



FOCUS OF  
THIS ISSUE  
Waste  
management  
and EU  
standards

INTERVIEW  
Igor Furdik,  
ambassador of  
Slovakia

## ANALYSES

Why are EU officials  
meddling with Montenegrin  
political affairs

European  
Information Centre





## PROGRAMME

The draft of the National Programme for Integration of Montenegro into EU until 2012, adopted in early April, is one of the most systematic documents that left the Government's chambers in the last 18 years. The authors, led by **Gordana Đurović**, ought to be congratulated.

The added value of the document is that it provides a fairly realistic picture of Montenegrin reality. The government admitted that inflation was 8% last year and that the price of electricity jumped 30%, in spite of the earlier demanti.

The government also admitted to being responsible for the state of transport infrastructure, on which it used to spend 8 million per year, instead of the required 40 million.

The part that may cause worry are the plans that loom in the background of this document which, on purpose or by chance, discloses rather than hides the real intentions of the executive (which is a laudable achievement by all means).

For instance, that the government is only planning a more serious attack on corruption and crime in 2010, that it worries little about money laundering – steam boxes and elevators earned greater attention in this programme than all of crime put together.

This only a few days after the EC president **Jose Manuel Barroso** warned the authorities in Podgorica to "double" their efforts to fight crime and corruption. The Government may have been too preoccupied drafting these programmes, which lack any legal power, although every European bureaucrat will applaud setting the good intentions on paper. But the plans have already been drafted in Brussels. The trick is how to translate them into deeds, especially when it concerns crime and corruption.

V.Ž.

## EUROPEAN COMMISSION URGED EU MEMBER STATES TO COMPLY WITH THE AGREEMENT ON VISA FACILITATION

# Through embassies easily

European Commission and representatives of Slovenia urged the European Union member states at the meeting in Luxembourg to consistently implement agreements on visa facilitation for the West Balkan countries.

This comes as a warning to EU members as the agreements, which officially came into force in January are still far from being implemented. Going to Europe is as difficult as ever, said the EC officials.

"There are certain bureaucratic problems and delays, and we would like everything to go smoothly", add the diplomatic sources.

To that end, member states received a written admonition by the commissioner for transport **Jacques Barreau** (temporarily replacing home and justice affairs commissioner **Franco Frattini**) and **Dragutin Mate** on behalf of the Slovenian ministry of internal affairs.

Although the agreements have simplified visa procedures for many categories of the population, up to 80%, citizens of Serbia, Macedonia, BiH, Albania and Montenegro are still grappling with embassy bureaucracies.

The EC initiative emphasises the example of Serbia, whose citizens in particular have been under embargo imposed by certain EU embassies after demonstrations and attacks on diplomatic representations in Belgrade following the protests against Kosovo's independence.

Montenegrin citizens have similar difficulties securing Schengen visas, as was revealed after the affair with the Italian embassy, so far the most liberal establishment towards Montenegrins travelling abroad. This embassy publicly announced that it only issues visas for entry into Italy, France and Malta and that citizens travelling to other EU countries may be sanctioned.

The ambassador, **Gabriele Meucci**, admitted that various groups such as Employers' Union, tourist agencies and



journalists' associations have been criticizing the embassy for not issuing visas to the people who violate Schengen rules, and the procedures have been significantly extended because of checks.

Montenegro Business Alliance (MBA) demanded last week that all business people in Montenegro should be allowed to travel without visas and criticised their "selective" issuing.

MBA insists that all embassies should simplify procedures for business people, students and citizens until visas have been finally abolished. They said that even if the businessmen would eventually emigrate from Montenegro to EU, that would hardly be a problem for EU member states.

"The number of people travelling abroad is anyway minuscule, 10 000 according to our estimates", MBA said.

The Council of EU should agree on a road map by late April which will indicate individual tasks for every West Balkan countries to be accomplished in order to abolish visas for travel to EU. Montenegrin government expects that this could already happen by early next year.

V.Ž.





by Daniel Korsi

## A VIEW FROM EUROPE

# Goodbye Balkans, Hello Adriatic Peninsula

The EU's Western Balkans policy has had a mixed record since 2001. The EU can claim successes in Croatia, Montenegro, Albania and Macedonia – even if dangers remain – but ten years of European policy have reached a dead-end in Kosovo, Bosnia-Herzegovina and Serbia. With little left of its mandate, the European Commission is unlikely to change policy. But new thinking is required in preparation for the next Commission.

Such new thinking must recognise the differences between two Balkans. On the one hand, the "Adriatic Peninsula" (Croatia, Albania, Montenegro and Macedonia) where progress has taken place and the current enlargement strategy – with some adjustments – is likely to work.

And, on the other hand, the "Central Balkans" (Serbia, Kosovo and Bosnia-Herzegovina) where intractable territorial and ethno-political problems have proven immune to the EU's Stabilisation and Association process, the hands-on ESPD missions and light-touch protectorates.

Re-branding the region will, of course, not solve anything by itself. But the "Western Balkans", a term invented in the late 1990s to describe the wedge-shaped Peninsula, has outlived its usefulness. Changing it would be a first, conceptual step towards a new approach. But other, more radical changes are required.

First to Adriatic Peninsula. Progress

in Macedonia, Croatia and Albania has been considerable. Bureaucratic systems have shown a willingness to adapt and improve. Problems remain. Compliance with the rule of law and international obligations is lacking, and the respect for minority rights needs to be improved. Crime is also a problem, especially in Albania and Montenegro. The question is how to speed up progress and insulate these countries from developments in the Central Balkans?

First, the EU should give the three countries of the Adriatic Region a date when they can expect to join the EU: Croatia's could be 2010, Albania's 2011 and Macedonia's 2012. Though they would only be allowed at these dates if the *aquis communautaire* has been adopted.

This "reverse conditionality" should give an injection of adrenalin into the countries' reform processes, *inter alia*, by putting to rest fears that the EU is pre-occupied with its "absorptive capacity".

Second, the EU should immediately allow access by the three countries to as many aspects of the EU as possible. This form of "enlargement without the institutions", as my colleague Jose Ignacio Torreblanca calls it, could see the countries join e.g. the European Defence Agency.

Third, the EU should look for ways to tighten regional cooperation within the Adriatic Peninsula. Until now, the EU has made regional cooperation across the whole region a key part of its strategy. But today trade is easier between the EU and the region than between the countries of the region. At the same time, the EU must acknowledge that improved regional ties are unlikely to change dynamics in the Central Balkans. Regional cooperation should therefore shift towards the Adriatic Peninsula.

But what should a new approach to

the Central Balkans contain? In this region the EU has spent billions of euros, dispatched almost half of its deployable military forces and seen only meagre returns. Zero growth and pervasive corruption vie for attention with high unemployment, renewed ethnic tensions, non-compliance with ICTY and popular disappointment with EU integration.

To oversee the relationship between the EU and the two re-named regions, DG Enlargement in the European Commission should be broken into two.

On the one hand, there should be a new DG – DG Integration – which would handle relations with Croatia, Macedonia, Montenegro and Albania, work towards a new Integration Strategy and be staffed by existing Commission staff. On the other hand, there should be a DG Enlargement, which would cover the Central Balkans, Turkey, Ukraine etc., work towards a modified and more political "Enlargement Strategy".

Some analysts argue that there is no reason to change EU policy. Croatia, Albania, Macedonia and Montenegro seem to be making progress. In the Central Balkans, the billions of euros spent may not produce results, but they keep a lid on any fighting.

Besides, some analysts say, what is the hurry? If it takes another decade for the region to move towards the EU, then this may be a small price to pay for compliance with norms and values – like cooperation with ICTY – which lie at the heart of the EU. But progress in the Adriatic Peninsula is not yet self-sustainable while things can get a lot worse in the Central Balkans. To avoid both, new thinking is needed.

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## STATE AND LOCAL AUTHORITIES WILL HAVE THEIR HANDS FULL TO ADJUST WASTE MANAGEMENT PRACTICES TO EU STANDARDS



by Danilo Mihajlović

A few years ago the authorities of the English town of Hinkly fined citizen **Andy Tern** 50 pounds for having disposed his "personal garbage" in a public bin.

The judge explained that personal garbage must not be thrown into public containers but instead disposed of in the bins that stand before the houses and are emptied at the expense of the residents.

Yet few years before that the pilot project of the then mayor of Podgorica **Mihailo Burić** failed miserably – the plastic paper containers were burned down.

Today the communal service workers dream of catching up with the thieves who lift up to 1500 wheels per year off the garbage containers, while the representatives of the Montenegrin Government are trumpeting a revolution against waste, with a special chapter on "rising public awareness".

Waste management takes up a good portion of European regulations in the domain of environmental protection, which in itself is between 60 and 80% of all directives, regulations and other EU legal documents that ought to be

## Bags flying, containers burning while the governments ponder the waste puzzle

transposed and implemented in the course of EU accession.

In Montenegro there was no shortage of declaratory zeal but garbage bags in the streets, mini-junk heaps by some offices, medicinal waste on the river banks, unpleasant and unbearable odours at every step...testify to how much the authorities have really done about this issue so far.

Four years ago the Montenegrin government adopted a national policy of waste management, and in 2005 also the Strategic master plan and Law on waste management, whose imple-

mentation is postponed until November this year.

In mid-February 2008 representatives of the executive adopted a Plan of Waste Management, which is an overview of activities to be implemented over the next five years in cooperation with agents responsible for their management.

Among the short-term priorities, to be completed by the end of 2009, in addition to building another six regional waste disposal sites, there remains the task of establishing the same number of inter-municipal enterprises to

## BILLION EUROS FOR THE NEXT 25 YEARS

Representatives of the European Investment Bank (EIB) and the Ministry of Tourism estimated the costs of waste and waste water management in Montenegro to be around 700 million euros. The amount is to be raised over the next 25 years. EIB's representative **Merien Hoenike** said that the strategic master plan ought to be revised, as "many things have changed".

There is the sanitary waste depository in Podgorica, and other municipalities are also thinking in that direction. We would like to study this question further and find solutions that would be suitable for local governments and at the same time fulfil the Governments' requirements – being economically, financially, ecologically and technically sound", Hoenike said.

Stanković said that the realisation of the strategic master plan for waste water management for the coastal area and the municipality of Cetinje alone will cost around 280 million, the same amount goes for the central and northern parts and another 120 million for the master plan on waste management.

"Which comes up to 700 million. Besides, a long-term solution for the provision of drinking water to the coast, regional aqueducts and repair of distributional networks will cost a minimum of 140 million. In short, we will have to find around one billion euros in the next 25 years", Stanković said.



manage them.

The citizens of the first ecological state on Earth can for the time being boast of a single sanitary waste depository, in Podgorica.

As the goals of future projects the Government emphasises the control of waste's impact on the health and environment, protection of natural resources and removing the negative effects from the earlier period.

The new system will also imply broadening of the current area for waste collection and transportation of waste with recycling potential, establishment of a network of recycling sites to simplify collection of the materials, creating opportunities for composting of the green (organic) waste and building plants for recycling of construction waste and sand.

Waste-producers who turn out more than 40 tons of non-toxic or 200 kilograms of toxic waste per year ought to have their own waste



photo VIJESTI

Siniša Stanković

disposal plan.

Local plans for waste management will become responsibility of municipalities which have the obligation of selective collection and disposal of waste in sanitary

depositories and its overall management in line with advanced EU standards.

The Government admits that they are aware of the overwhelming weight this puts on the local governments, which is why most of them did not do a single thing to approach these standards.

Deputy minister of tourism and environment **Siniša Stanković** says that in all likelihood the first sanitary depositories will be erected early next year for the coastal townships, and within two to three months also in the central and northern parts of Montenegro.

"I know that local governments are facing many limitations in terms of financing and personnel. Within this years' budget the Government has allocated special funds for feasibility studies, research into environmental impact and the construction of regional sanitary depositories to be built in the townships of Bar, Kotor, Bijelo Polje and Pljevlja", said Stanković for the European Pulse.

He noted that the necessary funding for the municipalities of Nikšić have been provided by the

## IRISH EXAMPLE FOR PLASTIC BAGS

Ministry of tourism and the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) office started an initiative for resolving the problem of plastic waste in Montenegro and eliminating plastic bags from use.

**Igor Jovanović**, assistant to the minister, explains that Montenegro wastes an incredible number of plastic bags that have already gone out of use in many countries of the world.

"Which is why Montenegro will have to respect EU requirements to forbid the use of plastic bags, and the ministry will soon implement mechanisms for reduction and complete elimination of these items – from tax burden to legal bans", Jovanović said.

Head of the UNDP sector for economics and environmental protection Dr **Milica Begović-Radojević** said that a plastic bags is at most useful for a few hours, while it takes around thousand years to disintegrate.

"Their production contributes to air pollution, and less than 6% of plastic bags is recycled globally... Around a billion of sea birds and mammals dies annually having swallowed a plastic bags, and it is estimate that 500 million to a billion of them is consumed annually", she said.

Begović-Radojević gave the example of Ireland which introduced a 15% tax per plastic bag. In the first year the returns amounted to 11 million euros, which were used to implement other environmental regulations.



Spanish government as donation, and that "one Spanish firm is already working on the realisation of these documents".

"The municipality of Berane conducted a feasibility study at its own expense, and the Government will provide assistance in the later stages of the main project. I expect that by the end of this year we will have a tender for the construction of sanitary depositories at these locations", Stanković added.

The Government estimates that for the full implementation of the Strategic Master Plan, i.e. for organisation of the waste management system in line with EU directives, the country will need between 110 and 120 million euros.

Asked what the municipalities have done so far on their own to manage selective waste disposal, Stanković replied that in many cases the government had to step in to help.

"The government financed acquisition of containers for selective waste disposal, and decided on their number for every municipality. Local municipalities decided on the areas where they will begin selective waste disposal to be gradually expanded to other zones. In this way, they would also increase the number of articles and secondary resources to be collected in this manner", Stanković said.



photo: VJESTI

New regulations in accordance with the Directive on packaging and packaging waste (94/62/EZ) are planned for the end of 2009, with the aim of preventing or minimising the impact of waste on environment.

The minimum standards for packaging and recycling of packaging waste will be established.

"The main requirements regard the content and possibility for recycling of the packaging and

establish its minimum value and weight that would still correspond to the acceptable levels of security, hygiene and acceptability for the consumer. The percentage of toxic substances in the packaging must be brought to an absolute minimum, and the same goes for the heavy metals. Packaging must be fit for reuse or recycling", states the National Programme for Integrations (NPI), which prescribes the elements of the directives to be immediately introduced into the national legislation.

The same document states that in 2008 and 2009 more than nine million euros from the national budget will be allocated for these purposes, plus 17 million of local governments' contributions and around 28 million in foreign donations.

A few days ago Montenegro celebrated 22 April, Day of the Earth. At the moment, only 15% of its citizens pay for the removal of their waste.

## LEAKING FROM EVERY CRACK

The United Nations Economic Commission for Europe (UNECE) report on the environmental situation in Montenegro warns that water is used recklessly, compared to the amount of resources, while the distribution system suffers acute problems, including water shortages during the summer.

"Waste water is simply leaked off without being treated, which is a huge problem in the coastal area, where such water is just let out into the sea. The leakage of waste water into water bodies is a serious problem which remains neglected. In the coastal region only 56% of the population has access to the sewer system. Montenegro has only two plants for waste water management, out of which only one functions, that in Podgorica. In other municipalities the authorities simply leak their waste water into rivers or streams or filter them into the ground through septic tanks", states the Report.



## WHY ARE EU OFFICIALS MEDDLING WITH MONTENEGRIN POLITICAL AFFAIRS



by Neđeljko Rudović

Only four days before presidential elections on the 6 April EU's highest officials were tapping Montenegro's PM **Milo Đukanović** on the shoulder, saying that Montenegro was "on the right track" and "grabbing towards European Union". Right before that EC representatives sang odes to the Đukanović's ministers, only occasionally touching upon issues that are looming big over the country: organized crime and cor-

*The question of whether EU, through its political representative, supports DPS fades before the question – why? Unofficial sources suggest that Kosovo may be the key reason*

ruption, and strengthening of cadre capacities in state administration. Such warnings, that abound in every Report of the European Commission on the progress of Montenegro, faded away during the presidential campaign, which in conjunction with the unusual admiration of Brussels' officials for the Montenegrin leader causes suspicion that the Montenegrin authorities may be so resistant to oppositions' assaults also because of the support they command in Washington and Brussels.

Whether Brussels stepped into the Montenegrin political waters to uphold the ruling DPS–SDP coalition can be answered in two ways. One– it did not, Đukanović only appeared in Brussels on the 2 April to carry out his regular duties as a PM, where he met **Javier Solana**. Two, and anybody who follows the perfidious subtleties of politics to a great length would believe it, Solana did indeed provide substantial support to DPS on this occasion, although

# Corruption of secondary concern

it is hard to tell whether that was decisive for the victory of DPS candidate **Filip Vujanović** in the first round of presidential elections.

"Đukanović is an important leader in the region, and it would not be the first time that he shoulders a lot of responsibilities. We hope that in his old–new role he will continue to be a constructive partner in the region. This is an important moment for the stability of the Balkans and it requires effort from all of us. This is why we need responsible and influential people", said Javier Solana, the one–time fierce opponent of Đukanović.

He also dubbed relations between Montenegro and EU "excellent", adding that the Interim Agreement is being "perfectly implemented".

"For now, everything is positive. We hope that the reforms ahead will also be implemented at a good pace, like in the past".

most important motivation for the powerful political pragmatists, they have little time to worry over the internal developments in the country led by Đukanović. The rule of law, fight against corruption, nepotism, family and extended networks are topics to be discussed by brave ambassadors of some EU countries. At the moment, however, Brussels and, of course, Washington, have different priorities.

Montenegrin Europhiles critically pre-disposed towards the government are now facing a serious dilemma – will the EU really manage to pressure this government to conduct genuine reforms and build the rule of law the closer it approaches membership in the EU? Representatives of the Commission will probably be breathing into its neck and asking uncomfortable questions, but EC is after all only the executive of EU, and will have to withdraw before political compromises struck higher above – for instance, by the "Catalonian unionist", as the Đukanović's party once called Solana around the 2006 referendum.

And while some of the Montenegrin intellectuals doubt that the government can ever be changed while Đukanović continues to feature as the "guarantor of stability", professor **Milan Popović** has a harsher view:

"There is a shameful alliance between the local and Brussels' oligarchs. Solana meets the PM and says that he is excellent, the best, the greatest...He sheds superlatives on the Prime Minister of a country where the basic voting rights were violated by providing public support for the preferred presidential candidate, and where uncleared accusations of buying votes abound", said Popović at a debate following the presidential elections.

"How can EC criticise corruption and organised crime if at the same time it organises promotional audiences for and offers political support to the people who are the main source of the problem?", he asked.

Solana may know the answer, but he clearly does not have time, like around the referendum, to waste on talking to the opposition leaders.



Đukanović and Solana

SLOVAK AMBASSADOR IGOR FURDIK

# Create the right social ambient for fighting crime and corruption

Ambassador of Slovakia in Belgrade and non-residential ambassador to Montenegro **Igor Furdik** said that in order to fight successfully against crime and corruption and overcome this obstacle on the road to EU a society must first create the right environment to deal with such problem.

Brussels has repeatedly emphasised the urgency of dealing with organised crime and corruption in Montenegro. Asked for an advice to the government in Podgorica regarding this problem, Furdik said for the *European Pulse*:

"There is no single best recipe. In Slovakia we have first formed special courts to deal with "difficult" issues concerning crime, organised crime and corruption. Today we are thinking of abolishing such courts, as it seems that the regular courts are now capable of handling such issues.

The most important thing is to create the right social atmosphere to fight against crime and corruption. Simply, to ensure that people are not afraid of speaking up, that the authorities can do their work without interference and that they come up with concrete proofs, because such things must be settled in court. It is difficult to create such atmosphere, and may well take time", Furdik warned.

He adds that the additional aggravating factor for such small societies as Montenegro and Slovakia is that "everybody knows everybody else".

"Nevertheless, it is possible to



fight corruption and crime, even in such societies", Furdik emphasised.

● **Strengthening administrative capacities is another challenge for Montenegro on its road to EU. Did Slovakia have similar problems and what were your solutions? What would you recommend to Montenegro?**

Doing away with the old system we thought that bureaucracy will simply disappear. Opposite is the truth, however, and for a very simple reason – if you want everything to work smoothly you have to have a well governed state, including an efficient and competent administration, or "positive bureaucracy".

Implementing the bulk of European legislation is a complex, long-term process. There is something called "learning by doing",

which is what Slovakia did. We strengthened our administration and capacities while progressing towards EU. We had six years of very intensive negotiations with EU, from 1998 to 2004. The ministries were forced to find the people who could do the work and they in turn pressured other institutions, education...

You already have people who can do the work. Montenegro signed the SAA and in order to fulfil the commitments you will need a lot of young people in addition to the experienced ones. I do not know how long the negotiation would take for you, maybe four, maybe six years...in the meantime you will build up the right administration.

● **Where do you see concrete opportunities for cooperation and assistance between Slovakia and Montenegro with regard to European integration?**

Slovakia has repeatedly offered various forms of assistance and consultation regarding European integrations, and our offer is on the table. It is up to you to decide whom you want as your advisor on the road to EU – if you chose Slovakia, we are ready to help. Our defence and security experts, and we are experienced in these areas, have already visited Montenegro.

Another very concrete proposal, we have offered your ministry of foreign affairs to send their young diplomats for internships to our ministry. We are also using



similar programmes with our partners from EU and USA.

- **Did the ministry reply?**

Not yet. They did take our offer very seriously, though, but there may be serious capacity-related problems. They simply cannot afford to have somebody on a leave to Slovakia.

- **According to the latest public opinion polls less than 30% of Montenegrin citizens support accession to the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation. How did this process go in Slovakia? Did it have public support?**

The issue of NATO accession, especially in our countries, was always a sensitive one because of the past involvement in the Warsaw Pact.

People automatically see an analogy between military-political structures. They thought little of leaving one alliance in order to be swallowed by another.

Numerous opinion polls were made in the period before NATO accession, and it turned out that people in different countries saw different advantages in joining the



NATO alliance. In most countries of the former socialist block the key driving force was the fear of USSR, of Russia. Slovakia was not concerned about it. Slovak citizens thought of the NATO more as a gateway into a social and political system that would be founded

upon different values and criteria than the one we were leaving behind. Still, support for NATO accession often fell under 50%.

One can increase the support, but the process is very difficult. It all depends on the position the state takes towards the issue, the way it explains the NATO to its citizens.

- **Could the Kosovo question influence the European integrations process of the Western Balkans?**

There is no single EU policy on recognising Kosovo. EU concluded that each one of the states, as the international law prescribes, should decide on whether to recognise Kosovo or not. For the time being, Slovakia decided not to recognise Kosovo's independence.

In this phase of integration, West Balkan states and Montenegro should not worry about Kosovo's independence, although later on in the process they will have to revise their relations with neighbouring states.

## AFTER EU ACCESSION WE BECAME A CAR INDUSTRY GIANT

- **It has been almost four years since Slovakia joined EU. What are the economic and other benefits for the country from EU accession?**

It is impossible to estimate the benefits through any single indicator, because the question is very complex. The things are simpler in the economic and social sphere.

The unemployment rate today is around 9%, from 16% four years ago. Many young people are working abroad, in other EU members, gathering experience...

There are three car factories in Slovakia at the moment (Volkswagen, Kia, Citroen). At the time we joined EU it was all still at the planning stage. This year the production will reach some 600 000 cars, with total projected production capacities of 1 million.

We also gained access to European funds that have been out of our reach before joining EU. By 2013 Slovakia can count on some 11 billion euros from these funds. These are the facts.

As for politics, that is more difficult to measure. Our politicians are now saying that we have become part of a structure that decides on very serious issues in Europe and in the world.

V. ŽUGIĆ

# My election day

by Brano Mandić

The good old method of statistical sample was a jackpot again, although the question "how do you feel in the voting boot?" caused some confusion among the respondents. And not any respondents – the target group of our mini-poll were emancipated city folk from the other side of Morača and university-elevated newcomers who managed to scramble together some above-the-average wage and are nibbling away at their early thirties in this city we call the centre of Montenegro. Journalists, NGO activists, professors and the assorted riffraff.

These free, well-read individuals, selected by the impeccable intuition of the pollster were mostly inclined to vote opposition or lightly shrouded in the aristocratic mantle of abstinence.

They all admitted that voting for them is a sort of trauma and that when faced with the slip of paper on which to circle their favourite candidate they tend to experience vague faltering of consciousness and nearly Quisling-like anxiety.

All respondents also said that they were swept with fear that they may circle the opponent instead. Besides, they confessed, not one of



is politically chic and a measure of good taste.

Back to science, we may ask the question: if these educated youngsters got cold feet during the holy act of voting, what happens under the scalp of a 60-year old whose family, for instance, had to run away to Luxembourg in 1991? Or, what cooks under the bun of a single mother with two children on the day of the elections, with only a few hundred euros in her wallet and the obligation to be politically correct at work?

will soar. To make things worse, those were the candidates of the opposition.

The fear as the favourite aggregate state of the Montenegrin nation throughout history features in our textbooks as the trigger for courageous deeds. In reality, fear only causes physical blockade in the potential voter for the opposition.

Dominance of the authorities is personified by at least two individuals at the ballot itself, e.g. a primary school in Berane. Number one is the dedicated individual – from the Organisation – who sprays the voting index fingers.

He represents the state's concern for regulations. At the very beginning, the man with the spray lets you know that you're suspicious, and he's there to control you.

The member of the electoral board who tears the coupon from the voting slip has enormous psychological power, as he is the one who holds the voters' ballot. In these few seconds he is the master of the situation, provided you really do not want anyone to know your voting preferences. Remember the childhood when you

*The member of the electoral board who tears the coupon from the voting slip has enormous psychological power, as he is the one who holds the voters' ballot. In these few seconds he is the master of the situation, provided you really do not want anyone to know your voting preferences*

them missed out on reading the small print at the bottom of the slip directing the voter not to circle the names, but the numbers in front.

No wonder, we conclude, that the political PR circles insisted on the slogans "circle 1,2,3 or 4". Given that more than half of the voters circled 4, we are using this opportunity to congratulate Montenegrin citizens on their new president, because doing so

It is safe to assume that such exemplars of Montenegrin voters get at least a notch more paranoid in their voting cabins than the sloths and weekend dope-heads we interviewed above.

And small wonder too: at least three candidates for 30 days have tried to convince the voters day and night that if opposition comes to power, unemployment in Montenegro



would show your favourite toy to your best friend, but only "from my hands".

Or remember the voting regulations that suggest that you never give your folded ballot to the person in charge but hand it over reluctantly, like a theatre ticket. If the person at the entrance takes away your ticket in the Montenegrin National Cinema, you would immediately think that something was wrong with it.

All these may strike you as irrelevant details, in which case you are free to wonder off through the virtual landscapes of political slogans, unaware that elections take place in three dimensions, in communication between the voter on the one side of the table and his state right across the boards, usually on Sundays between 8 and 21h.

Why would the politicians be so confident about throwing in their own ballot if the elections weren't a kind of delicate psychological show tending towards thriller? Observing WHAT the voter does is the only way to somehow penetrate his or her mind, set on twenty years of the same party in power.

***Lacking success in sports, the elections have become the only happening of the collective unconscious in Montenegro. The collective unconscious in traditional environments typically tends towards masochism***

What then, could we observe on the 6 April? We could see that the citizens traditionally turn up for the elections spruced up, although a good majority belongs to soc-realist fashion from the early eighties.

Why do we dress up for elections? It is a way of honouring the act of voting and sending a message that you are a serious individual intent on deciding about his/her own destiny. On the other hand, it is unfortunately very likely that the Election Day is a rare occasion for some people to show that they too can be well dressed. Add the piquant detail that



ten days before the elections a theatre play named "Let's sex" took place in Andrijevisa, which is the first visit of a theatre troop to the city of Lalić since 1978. "Let's vote" may have been a more logical title. Instead in Andrijevisa sex, which for traditional psychoanalysis is the hidden cause of

***Never-changing government has become the personal brand and trademark of Montenegro. The local voter is not only entirely inexperienced with political change, but is also hammered into accepting such political reality as a brand that will make our country recognised abroad***

all human action, has become the cover for a more profound archetype – politics.

In this domain, a never-changing

government has become the personal brand and trademark of Montenegro. The local voter is not only entirely inexperienced with political change, but is also hammered into accepting such political reality as a brand that will make our country recognised abroad.

Lacking success in sports, the elections have become the only happening of the collective unconscious in Montenegro. The collective unconscious in traditional environments typically tends towards masochism. The awkwardness you feel at the election day is only the peak of a

brilliantly orchestrated trauma under the motto: my voice will not change anything anyway. Now we know for sure that any systemic change must first take place within the Democratic Party of Socialists. There is no other logical explanation after the electoral results in Budva by Zavala.

And a true story for the finish, as an anti-moral and a contribution to the psychological profile of the Montenegrin voter.

My uncle is a high official. I was always seen as the last rag both in the family and at work. I am intelligent enough and I know that this country is not managed well. But my uncle is the only way for me to make sure that in the next few years, when I need it the most, I can get closer to

a "normal life". Normal life for me is to have an apartment, a car and a women. My uncle the high official can be a useful endorser for a loan. Can help me with the car...a lady here and there will be glad to hear that the two of us are like brothers, in spite of age difference...which is why I will vote for his party. We are all cousins in Montenegro. We like to go to each others' weddings and funerals and talk about business and politics. At these informal meetings we learn how to float more or less skilfully and expand our network of potentially useful friends and acquaintances. And this is also where the elections are won.

Which the government knows all too well.

You can tell by the looks in voter's eyes on the election day.

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



## EU INSTITUTIONS ON THE EUROPEAN PERSPECTIVE OF THE WEST BALKANS AND MONTENEGRO



by Petar Đukanović

Announcements that Montenegro will soon apply for EU membership are at best a valiant project. Or so it seems after the study visit of 15 representatives of civil society and political parties from Croatia, Serbia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Kosovo and Montenegro to the most important institutions of European Union, organised by the Heinrich B-II Stiftung in the framework of the project "Capacity Building – Western Balkans". The visitors met with high officials from the Council of EU, European Commission, European Parliament and the NATO who conveyed the attitudes and opinions of their institutions with regard to the Balkans.

Although there are not formal obstacles to Podgorica's submitting its EU membership application, the general climate of opinion in Brussels has it that such a move would not be politically wise. For one, it is clear that Montenegro will not be able to acquire candidate country status in the recent future. According to several EU officials, Montenegro did not even begin to implement its commitments from

# Hurried application not recommended

the Stabilisation and Association Agreement and it is already eyeing the candidate status. The message is clear: the road to EU cannot be made by shortcuts and overnight. Formal acceptance of EU rules is a necessary, but not sufficient condition. EU will not rest content with Montenegro and other West Balkan countries formally fulfilling the requirements of EU.

Brussels, it was emphasised,

cannot afford to repeat the mistake it made in the cases of Romania and Bulgaria. Every potential candidate will have to demonstrate first that it has genuinely implemented the reforms necessary in order to fulfil the membership requirements.

At the moment, EU's attention is focused on Serbia and Macedonia, two states where Kosovo's independence led to political instability and jeopardised

*West Balkan countries ought to bear in mind that they are facing zero-tolerance mindset. EU will not allow itself to repeat mistakes from previous enlargements*



European Parliament



progress in the process of European integrations.

Seen from this angle, Montenegro is currently a minor concern. It is typically viewed as a politically stable society slowly advancing on its commitments in the association process. Which does not mean that Montenegro can get away with anything. Stability is a plus, say the EU's officials, but it does not mean anything without genuine commitment to social reforms.

If they wish to proceed towards EU, Montenegrin authorities must pay more heed to rampant corruption which is threatening to corrode the entire society and jeopardise the functioning of democracy. Another problem is the lack of administrative capacities, an area

which merits even more attention than it currently receives, warns Brussels.

Clearly, strong administrative

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*EU's attention is now focused on Serbia and Macedonia, two states where Kosovo's independence led to political instability and jeopardised progress in the process of European integrations*

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capacities are a hard feat in a thoroughly corrupt environment when the recruitment procedures are manipulated by party politics. The EU hosts therefore emphasised the urgent need to depoliticise the system in order for Montenegro to move forward.

EU will continue to assist Montenegro in resolving the problem of weak administrative capacities through various programmes,

but it is up to the state to make sure that the available capacities are properly utilised.

Under-utilised capacities are

best reflected in underdevelopment of partnerships between the Government and the civil sector. The civil sector is an important resource in Montenegro, but the EU officials warn that its contributions are not being integrated in the political processes that Montenegro is currently experiencing. The entire process of European integrations and democratic reforms can be endangered if the authorities hold a monopoly over important decisions on the direction of societal development. Support for the civil society is therefore a priority area for future EU assistance to Montenegro.

It also appears that progress monitoring for West Balkan countries is to become stricter than in the earlier enlargements. Support for further EU enlargements is still modest and there are few who would claim that the "enlargement fatigue" subsided substantially after the Lisbon Treaty. This is very important to bear in mind for the West Balkan countries, as for them it means zero tolerance for mistakes.

Generally, nearly every EU official emphasised that the EU will not allow itself the mistakes from earlier enlargements. Only those who deserve the membership by demonstrating maturity in fulfilling the accession criteria will get it – this is also the only way for EU to justify individual accessions to its own citizens.

*The author is a programme coordinator in the Centre for Civic Education*

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*Although there are not formal obstacles to Podgorica's submitting its EU membership application, the general climate of opinion in Brussels has it that such a move would not be politically wise. For one, it is clear that Montenegro will not be able to acquire candidate country status in the recent future. According to several EU officials, Montenegro did not even begin to implement its commitments from the Stabilisation and Association Agreement and it is already eyeing the candidate status*

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## TO EU VIA REGIONAL COOPERATION

Regional cooperation among the West Balkan countries is emphasised by Brussels as the healthiest basis for development and growth of these countries on their road to Europe.

Unfortunately, countries of the region do not seem to see the advantages of regional cooperation and the political will to intensify cooperation is minimal.

Brussels will continue to insist on regional cooperation, but its success depends on whether the countries of the Western Balkans will come to see what EU has understood long ago: that development and stability in the region crucially depend on cooperation among the states.

Montenegro is no exception in terms of need for a stronger cooperation policy, especially in the domain of reconciliation with the past. Its cooperation with the ICTY was deemed successful in the last progress report, and its role as positively contributing to the "healing" of relationships in the region. There remain, however, certain moments in its history that Montenegro ought to deal with, moments especially intertwined with the history of its relations with BiH and Croatia.

ANDREJ NOSOV, CHAIRMAN OF THE REGIONAL YOUTH INITIATIVE FOR HUMAN RIGHTS

# European future for the region uncertain without stable Serbia

The 12 May will be yet another slow day on Serbia's road to Europe, even if the most democratic option wins, warns **Andrej Nosov**, founder and chairman of the regional organisation Youth Initiative for Human Rights (YIHR).

Speaking about the consequences of the parliamentary elections for the European perspective of the country and the region, Nosov said that victory for the Radicals will certainly carry Serbia away from Europe, and that a potential merger between the "coalition of nationals led by the current PM Dr **Vojislav Koštunica**, and what appears to be their natural mate – Serbian Radical Party, will only complicate the European road of Serbia".

"Can the region integrate into Europe without a democratic, open Serbia is anybody's guess. It is clear that Serbia's internal consolidation will impact on the rest of the region: the neighbouring Kosovo, vulnerable BiH and the status of the smaller entity the Republic of Srpska are important political issues which are manipulated by



Andrej Nosov

**dan Milošević** was also considered the "factor of stability", after the peace treaty at Dayton. For four years now Serbia has been led by a prime minister who has

party and parties of national minorities forms a "European government", which is sure to collapse soon, but will at least revive and strengthen Serbia's European perspective. Such a government would be unstable, however, because DS keeps insisting on Kosovo as a non-alienable part of Serbia, which is certainly not the kind of European policy one would expect from a democratic Serbia", Nosov said.

How non-European exactly, says Nosov, can be seen on the example of even those countries that did not recognise Kosovo's independence, and are still faced with blackmails from the side of Serbia, for some kind of special EU policy for the sickly democracy and insufficient capacities of DS itself.

And yet such a government, he claims, would be the most positive and most European that Serbia can have at this moment, given the return of Kosovo mythomania into the daily political discourse.

"Scenario two – Natural partners DSS and SRS form a government which insists on the age-old trite slogan Kosovo is Serbia. Not to mention Russia's revived interest in the network of gas and oil pipelines and the desire of Serbia's authorities to submit national infrastructure to the wishes of the Russian tycoons. It is an integral part of the programme of this potential government, says the president of YIHR.

*The 12 May will be yet another slow day on Serbia's road to Europe, even if the most democratic option wins*

Serbian politicians for the sake of cheap campaign scores. The fact that the Serbian "technical" teams negotiating with EU move at the double speed from the political brains of Serbia only demonstrates that the political elite, after the murder of PM **Đinđić**, cannot recognise the potential role that Serbia could play for European integration of the whole region, said Nosov for European Pulse.

He reminds that all EU officials, including the commissioner **Olli Rehn**, have reiterated that Serbia has an excellent "Europeanisation potential", but is lacking the political will to really implement the reforms.

"It is also an open question whether somebody who has called for the torching of American and European embassies, lynching of internal enemies and stirred up the hatred against Albanians can play the role of the "factor of stability", which title Koštunica has paraded with great support from Europe. Remember, in 1995, **Slobo-**

almost no support among the citizens but commands sizeable coalition capacity to form a "stable" government in Serbia, Nosov said.

According to him, this political faction

*Serbia's internal consolidation will impact on the rest of the region: the neighbouring Kosovo, vulnerable BiH and the status of the smaller entity the Republic of Srpska are important political issues which are manipulated by Serbian politicians for the sake of cheap campaign scores*

has a clear policy toward the region – i.e. the region matters as much as the Hague did – not at all.

"Clearly, there are some who think differently, even within this option, but their potentially European voice is barely audible", Nosov added.

All in all, says the chairmen of YIHR, there are currently two scenarios for Serbia after the 11 May.

"One – coalition surrounding DS in cooperation with the liberal-democratic

According to Nosov, there is a third scenario, of DS, DSS and SPS forming a government, which will only be a tycoon's nest and drag down their reputations even further, especially that of DS.

"It remains an open question whether people with bloody hands can build the European road. For the sake of stability, some European diplomats would maybe even settle for that", Nosov concluded.

N.R.



# Merkel and Blair top the list

A poll by Harris Interactive found most European citizens consider German Chancellor **Angela Merkel** to be the most influential leader in Europe, while **Tony Blair** is currently the preferred candidate for the job of EU President.

A majority of French (68%), Spanish (57%) and Germans (57%), regard Germany as the leading country in Europe today. The poll was conducted online among a total of 6,478 adults in France, Germany, Great Britain, Spain, Italy and the United States.

Asked about concrete leaders, Europeans strongly favour Angela Merkel, who leads the chart in European countries. She is considered to be the most influential leader in Europe by 38% of the French, 29% of the Germans, 30% of the Spanish, 27% of the Italians and 18% of the British.

**Nicolas Sarkozy** scores 18% in his own country, 10% in Germany, 16% in Spain, 13% in Italy and 9% in Great Britain.

British PM **Gordon Brown** has a modest rating of 1% in France, 3% in Germany, 7% in Spain and 11% in Italy.

European Commission President **Jose Manuel Barroso** is considered to be the most influential European leader

by 8% of the French, 11% of the Germans, 6% of the Spanish and 11% of the Italians.

**Jean Claude Juncker** of Luxembourg is the only leader considered to be a possible contender for the job of president, according to the ranking. But he is credited with only 1% in France, 2% in Germany, 1% in Italy and less than 1% in Spain and the UK.

Asked "If you were to vote today for a President of Europe, who would you chose?," most Europeans answered "Former British PM Tony Blair". Blair is considered fit for the job by 8% of the French and Spanish, 4% of the Germans, 13% of the British and Italians and 15% of the Americans.

The names of two Eastern Europeans appear: **Vaclav Havel**, the former president of the Czech Republic, and **Bronislaw Geremek**, a Polish politician, but their scores are modest.

Under the terms of the Lisbon Treaty, which EU leaders agreed upon in December after the failure of a proposed EU constitution, the heads of state and government are to choose a president of the European Council for a two-and-a-half year term, renewable once. The Lisbon Treaty is set to be ratified by 1 January 2009.



European health commissioner, **Androula Vassiliou** from Cyprus refused to tell the journalist the year of her birth, adding that it was "very rude to ask such a thing".

When the journalist insisted on learning her age, Vassiliou reluctantly

## Commissioner hiding age

replied "around 65", reports the German agency DPA.

The press committee of the European Commission also refused to talk about her age.

"If it really matters to you, just Google it and find out for yourself", said the EC port parole **Nina Papadulaki**.

According to the data found by the agency, Vassiliou was born in late November 1943.

## Costly Danish electricity

The most expensive electricity bills in EU are paid by households in Denmark – 24.47 euros for 100 kwh, and the cheapest in Bulgaria – only 6.8 euros, reports the Eurostat.

After Denmark, electricity is most expensive in Italy (23.39 euros), Netherlands (21.8) and Germany (19.49 euros). The cheapest, after Bulgaria, is Greece, where the price per 100 kwh is 7.3 euros.

The remaining countries where the price is still below 10 euros are the three Baltic republics (Lithuania, Estonia and Latvia, between 7 and 8 euros), Croatia belongs to Eurostat estimates as candidate country (9.23) and Malta (9.34 euros).

In other new member states the prices are usually below EU average, ranging from 10 to 14 euros, with the exception of Slovakia (16.02 euros). The prices are, however, rising faster than in the "old EU", suggesting convergence, with the biggest jump recorded last year in Hungary – 36.5%.

The prices are also affected by taxes which are typically higher in the old EU members – in Denmark, the taxes amount to 57% of electricity bill.

## To USA without visas?

Ministers of justice and home affairs of EU member states asked the European Commission to agree with the USA on the conditions for elimination of visa requirements for citizens of the EU-28.

American Congress adopted a law in August last year in the framework of changing visa regimes which requires additional information on the persons travelling to US. Washington is asking for access to data on travellers and databases used by the Schengen members.

The US are still asking visas for the citizens of Greece as well as for eleven out of twelve countries that have joined the EU in the last four years.

## WHAT IS WRITTEN IN THE DRAFT NATIONAL PROGRAMME FOR INTEGRATION (NPI) OF MONTENEGRO INTO EU FOR THE PERIOD 2008–2012

# A road map for the Spring Clean

On April 10 the Government completed the draft of the National Programme for Integration (NPI) of Montenegro into European Union, a detailed plan of activities to be undertaken in order to enable Montenegro to assume all commitments ensuing from EU membership by the end of 2012.

The 555 pages of the document contain plans for harmonisation and implementation of Montenegrin law according to EU standards and are divided into 6 chapters: political criteria, economic criteria, ability to carry out EU membership commitments, administrative and judicial capacities for the implementation of *acquis*, national version of *acquis* and financial estimates for the implementation of NPI.

The government divided its tasks into short-term priorities to be completed by the end of 2009 and mid-term goals to be carried out in the period 2010–late 2012. By the end of this year there should be a law on criminal procedures mandating that all

ECONOMIC INDICATORS 2007–2010				
Year	2007	2008	2009	2010
GDP in current prices, mn €	2.449,7	2.528,7	2.768,9	3.004,3
Inflation, %	8	4,0	3,5	3,0
Unemployment rate, %	11,9	10,8	9,8	8,8
Export of goods and services, mn €	1,240,0	1390,37	1547,69	1767,62
Export of goods and services mn €	2.057,1	2.231,7	2.402,9	2.549,0
Exchange balance of good and services, mil €	–817,1	–841,2	–855,2	–781,4
Foreign debt, mil €	504	504	521	513
Foreign Direct Investment, mil €	785,20	793,79	795,70	718,89

investigations should be carried out by state prosecutors instead of investigating judges as is currently the case.

"In line with international instruments, the novelty of this legal codex will be more detailed procedures for confiscation of property benefits procured through illegal activities", states the relevant section of NPI. The implementation of the codex ought to begin early next year.

Other urgent changes will be taking place in the Law on executive

procedures, as the "annual reports on the workings of courts demonstrate that a great number of executive cases remain unsolved". As for the tort system, there will be a new Tort Law in 2008, reorganising the procedures for tort proceedings in order to render them more efficient.

"There will be a revision of court and prosecutors' statistics and implemented a more adequate model of conducting statistical reports in order to enhance qualitative and qualitative monitoring of judicial bodies", states NPI.

The fight against corruption should be reinforced by the end of 2009 by a new law on conflict of interests for public persons and a law protecting the persons who report corruption.

In the period 2010–2012 the Government is planning to change all current anti-corruption and related laws in order to match European standards and ensure their full implementation, as well as "participation of the civil society and the media in the common anti-corruption activities and rising awareness of the importance of the fight against corruption".

Draft NPI dedicates little atten-

## SAFER ELEVATORS AND EXPENSIVE CIGARETTES

The draft NPI also deals with everyday issues that we have almost forgotten, the prime example being the safety of elevators. The ministry of economic developments is to establish norms for elevators and observe their implementation, while the Institute for Standardisation provides the basic framework for technical regulations.

On the other hand, the European norms will hit the pockets of smokers, with the price of cigarettes gradually rising.

"The law on excise tax will be changed in the course of 2008, especially in the part regarding tobacco in order to partially harmonise it with EU directives 95/59/EC, 92/80/EEC, 92/79/EEC...further harmonisation will be undertaken in 2010, harmonising excise tax on cigarettes as stipulated in the directives EU 95/59/EC, 92/80 EEC, 92/79/EEC", states the draft NPI.



tion to the measures for the prevention of money laundering, in spite of EC's emphasis on the issue in the last Progress Report on Montenegro. The document explains that mid-term priorities are "in line with recommendations from the European Partnership", regarding continuous training of employees, cooperation with the relevant international institutions...

Agencies dealing with money laundering will gain 32 employees by the end of 2012, with the annual budget of 710 000 euros.

Noting that the privatisation process in Montenegro is among the most successful in the region, the authors of the economic chapter emphasise that more than 85% of state capital has been privatised.

"Total state ownership in larger companies which are slated for partial or full privatisation in the next few years (Elektroprivreda, Montenegrin Railways, Jadransko shipyard, Plan-taze, Bar Port, Tobacco Combine Podgorica, Institute Dr Simo Milošević, hotel complexes Budvanska rivijera and Ulcinjska rivijera) is 1078 million euros, or 64% of their total nominal value", states the document.

The government expect the inflows of Foreign Direct Investment to remain the key factor for balancing current account deficits and one of



Durović with accomplices

the key instruments in achieving sustainable GDP and exports growth.

"Montenegro's chances to attract substantial FDI depend on the foreign investors' perception of the country's potentials and investment conditions", states the draft NPI. It adds that, in order to increase Montenegro's chances in attracting foreign investors the Government will focus on promoting sustainable economic development, responsible fiscal policy and investment incentives, as well as development of the financial markets, strengthening the banking sector and other financial intermediaries, harmonising labour relations with EU

standards, reforming education in order to satisfy the demand in the priority sectors...the document states that Montenegro currently boasts 782 persons with MA degree and 657 with a PhD.

Among the problematic areas is the energy sector with its high dependence on imports and annual consumption increase of 5.5%.

"Energy deficit will only grow in the next few years, unless Montenegro builds at least one bigger energy centre on its territory", warns the document.

The government admitted that inflation was 8% last year, with the price of electricity growing by 30%, although a few months ago the officials insisted on lower numbers.

Although the draft NPI emphasises the reliability of Monstat statistics, it proposes harmonisation of accounting methodologies with European standards for a number of items. The same section indicates the planned employment growth in certain institutions, the projected number of employees in Monstat increasing from 163 to 217 in the next five years.

Among the laws scheduled for the current year are the law on concentration in printed media, as well as amendments to the law on public broadcasting services.

## 20 NEW INSTITUTIONS

By the end of 2012, in line with the requirements of harmonisation with EU laws, Montenegro is planning to create 20 new institutions, such as Agency for Work Safety, Competition Agency, Phyto-Sanitary Directory, EUROPOL, Agency for Environmental Protection...

The projected employment in the new agencies is 550. According to the draft NPI, Montenegrin state institutions currently employ around 40 000 people, including judiciary, education and health sectors.

"It is estimated that by 2012 10% more employees than in 2007 will be dealing with issues related to European integrations broadly. Compared to the resources allocated to the issues of European integration in 2008, the expected increase by 2012 is 12%", states the document.

It adds that comparative practices demonstrate that administrative costs and related investments for the process of European integrations in the pre-accession phase require from 2 to 4% GDP, which in Montenegrin case amounts to 50 to 100 million for Montenegro.

EU experts estimate that only in order to translate *Acquis Communautaire* a country needs around 10 million euros.

V. ŽUGIĆ



by Robert Markić

I belong to a generation that was born in the middle of the decade that saw one social system crumble. Our parents, who still lived in that system say that they lived well and with living standards far above what we can boast today, twenty years later. I spent childhood and adolescence in the shadow of "great historical events": the fall of communism, dissolution of SFRY, the infamous war for peace, embargo, the first and the second transition, transformation, economic and social reforms, creation and dissolution of an artificial state – SCG, fight for independent Montenegro – all that at the expense of already meagre living standards, sweeping civic

*In order to join EU we must get rid of the traditionalist institutions, understandings and behaviours. Break away from the rooted stereotypes about how a society ought to function. Mentality must change, to create atmosphere of responsible attitude towards the environment and towards individuals who are different*

rights and freedoms under the carpet in the name of a better future.

I have to admit that the first and the last of these events did merit some sacrifice. The former, because we got rid of one unsustainable, undemocratic and totalitarian system that stifled all free-

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

dom, creativity and individual rights, and the latter because it provided us with our own backyard, allowed us to take our destiny into our own hands, so we cannot blame everything on a neighbour messing up our house affairs – and because we largely managed to avoid the problems and consequences of bad policies conducted elsewhere in the region.

We were always more prone to deal with grand, historical matters neglecting the daily problems of life that harrows citizens elsewhere: how to make ends meet, how to provide decent life for the citizens, lower unemployment, eradicate

*I want to be a citizen of Europe because Europe narrows the space for manoeuvre for politicians' stupidity*

corruption...in the EU these small problems of life are the biggest and most important questions!

When dissatisfied, EU citizens simply gather and protest, especially when it concerns their pockets. In the end they usually get what they asked for, because the politicians are there because of the

which went through without a murmur. In the EU, such things just cannot be done, which is why I want to be a citizen of Europe.

I want to be a citizen of Europe because there the loyalty, belonging to and respect for one's homeland (patriotism, in other words, but the word has become too trite and compromised by now) is not displayed through loyalty to a party, but through regular servicing of one's tax bills (which is how a country ought to function), respect for the Constitution and laws.

Because wondering whether there is (or better, still, fighting against) rampant crime, monopolies

and corruption, these transition's ills that are turning into Montenegro's chronic diseases, in Europe does not make you enemy of the state. Because if we have our own opinion, which does not transgress any of the modern European legal criteria and is not offensive, there we can freely express it. And that it doesn't mean that we are someone's apparatchiks, but aware and responsible individuals, citizens.

I want to be a citizen of Europe because, to quote professor Mrak, "Europe decreases the space for manoeuvre for politicians' stupidities". Because the decision-makers are directly supervised by EU organs, which means that all responsible action is brought to minimum.

In order to join EU we must get rid of the traditionalist institutions, understandings and behaviours.





Break away from the rooted stereotypes about how a society ought to function. Mentality must change, to create atmosphere of responsible attitude towards the environment and towards individuals who are different.

Montenegro faces complexities both abroad and at home. Montenegrins, Serbs, Bosniaks, Albanians, Muslims, Croats, Roma and others live both within and outside its borders. To embrace them as equals may appear difficult, but is necessary. How can we live together with the English or Latvians who are so far from us if we cannot stand our neighbours Albanians or Bosniaks?! The EU teaches us (forces us) to cooperate and improve relationships between neighbours in the Balkans. The precondition is to liberate ourselves from the burden of the past, history and myths that belong to museums and should be taken out of our everyday lives, and to turn towards the future. We have had enough of making history – let us now build

the future.

I want to be a citizen of EU because EU has no administrative borders. People travel freely, without visas, plan their vacations and travels without having to think of visas. Young people in particular have so many opportunities – to travel, to work and study all over

*How can we live together with the English or Latvians who are so far from us if we cannot stand our neighbours Albanians or Bosniaks?! The EU teaches us (forces us) to cooperate and improve relationships between neighbours in the Balkans. The precondition is to liberate ourselves from the burden of the past, history and myths that belong to museums and should be taken out of our everyday lives, and to turn towards the future. We have had enough of making history – let us now build the future*

Europe.

The essence of European integrations process is not to achieve EU membership. The main goal is to adopt the values that are the basis of the modern European society – freedom, peace, stability, democracy, equality and respect for human and minority laws. Which is why we are so eager to become a part of this elite club of developed,

civilised countries. And I can well see our Montenegro among them. But before that, there is a hard task ahead, or as politicians would say, a "European test", which cannot be passed in one night. EU accession will depend on the speed of reforms. This is not easy, especially once we pull out the pile of signed "agreements" out of the drawer and start implementing them for real. Many will dislike these changes, as they will be forced to change their bad, Balkan habits for their own and everyone else's good. How difficult was it for our drivers to keep the lights on during the day and tie their seatbelt while driving? It is all for our own security, and yet we need someone to force us to take care of ourselves. Still, they learned, some sooner, some later, some still resist...Which is why this is a process. Takes time.

I can imagine our smokers when our EU-harmonised law on smoking starts to be implemented like in the EU, and not like so far. I cannot wait. Apologies to the smokers, but my health comes first! Or the practice of throwing garbage out of the window, or so many

other, similarly ugly and dangerous habits that must be left behind.

EU can help, by setting standards and offering here carrot there stick, but the changes must really come from within.

*Autor je polaznik VI generacije Škole evropskih integracija i saradnik u Centru za razvoj nevladinih organizacija*

EUROPEAN COMMISSION FINDS ITS WAY AROUND THE LINGUISTIC MAELSTROM TO CUT DOWN TRANSLATION COSTS

# Tongueaches

**M**ultilingualism Commissioner **Leonard Orban** was recently presented with a petition calling for German to remain on an "equal footing" with English and French as an "EU procedural language".

The petition, signed by 50 MEPs and representatives of 18 European regions, says "all documents, websites and publications of the EU institutions should be in German". It calls for recruitment to the institutions to better reflect linguistic diversity and requests that more funding be made available to promote the use of German, which is also spoken in countries like Belgium, Romania and Italy.

The Commission welcomed the move as it would "any initiative to promote languages," highlighting the "privileged nature" of German as one of the EU executive's three procedural languages. But Commissioner Orban's spokesperson **Pietro Petrucci** stressed that the petition was addressed to all the EU institutions and "not just the Commission". As German is already "on an equal footing" with other languages, the Commission does not see the need for "any extra considerations", Petrucci said.

Implementation of the Lisbon Treaty is yet to bring trouble, envisaging an increased role for national parliaments in EU decision-making. Germans are already enthusiastic. Expressing his support for the initiative, German Permanent Representation to the EU spokesman **Martin Kotthaus** told EurActiv that the range of countries and regions



in which German is spoken make it "the EU's most widely-spoken mother tongue."

"It is thus imperative that it is used adequately in the EU institutions, because EU can only prosper if the citizens are able to participate", Kotthaus added.

***Ministerial conference on multilingualism concluded that encouraging European citizens to learn two foreign languages should be the basis of the EU's new multilingualism strategy due in September***

Likewise, German Foreign Ministry officials strongly welcomed the initiative, emphasising that "the Federal Government had always supported the concept of multilingualism in the EU."

But MEP **Michael Gahler**, a member of the delegation which presented the petition, says that

this is easier said than done.

"It depends on how the member states react. It will be a struggle to overcome some "established interests" within the Commission", he added.

Meanwhile, the Commission is struggling to sustain its language

regime "within budgetary limits".

Ministerial conference on multilingualism concluded that encouraging European citizens to learn two foreign languages should be the basis of the EU's new multilingualism strategy due in September. The conference was set up to "identify areas where further





*Statistics show that Europeans mostly learn foreign languages for professional reasons. The commission will try to broaden its project to encompass holidaying retired people and skilled workers as sections of the population who would benefit from language learning outside of formal educational settings. But the business world is yet to be convinced. Viscount Etienne Davignon, chairman of the Business Forum, warned that multilingualism was a good thing but that it was "simply a fact" that a single language benefits EU business*

action on languages is needed at both national and EU levels" and define common actions to be taken over the next three to five years. The Commission will submit the full strategy to the Parliament by the end of 2008.

At the moment, 85% of the funding for the multilingualism portfolio goes to translation and interpreting, with the rest available for the commissioner's own policies.

"This is the cost of democracy," Petrucci said, as using and being understood in your own language is an EU right.

At the conference, Commissioner Orban supported a 'personal adoptive language' proposal,

emphasising that speaking foreign languages is also a means of discovering the culture, history and literature of the country in which the language is spoken. Slovene Education Minister **Milan Zver**, also supported the project, declaring that the personal adoptive language idea was "the concept of the future".

Statistics show that Europeans mostly learn foreign languages for professional reasons. The commission will try to broaden its project to encompass holidaying retired people and skilled workers as sections of the population who would benefit from language learning outside of formal educational settings.

But the business world is yet to be convinced. Viscount **Etienne Davignon**, chairman of the Business Forum, warned that multilingualism was a good thing but that it was "simply a fact" that a single language benefits EU business.

"English helps in a number of areas" and particularly "internally in businesses", and thus "it is one of the languages that we have to master".

He said that the business world could only support EU policies if it could be done "quickly" and "practically."

In the meantime, each fends oneself. Asked why the press conference convened to discuss the multilingualism event could only take place in English, French, Romanian and Slovenian without any interpretation, a Commission spokesperson said that to do otherwise was "too complicated" within the time constraints of a press briefing.

**V. ŠČEPANOVIĆ  
V. ŽUGIĆ**

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



# Eurojargon

example. The European Union is also a free trade area, but it is much more than that because it is built on a process of economic and political integration, with joint decision-taking in many policy areas.

**Harmonisation:** This may mean bringing national laws into line with one another, very often in order to remove national barriers that obstruct the free movement of workers, goods, services and capital. In other words, harmonisation means making sure that, on any particular issue for which the EU has responsibility, the rules laid down by the different EU countries impose similar obligations on citizens of all those countries and that they impose certain minimum obligations in each country. Harmonisation can also mean co-ordinating national technical rules so that products and services can be traded freely throughout the EU. Contrary to popular myth, this does not mean pointlessly standardising everything from the curvature of cucumbers to the colour of carrots. Often it simply means that EU countries recognise one another's safety rules.

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.

**Founding fathers:** In the years following the Second World War, people like Jean Monnet and Robert Schuman dreamed of uniting the peoples of Europe in lasting peace and friendship. Over the following fifty years, as the EU was built, their dream became reality. That is why they are called the "founding fathers" of the European Union.

**Four freedoms:** One of the great achievements of the EU has been to create a frontier-free area within which (1) people, (2) goods, (3) services and (4) money can all move around freely. This four-fold freedom of movement is sometimes called "the four freedoms".

**Free trade area:** This means a group of countries that have removed barriers to trade between them – barriers such as import tariffs and quotas. Several free trade areas have been established around the world: Mercosur in South America, Nafta in North America and EFTA in Europe, for

**Intergovernmental:** This literally means 'between governments'. In the EU, some matters – such as security and defence issues – are decided purely by intergovernmental agreement (i.e. agreement between the governments of the EU countries). These intergovernmental decisions are taken by ministers meeting in the Council of the EU, or at the highest level by the prime ministers and/or presidents of the EU countries in the European Council.

**Intergovernmental Conference (IGC):** A conference at which the EU member states' governments come together to amend the European Union treaties. The 2003 Intergovernmental Conference led to the signing of the Constitution in 2004.

NON – GOVERNMENTAL  
ORGANISATIONS  
IN EUROPEAN UNION



## EUROPEAN ASSOCIATION OF SERVICE PROVIDERS FOR PERSONS WITH DISABILITIES

EASPD is a non-profit organisation promoting the rights of people with disabilities and advocating their full integration into social life. Today, EASPD represents close to 8000 service provider organisations across Europe and across disability. EASPD promotes the equalisation of opportunities for people with disabilities through effective and high quality service systems in Europe. In order to attain its goals EASPD:

- Lobbies EU institutions through three permanent Committees (employment, education, enlargement) and Group for influencing EU policies. The groups act as lobbyists for each of these areas. The goal of the sub-groups is to offer solutions for the improvement of EU policies in those areas where people with disabilities tend to be most vulnerable (employment, mental health, fighting prejudices and stereotypes about persons with disability, removing architectural and technical barriers for their access to educational and other social institutions)
- Diffuses timely information to all interested parties on the changes taking place in EU policies regarding people with disabilities and their rights. In this segment of its activity EASPD tries to provide all interested individuals and organisations with information on partnership and networking opportunities. Once a year EASPD organises seminars for service providers and local authorities on the available European funds for activities and projects targeting persons with disability.

More information can be found at:  
[www.easpd.eu](http://www.easpd.eu).

Prepared by: Petar ĐUKANOVIĆ



# Start of VII generation of European Integrations School

VII generation of European Integration School started the programme in early April. The School is a joint project of Centre for Civic Education, Centre for Development of Non-Governmental Organisations and European Movement in Montenegro, and is supported by FOSI ROM. Out of 198 applicants 30 participants were selected – representatives of NGOs, Government, political parties, media, University and entrepreneurs. Enormous interest for the programme shows that this pioneer education project on European integrations has remained the highest quality and most appreciated programme among the Montenegrin public eager to con-

tribute to Montenegro's integration into EU.

The lecturers are University professors from the country and abroad, experts for specific areas in the complex process of European integrations, as well as representatives of the diplomatic corps. The programme itself is multidisciplinary, and the participants will spend several months on learning about the development and functioning of European integration processes, the contemporary shape of European institutions, their influence on our society and perspectives for cooperation in this area.

The next generation of European Integration Schools will take place in the fall of 2008.

## Monitoring visa facilitation agreements

CE, in Cooperation with European Citizen Action Service (ECAS) from Brussels and partner NGO organisations from the region (Serbia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Macedonia and Albania) began with preparatory activities for a new project titled "Monitoring of visa facilitation agreements". The goal of the project is to evaluate implementation of the current visa facilitation agreements, which are an

important step towards further liberalisation of the visa regimes. Although they are not the only factor, the way in which these agreements are implemented in each individual country will have a great impact on its chances to proceed towards visa-free travel. The project will be implemented in two phases: installation of an SOS telephone and the general field research.

## New era in the history of EC– civil society relations

A conference titled "Development of civil society in South East Europe: building the Europe together" was organised in Brussels on 17 and 18 April by the DG Enlargement of the European Commission. The main goal of the conference was to offer a networking platform to civil society organisations from EU and countries in the various phases of integration process. It would serve to exchange best practices, develop partnerships and information exchange among interested parties in the civil society regarding financial support

within the Instrument for Pre-Accession Assistance (IPA) and other EU funding.

The event gathered 450 participants, including the enlargement commissioner **Olli Rehn**, commissioner for research and development **Janez Potočnik**, founder of the Open Society Institute **George Soros** etc.

Outside of the main conference the Montenegrin delegation also met with EC representatives who are directly working on Montenegro: **Vassilis Maragos** and **Anne de Ligne**.

### YOU ARE YOUNG AND YOU WANT TO...

- ◆ Learn about the work of one of the most successful non-governmental organisations in Montenegro
  - ◆ Help us with your ideas and creativity
  - ◆ Experience the advantages of volunteer work
  - ◆ Develop your self-confidence and skills
- ◆ Get to know new friends, new countries, different cultures
  - ◆ Learn about team work
  - ◆ Help projects that contribute to our society
- ◆ Gather experience you need to choose your future carrier
  - ...in short, work, learn, have fun!

#### Sounds attractive?

If you think so, and you have some free time, motivation to work in non-governmental organisation and a desire to dedicate your energy to civic activism, we invite you to join us and become a volunteer.

Applications can be sent to [info@cgo-cce.org](mailto:info@cgo-cce.org)

## Majority for minorities

Young European Federalists (JEF) in cooperation with Young European Swiss (YES) organised a seminar "Majorities for Minorities" in the Swiss town of Biel/Bienne from 23 to 28 March 2008. The goal of the seminar was to raise awareness among the participants about challenges for minorities. At the same time it was an opportunity for young people from various European countries to exchange experiences and together try to understand the complexities of minority inclusion. The participants learned about the benefits that diversity brings to European society and about the status of minorities in Switzerland and other countries through a variety of interactive workshops and meetings. **Vučić Četković**, president of the Young European Federalists Montenegro also participated in the seminar.

Young European Federalists (JEF) is a supranational political movement active in most European countries. It is an autonomous youth organisation dealing with political issues, but is without concrete political or party affiliation.

## Regional cooperation

European Movement in Montenegro continues to realise its project: "Get to know Europe – Get to know each other" with support of BTĐ. The project brought together a group of politicians, journalists and civil society activists from Albania for a study visit to Montenegro. Albanian visitors spoke to the government officials, civil society representatives and media and got to know more about the political and social system in Montenegro. They also visited Cetinje, and the trip was turned into a reportage to be broadcasted on the Albanian television.

During the visit, deputy minister for European integration of the Government of Albania **Albert Gajo** said that Montenegrins and Albanians are learning a lot about each other through these talks, and that the non-governmental sector in Montenegro has been working hard to improve its own country but also the relations with the neighbouring states.

## FOR THIS ISSUE WE RECOMMEND:

CHALLENGES TO  
DEMOCRATIC  
GOVERNANCE IN NEW  
DEMOCRACIES IN CEE  
AND THE BALKANS

Organized by Center for the Study of Imperfections in Democracy (DISC) at Central European University

([www.ceu.hu/disc](http://www.ceu.hu/disc)),

Freedom House Europe

([www.freedomhouse.hu](http://www.freedomhouse.hu)),

and Junior Chamber International

([www.jci.cc](http://www.jci.cc)).

Although in Central and Eastern Europe (CEE) and the Balkans transitions away from authoritarian rule began more than fifteen years ago, many of the recently (re)emerged regimes still face significant challenges regarding the consolidation and quality of democracy. The current problems that must be addressed related to democratic governance may (or may not) be different than the problems that were confronted in early transition and in different world regions. Therefore there is a need for a thorough and comparative assessment of the current state of democracy in these countries, which can form a basis for future policy decisions to improve the quality of democracy. By evaluating the state of democracy in the countries of CEE and the Balkans, this conference aims to generate theoretically-founded yardsticks for the evaluation and empirical evidence of the quality of democratic governance in the region that will be used for a future Democracy Forum.

The purpose of this conference is to generate a theoretical framework for a Democracy Forum to be held in 2009 with young leaders from the 23 countries in CEE and the Balkans, organized by the Junior Chamber International, Freedom House Europe, and the Center for the Study of Imperfections in Democracy (DISC) at Central European University. Significant findings from this conference will be published as an e-book that will form the academic basis for the Democracy Forum.

The body of fresh and targeted analysis

would serve as the starting point for the 2009 Democracy Forum, to be held in Budapest, Hungary. The forum's program would be comprised of both lectures and presentations as well as training modules on a variety of topics relevant to the demographic group partaking in the forum and their interest in engaging in the political life of their countries in a more effective way as agents of positive change.

The following countries are included: Albania, Armenia, Azerbaijan, Belarus, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Bulgaria, Croatia, Czech Republic, Estonia, Georgia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Macedonia, Moldova, Montenegro, Poland, Romania, Russia, Serbia, Slovakia, Slovenia, and Ukraine.

To apply, please submit a 500 word paper proposal and 1-page CV by e-mail.

More information

Website:

<http://www.disc-ceu.org/events/october-conference/>

E-mail: [disc@ceu.hu](mailto:disc@ceu.hu)

SOUTH-EASTERN  
EUROPE AND THE EU –  
LEADERSHIP DEVELOPMENT  
PROGRAMME

In an effort to support the integration process in South-eastern Europe, the TRANSFUSE Association from Berlin and the College of Europe from Bruges are organising the third year a Leadership Development Programme for young people from South-eastern Europe, as well as broader Europe and the United States, who aspire to play an active role in the future of their countries.

The 2008/09 Programme will consist of the following activities:

**Two-week Summer Academy in Germany**

(Berlin/Surrounding) –

**30 August – 13 September 2008**

The curriculum will include topics related to the European Union and the development of its relations with Southeast Europe as well as wider issues of international and economic relations. Practical training com-



ponents focussing on negotiations, project management and presentation skills will provide participants with essential leadership qualities.

**Group Activities in Southeast Europe – between November 2008 and March 2009**

The participants will work together in small groups to develop and implement a joint activity or an event in South-eastern Europe.

**Five-day Seminar in Belgium (Brussels/Bruges) – April 2009**

The Final Seminar offers visits to the EU institutions and NATO in Brussels and to the Campus of the College of Europe in Bruges. The Programme will be led by an Academic Dean, who will guide the participants through the different aspects of the Programme. The working language of the Programme is English. The participants are expected to be available during the overall period of the Programme (July 2008 – April 2009) and to attend each planned activity. Only 30 selected applicants (young professionals, 23–28 years old) will be invited to participate. Their participation in the Programme will be sponsored by the Robert Bosch Foundation and the King Baudouin Foundation.

**Apply online: [www.seeyoungleaders.org](http://www.seeyoungleaders.org)**

**Application deadline: 9 May 2008**

For further info on the programme [www.seeyoungleaders.org](http://www.seeyoungleaders.org) or write to [LDP@coleurop.be](mailto:LDP@coleurop.be)

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