 2006 they were granted 135 million euros to pay staff and 70 million, almost 100000

euros each, for travel and subsistence.

"Some members wanted disclosure. There is a feeling that we aren't quite there yet," said a senior official. "There is gradual progress towards people feeling that it is in the interest of members themselves to think about what the wider world thinks of us."

Pressure on parliamentarians is mounting to publicise the payments made to their assistants, after Dutch MEP Paul van Buitenen published a summary of a confidential Committee report on detailing abuses of the current payment system.

The van Buitenen paper, published on his website on 5 March, identifies contracts provided to assistants through a service provider as those which bear the highest risk of manipulation, because they remain vague regarding the tasks the assistants are supposed to fulfil.

For instance, no clause limits the monthly payments that can be made to a single contractor. The MEP's summary reveals a case in which a single assistant received a total salary of 15,496 euros, provided through a service provider, which is the month-

ly amount every MEP receives to pay his staff.

The report also lists cases in which payments were made to a service provider carrying out activities without any relation to the Parliament's activities, such as the timber trade, or where the organisation in question in fact belonged to the MEP himself.

Asked whether he was afraid of the potential impact on Parliament's image with the next elections just 15 months away, van Buitenen replied that keeping the results secret would be even more damaging to the image of the institution.

Last December's Eurobarometer revealed that citizens have lost trust in the European institutions. However, the figures were higher for those who trust them than those who do not.

**Martin Schulz**, German leader of the Socialists in EP, criticised the disclosure of the auditor's report, saying that it displays a disregard for internal rules. He, however, underlined that he was strongly supporting the recommendations of the report, particularly regarding the adoption of an assistants' statute.

British Liberal Democrat MEP Chris Davies, a substitute on the Budgetary Control Committee, told the Financial Times that the allegations "...should lead to the imprisonment of a number of MEPs."

The office of **Nils Lundgren**, the Swedish Vice-Chairman of the Committee showed sympathy for van Buitenen's cause of increasing transparency, but chose to respect Parliament's rules first, which prohibit the publication of internal documents without approval by the secretariat. Lundgren said that he had been lobbying his fellow committee members to make the report public, but "the coalition of Conservatives and Socialists has simply been too strong".

*There is gradual progress towards people feeling that it is in the interest of members themselves to think about what the wider world thinks of us, says one senior EP official*

## PUBLIC'S RIGHT TO KNOW TRUMPS PRIVACY CONCERNS

If dissatisfied with the response of the Parliament, Ombudsman **Nikiforos Diamandouros** could take legal action. His September 2006 draft ruling followed a 2005 complaint from a journalist refused details of what the five Maltese MEPs claimed in allowances.

The parliament said at the time that scrutiny from its own budgetary control committee and the court of auditors was sufficient. It cited data protection concerns.

But the European data protection supervisor judged that the public right to know trumped privacy consideration and Mr Diamandouros ruled that the expenses of members and their assistants should be published.

Many MEPs fear the elections could be dominated by outrage about generous pay and perks. British and Scandinavian MEPs have called for more transparency, but those from Mediterranean countries have been less supportive.

N. RUDOVIĆ  
V. ŠČEPANOVIĆ

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



# Eurojargon

**Federalism:** Broadly speaking, this means any system of government where several states form a unity and yet remain independent in their internal affairs. People who are in favour of this system are often called "federalists". A number of countries around the world – e.g. Australia, Canada, Germany, Switzerland and the United States – have federal models of government, in which some matters (such as foreign policy) are decided at the federal level while others are decided by the individual states. However, the model differs from one country to another. The European Union is not based on any of these models: it is not a federation but a unique form of union in which the member states remain independent and sovereign nations while pooling their sovereignty in many areas of common interest. This gives them a collective strength and influence on the world stage than none of them could have on their own. Part of the debate about the future of Europe is the question of whether the EU should or should not become more 'federal'.

**Financial perspective:** The word 'perspective' here really means 'plan'. The EU has to plan its work well in advance and ensure that it has enough money to pay for what it wants to do. So its main institutions (Parliament, the Council and the Commission) have to agree in advance on the priorities for the next few years and come up with a spending plan, which was earlier called a 'financial perspective' but is now better known as a 'financial framework'. This financial perspective or framework states the maximum amount the EU can spend, and what it can spend it on. The purpose of the financial perspective is to keep EU expenditure under control in spite of growing costs.

**Fortress Europe:** This expression is often used to mean an attitude that wants to defend Europe from outside influences, especially cultural influences. The term 'Fortress Europe' often appears in discussions about asylum and immigration regulations.

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.

**European integration:** This means building unity between European countries and peoples. Within the European Union it means that countries pool their resources and take many decisions jointly. This joint decision-making takes place through interaction between the EU institutions (the Parliament, the Council, the Commission, etc.). Although initially integration was a purely economic enterprise, it was always based upon a political idea of drawing together European states. Economic integration led to cooperation spillovers in other areas.

**European Year of...:** Every year or two, the EU or the Council of Europe may draw public attention to a particular European issue by organising a series of special events in connection with it.

**Europe Day, 9th May:** It was on 9 May 1950 that Robert Schuman (then French Foreign Minister) made his famous speech proposing European integration as the way to secure peace and build prosperity in post-war Europe. His proposals laid the foundations for what is now the European Union, so 9 May is celebrated annually as the EU's birthday.

**Eurosceptic:** This term is often used to mean a person who is opposed to European integration or who is 'sceptical' of the EU and its aims.

## NON – GOVERNMENTAL ORGANISATIONS IN EUROPEAN UNION



## ASSOCIATION OF EUROPEAN JOURNALISTS

AEJ is a pan-European non-governmental organisation based in Belgium, with more than 20 national sections across EU. It has NGO status with UNESCO and the Council of Europe and is a member of the European Movement.

The AEJ was set up in 1961 by a group of journalists from the then six founding countries of European Community. The founders were led by the idea that an association was necessary to promote solidarity and integration of European countries and contribute to democratisation of the European integration processes.

The goals of AEJ have not changed, and they constitute the basis of its activities, through demands for the freedom of information and freedom of the media in Europe.

Most activities of the AEJ are arranged by the sections at national level. However, one of the aims of the international association is to create links between individual journalists; to exchange contacts, information and ideas.

AEJ is governed by a General Assembly, an executive committee, elected officers and the general secretariat. The executive committee consists of all the national section secretaries and some elected members.

Each year one of the sections hosts the AEJ's annual congress, where the discussion revolves around current issues regarding the position of journalists and journalism in Europe, rights to information, and freedom of the media. The General Assembly debates and can pass resolutions on current cases where journalistic freedoms are in jeopardy.

In November 2007 AEJ published the results of a research into the freedom of the media in Europe. The title of the survey is "Goodbye to Freedom?" and the authors warn that media freedom in Europe has been jeopardised by the ever-growing political and economic pressures on free and independent media. The survey can be found at the association's website: [www.aej.org](http://www.aej.org).

Prepared by: Petar ĐUKANOVIĆ



# Panel discussion "Montenegro and EU: Opportunities and Challenges"



Within the Leadership Development Programme (LDP), conducted with support of the College of Europe, Transfuse organisation and Robert Bosch Stiftung, on 3 March 2008 in Podgorica NGO representatives met for a panel discussion "Montenegro and EU: Opportunities and Challenges". In their analysis of Montenegrin integration into EU the participants focused especially on the political and economic implications of the process, as well as on the public attitude towards membership in European Union.

**Daliborka Uljarević**, director of Centre for Civic Education emphasised that Montenegro lacks "civic courage, which in conjunction with rampant populism and short-term memory of the public slows down the progress towards EU". According to her, the main challenges for Montenegro in this process are organised crime, corruption on all levels and administrative capacities, with the result that Montenegro

"only seems like a success story" in the context of the problems facing other countries in the region. Executive director of Centre for Democracy and Human Rights (CEDEM), **Nenad Koprivica**, said that the public ought to have more information on the essence of the accession process, and noted that the public support for integration has decreased slightly in the last year. **Ivana Vojinović**, analyst from the Institute for Strategic Studies, said that Montenegro needs to adjust its budgetary structure in the pre-accession period and decrease public expenditure, which is only likely to suffer further from additional strains once Montenegro becomes a member and ceases to be a net aid recipient.

The discussion was organised by LDP fellows group from Montenegro, Italy, Albania and Bosnia and Herzegovina. More information about the programme can be found at [www.seeyoungleaders.org](http://www.seeyoungleaders.org)

## NGO–Government cooperation for European integrations

In the course of March two meetings were held between representatives of non-governmental organisations working in the area of European integrations in Montenegro and the Cabinet of the Deputy Prime Minister for European Integrations and Secretariat for European Integrations (SEI) in order to discuss Communication Strategy for 2007 and define Memorandum on cooperation between NGOs and SEI as well as the Action Plan for implementation of the Communication Strategy for 2008.

At the first meeting on 3 March 2008 the two parties outlined the main points of the documents and establish their mutual obligations for their improvement. SEI coordinated the process of gathering information, comments and suggestions. On 18 March, the two parties agreed on the basic documents regarding cooperation between Secretariat for European Integrations and non-governmental organisations. The results of meeting were a joint Report, finalisation of the Action plan for 2008 and most importantly, completion of the future Memorandum that will soon be signed by SEI and all interested NGOs.

# Training on writing policy papers

One of the ways to influence political processes and the development of government's public policy is to write policy proposals, in the specialist circles known as policy papers.

Many NGOs on the international scene use policy papers as key mechanisms to put pressure on the decision-makers.

"Introduction to writing policy papers" was the topic of a training

organised for NGO activists in Kotor from 22 to 23 March.

The participants had an opportunity to learn what a policy paper is, how to design it, learn about different phases of writing and finally make sure the proposal reaches the decision makers.

In addition to learning the skills relevant to writing a position paper, the participants were introduced to examples of organisations and individuals who

managed to influence certain position processes and decisions in their societies through precisely this mechanism.

The even was organised by Foundation Open Society Institute, Regional Office in Montenegro, and conducted by the trainers from Centre for Development of Non-Governmental Organisations and Centre for Monitoring, **Goran Đurović** and **Zlatko Vujović**.

## FOR THIS ISSUE WE RECOMMEND:

MA IN ADVANCED  
EUROPEAN AND  
INTERNATIONAL STUDIES

Istanbul, Nice, Berlin

**Scholarship / Financial aid:** scholarships available**Date:** 9 months (From October to July)**Deadline:** May 31st, 2008

Open to: students from International Relations, European Integration, Democracy and Society, Federalism

Applications for Scholarships in Master in Advanced European and International Studies (M.A.E.I.S.) at Institut Europeen des Hautes Etudes Internationales (Nice/France) is open!

The Master Program offers the unique opportunity to learn Europe "in Europe" and develop perspectives for Europe's future. The programme includes semesters in Istanbul, Nice and Berlin and guarantees an international education with an excellent academic staff and environment.

A limited number of full and partial scholarships are available for qualified candidates.

**Deadline for scholarship applications for the M.A.E.I.S.:**

The deadline for scholarship applications is May 31st, 2008

In any case, applications and especially request for financial aid should reach the I.E.H.E.I. as early as possible in order to be considered under the best conditions.

**Deadline for Master Applications:**

The deadline for applications is on July 31st, 2008.

**Curriculum Highlights:** Students who successfully complete the program acquire 60 ECTS credits. In addition to the stays in Istanbul, Nice, Berlin, the Institute offers a study trip to European and international organizations in Geneva, Strasbourg, and Brussels.**Program Value:** The program is taught by academics from various European countries, as well as experts from research institutions and international organizations. Over the last years, the Institute has graduated 5000 students coming from more than 80 different countries, having offered them many scholarship opportunities.**Subject Areas:** International Relations, Euro-

pean Integration, Democracy and Society, Federalism.

This program is supported by the European Union.

For more information, you are welcome to consult our web site at: [www.iehei.org](http://www.iehei.org)

Please address further requests to: Students Service

10 avenue des Fleurs

06000 NICE – France

Email: [melanie.hobaoloc@cife.eu](mailto:melanie.hobaoloc@cife.eu)

phone: +33 (0)4 93 97 93 70

Fax: +33 (0)4 93 97 93 71

MASTER PROGRAM ON  
EAST EUROPEAN STUDIES

Freie Universit t, Berlin, Germany

**Scholarship / Financial aid:** two scholarships (2,000 € each) offered**Date:** October 2008**Deadline:** April 30 2008**Open to:** postgraduates

EES Online, one of Germany's Top Ten International Master's Programs, offers you advanced education and training in regard to one of the most intriguing parts of the world: Eastern Europe. We work with state-of-the-art communication technology that won the Freie Universit t Berlin e-learning award 2006 for outstanding blended-learning initiatives. Our accredited program provides you with in-depth knowledge on topics related to this exciting and fast growing region. Your career will gain momentum while you can stay in the job.

Realize your ambitions and join our EES Online international community in October 2008. We are looking forward to meeting and supporting you. Contact us for any question or advice.

Applications are welcome till April 30. Please apply online.

**Admission**

Participants must be postgraduate, that is, a prior university degree (B.A., M.A., Diploma, state examination etc.) is required. Preferably this degree has been obtained in humanities or social sciences (including law and economics). But exceptions for applicants of other fields are possible under certain conditions. An interest in Eastern Europe is important, meaning the desire to increase one's knowledge of this fascinating part of the world. Participants are



expected to work across various disciplines.

Participants have to be fluent in English. In addition, basic knowledge of at least one East European language is needed – yet this linguistic proficiency can be developed during the duration of the program.

Participants must have adequate electronic equipment at their disposal that is able to deal with various multimedia material. Internet access and a personal email account are mandatory.

For the time being, tuition fees amount to 4,450 € per year of study plus the regular registration fees of the Freie Universit t Berlin, namely 176.36 € per year (cf. our tuition statute and its latest revision). Costs arising from the in-house classes must be paid by the students themselves (travel expenses, room and board).

Selection criteria are:

- quality of the university degree (overall grade)
- particular eligibility for the East European Studies Online Master's program according to the mission statement
- English proficiency
- details on previous education, training and career experience that are relevant to the East European Studies Online Master's program.

Successful candidates must register at the Freie Universit t Berlin during the first in-house classes in Berlin. They then have to provide the original of their university diploma as well as a certified translation where required (will be handed back after being checked).

Are offered two scholarships (2,000 € each) for particularly qualified and needy students.

Further information at: <http://www.ees-online.org/index.html>

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

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

**Editor in Chief: Nedeljko Rudović**

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

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

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

**Njegoševa 36 / I**

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

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

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