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RADOVANS

They're doing the job! Those were the words of reaction of a standing official of Montenegro's ruling coalition to the news that the Serbian police has arrested the most wanted ICTY fugitive, **Radovan Karadžić**.

Journalists of the region woke up from the July torpor, Serbia is again in the headlines of the world media, and **Solana, Rehn** and the rest of the Brussels' cr?me urgently sent out the message – Serbia is on the right, European track.

Because the new authorities did not hesitate a second to arrest the already popular Dr **David Dabić**, Serbia will probably submit its application for membership in the European Union in the course of the French presidency, thus catching up with Podgorica.

One more man stands between Serbia and its goal – **Ratko Mladić**. One would expect the EU not to insist on the issue of Kosovo in the early stages of negotiations with Serbia, given that the Kosovo question has proven divisive enough for its present members, and the relations with the neighbours anyhow feature towards the end of membership negotiations.

Should Mladić be arrested in the near future, Serbia has a good chance to turn itself from the lagging wagon into the European locomotive of the region. Here one should note that the European Union has spoken kindly of Serbia's administrative capacities and that, from the standpoint of Brussels, there it does not have major problems with corruption and crime, unlike the rest of the Western Balkans.

The question for the coalition's official from the beginning of this article is: Why are we not doing the job?

Because our Radovans or, as the diplomats would say "big fish" are still leisurely buying up apartments in Paris, Milan... spending holidays in prestigious places, driving luxurious cars. All that thanks to the money they earned in criminal and corrupt ways.

And, while Brussels is stepping up pressure on Montenegro to intensify fight against corruption and crime, our Radovans cannot be spotted riding on the public transport or visiting the "madhouses", even if by a scenario of the Directory. Seen the way they are treated by the Montenegrin institutions and the people heading them, they shouldn't even think about it.

V.Ž.

Denmark ratified SAA (27 June) – Denmark is the sixth member of the European Union to have ratified the Stabilisation and Association Agreement with Montenegro. The agreement has already been ratified by Estonia, Slovenia, Hungary, Austria and Bulgaria.

French visas in the Slovenian Embassy (30 June) – The Joint Application Centre in the embassy of Slovenia started issuing Schengen visas to the Montenegrin citizens on behalf of France. Until now, French visas were being issued by the Italian embassy. With this, the Joint Application Centre came to represent seven countries of the Schengen zone: Slovenia, Austria, Belgium, France, Hungary, Luxembourg and Poland.

Application depends on the Progress Report (30 June) – Montenegro's application for candidate status for membership in the European Union will depend on the progress report by the European Commission, said the Slovenian ambassador in Podgorica **Jernej Videtič**.

French presidency of EU (1 July) – France took over the EU presidency from Slovenia and will hold this position for the next six months. Paris came to the helm of Europe at the moment when the block is facing a grave institutional crisis because of the Irish rejection of the Lisbon Treaty at the referendum last month. French president **Nicolas Sarkozy** said that France was in favour of the Balkan countries joining the EU.



Montenegro joined the Mediterranean Union (12 July) – together with Croatia, Bosnia and Herzegovina and Monaco at the Summit in Paris. The union consists of 43 countries from the European continent and the coastal areas of the South Mediterranean, with a combined population of 750 million people. Among the members are the 27 EU countries, Algeria, Egypt, Israel, Jordan, Lebanon, Morocco, Mauritius, Syria, Tunisia, Turkey, Palestinian authority and Albania. The goal of the "Union for the Mediterranean" which is strongly promoted by France and its president Nicolas Sarkozy is to create a common space of peace and democracy. Montenegrin PM **Milo Đukanović** attended the summit in Paris.

Meeting of the Enhanced permanent dialogue (16 July) – took place in Podgorica between European Commission and Montenegro and was dedicated to innovation, human resources, information society and social policy.

Latvia ratified SAA (21 July) – Latvia's Parliament ratified the SAA signed between Montenegro and EU on 15 October 2007. Latvia is the eighth country to have ratified this agreement.

Bulgaria fined for corruption (23 July) – European Commission suspended assistance to Bulgaria worth more than 500 million euros. This institution, which also manages the funds reported that the poorest member of the European block failed to meet the targets in its fight against organised crime and corruption on the highest lever, prompting the European Commission to freeze the money from the European funds allocated to Bulgaria in order to protect its taxpayers.



WHAT WILL HAPPEN WITH TRADITIONAL MONTENEGRIN PRODUCTS IN THE PROCESS OF ASSOCIATION WITH EU

A thorny road to the European cuisine



Belgian chocolate, Greek feta cheese (sheep) and pastel (honey-sesame cook-



by Marija Mirjačić

ies), Italian "mozzarella", German "white sausage", Austrian apple strudel and beef cocktail with breadcrumbs... These are only some of the traditional products of European cuisines, prepared according to the special recipes handed down the line for many generations. In the European Union, where almost every community has its own specific dietary and culinary habits, interest in the traditional products is on the rise.

Traditional food is considered healthier. As the public is increas-

ingly interested in the market segment of healthy food and bio-products, traditional cuisine is all the more sought after. Although there is no precise data on the share of traditional products in the overall food consumption in Europe, in some European countries this percentage is definitely on the rise.

For a product to be branded "traditional" on the picky European market it has to make it a long way to the final goal – fulfilment of the European rules of origin.

Most of the Montenegrin producers at the moment cannot even get close to the European markets.

First of all, they must conform to the hygienic standards of production. European Commission representatives for agriculture who came to survey the situation in Montenegro dubbed the hygiene standards in the country "most problematic".

Ministry of agriculture, forestry

WILL IT TASTE THE SAME?

Will the prosciutto from Njegušor cheese from Pljevlja still taste the same if their producers start tinkering with hygiene, ingredients, additives, concentration of salt... Will the centuries-old ways of making food in Montenegro and on the Balkans be reserved only for the grandmothers who refuse to change their tubs and troughs for cheese and decide to produce only for their own families? Can we still enjoy the taste of these products? Deputy president of the Association of Agricultural Producers of Montenegro **Dragoljub Nenezić** believes that the quality of the products will not be affected by changing production technologies.

"Better hygiene can only improve the quality, not diminish it", Nenezić said.

and water management has allocated a symbolic sum in this year's budget for the improvement of hygienic conditions. Such programmes usually entail acquisition of new, typically modern and rather expensive equipment. The next step awaiting Montenegrin farmers who want to place their products in the next few years on the Montenegrin and European markets is the HACCP (Hazard Analyses and Critical Control Point) food safety system which requires continuous monitoring of the entire production chain from the field to the kitchen. Only after the HACCP system has been introduced, those Montenegrin food producers who want to compete in the European market



Traditional Montenegrin specialties



Branko Bulatović

can consider the requirements of the EU directive on the rules of origin.

In the course of the pre-accession negotiations, Montenegro will probably try to register some geographic trademarks, e.g. Njeguši prosciutto, Pljevlja cheese and cream, potatoes from Trebaljevo, but also some other products with specific characteristics related to

Only 16 traditional products from the 12 older members of the EU have been labelled a "guaranteed traditional specialty", among them mozzarella cheese from Italy, meat dishes, milk and bakery products from Spain and one Belgian beer

their origin.

Whether this can be done is still an "open question", says deputy minister for agriculture, forestry and water management **Branko Bulatović**.

"There are two regulations concerning "traditional" food on the European Union markets. The first regulation is related to the protection of geographic origin of agricultural products, and the second to the certificates on special characteristics of agricultural products and food. The goal of these regulations

is to simplify the system of protection of agricultural products based on their geographic origins or tradition. This is meant to guarantee protection against imitation for the food and drinks registered on the European level", explains Bulatović for the European Pulse.

According to him, the first regulation is successfully implemented, with thousands of European products registered as "protected label of origin" or "protected geographic label".

"However, very few products have been certified as "guaranteed traditional specialty" under the second regulation", Bulatović adds.

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Bulatović explains that the reason for such limited number of reg-

istration under the second regulation is the fact that the latter offers very little protection to the producer and the product, as well as the

absence of a clear definition of "traditional".

"This is why a product cannot be exclusively registered as a traditional product, especially when it combines several ingredients. Challenges to the production and marketing of traditional food in Montenegro are similar to those in the EU. We will most probably register some of our products as "protected origin" or "protected geographic origin" labels", Bulatović said.

Out of the twelve new EU member states only Czech Republic managed to protect its products in the pre-accession period: three types of beer. It is still possible to protect products after EU accession, but the process is likely to last much longer, five years on average, in order to examine the markets of all member states before registering origin or specificity of a new prod-

uct. In the meantime, another product registered earlier could conquer the market and consumers' tastes.

In Montenegro, 13 producers have been signed into the register of organic producers. Registration of the geographic origin was previously performed by the former Federal Bureau for Intellectual Property in Belgrade, which also certified prosciutto from Njeguši and a number

WHO HAS THE HACCP

Except for "Plantaže", who introduced the HACCP system already in 2000, the certificate, according to the Ministry for Agriculture, has been granted to "Pirela", "Marteks", "Inspe", "Arena milk", "Šimšić", "Mont milk", "Fabricis" and "Nika mljekara".

Consumers in the EU have so far been able to try some of the "Plantaže" wines, "Pirela" juices and medicinal herbal teas produced by "Inspe" from Bar.

of "Plantaže" wines. This job is now responsibility of the newly established Bureau for Intellectual Property.

Certificate of origin indicates that a product and all its ingredients and raw materials have been produced in the same locality, which guarantees that a product has not been produced serially or industrially and vouches for its quality to a potential buyer.

For the producer, the label guarantees recognition in the international markets, which will become very important once we join the EU. Most importantly, it defends the producer against competition from another product with the same name.

Regardless of whether we want our product to be protected in the European markets based on their geographic origin or as "guaranteed traditional specialties", the list of requirements for registration is very long.

"It is necessary to identify consumers' affinities, attitudes, expectations, possibilities for innovation in traditional production, guarantee food safety with regard to physical and chemical risks, take care of the



Milk products at the market in Podgorica

protection of animal biodiversity, develop and support marketing and

system of technology transfer", Bulatović said.

European Commission representatives for agriculture who came to survey the situation in Montenegro dubbed the hygiene standards in the country "most problematic"

distribution of these products, and establish an efficient, sustainable

Problems in the Montenegrin agriculture have been piling up for decades. For the last ten years the government has attempted a reform, but the success in reviving agricultural production has been limited. The ministry and its agencies should therefore make it a priority for the near future to spread awareness about challenges and opportunities in this sector in the wider public and educate farmers and producers in the matter of certification procedures for the traditional products. Time will show whether they can succeed in launching Montenegrin products on the European markets.

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

WAITING FOR THE HELP FROM THE STATE AND LOCAL AGENCIES

Nenezić said that the hygienic conditions in the production of traditional specialties aren't satisfactory, and must be quickly improved.

"European Commission representatives have repeatedly emphasised this problem, warning that some standards will be very difficult to attain. The experience showed that we managed to introduce some standards, but this is not nearly enough. What we need is assistance from the local governments and the state", said Nenezić for the European Pulse.

He said that the producers first need support with introducing new technologies in order to be able to standardise quality.

"What this means is that we must have a precise account of the colour, the smell and the taste of cheese from Pljevlja, the recipe, production and packing procedures...", Nenezić said, adding that these traditional products should be placed on the markets of only few European markets, and in limited supply.

According to him, Montenegrin cream of cheese would probably sell in Germany, but is unlikely to succeed in Sweden or Denmark.

WHY IS GOVERNMENT TRYING TO RE-ESTABLISH CONTROL OVER MEDIA

Times of arrogance



There is probably no government that does not want to control the media directly or indirectly, conditioning them in various ways, ultimate-



by Neđeljko Rudović

ly by the very decision to allocate or withdraw their frequencies. There are also probably very few governments in Europe that did not try, on their road to potential membership in European Union, to somehow legalise their influence on all relevant electronic media.

Montenegrin government already did half the work – the Parliament of Montenegro will in a few days adopt a Law on electronic communication. By this, it will take away the right of Broadcasting Agency – which, at least on paper, used to be an independent regulatory body – to decide on the allocation of frequencies. Instead, the job will be given to the Government's Agency for Telecommunications, whose director is appointed by the Ministry for Transport and Telecommunications.

The second example of sliding backwards, and a good illustration of the brutality of the ruling circles and the desperate impotence of the opposition, is the draft law on Broadcasting Services RTCG (Radio-Television Montenegro), which paved the way for the ruling coalition to formally take the control over the public service RTCG.

The Government adopted the draft document containing amendments to the Law on Public Broadcasting Services (PBS). Based on this law, members of the RTCG Council, whose job is to elect the management of the national media service, are themselves appointed or dismissed by a parliamentary majority. Until now, the Parliament was only allowed to confirm nominations to the Council, but not to vote on them.

In addition to this, given the range of institutions who are to nominate members to the RTCG Council, if this law is adopted the Council will most probably be staffed by the

minions of the ruling circles. For instance, it is clearly stated that the Council of Independent Trade Unions, which is the Government favourite vis-à-vis the Reform Block of the Council of Trade Unions, is to nominate one representative to the RTCG Council. The Reform Block of CITU is not even mentioned.

The new law, in a way, is simply a confirmation of the status quo, since the ruling coalition anyhow interpreted the earlier version to mean that the Parliament is also allowed to vote on the nominated members of the Council. It was immediately announced that media experts in the Council of Europe in Strasbourg will analyse the draft of the amended law on PBS, as well as the Organisation for European Cooperation and Security (OSCE).

Although there are no two same solutions of this issue in Western democracies, and although even in Slovenia political parties are allowed to decide who will sit on the Council of their public service, the standards endorsed by the Council of Europe and OSCE in 2003, when the present law was adopted, have been dubbed modern and progressive. According to these standards, politicians should not have the power to decide on who

Nothing is as stunning as the ease and the nonchalance with which the DPS-SDP coalition introduced this diversion from the rule and order that should be the stronghold of every modern European state. The reason is easy to guess: the government is not afraid of sanctions. Why not? Because they are sure that the opposition can do nothing against them, and that the critical Montenegrin public, the interested public – University, NGOs, media – are perfectly harmless. Why? Because they are too few!?

will lead the public service, as this is the job of the civil society institutions that represent different groups in the society.

Ever since, in the five years during which the government has been persuading the public that Montenegro is steadily marching towards European and Atlantic integrations, Montenegro actually slid back into the past.

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sure that the opposition can do nothing against them, and that the critical Montenegrin public, the interested public – University, NGOs, media – are perfectly harmless. Why? Because they are too few!?

And so it happens that the centres of power look down from high above us all, with arrogance and perhaps with a sneer, at the criticism coming from various addresses – among others, from OSCE and the European Commission (EC).

EC insisted that the new law on electronic communications should not give the Government's body the right to allocate frequencies, as this would establish de facto influence of the parties over the media. In Đukanović's cabinet they all turned a deaf ear.

The same happened with the warning by OSCE's representative for the media **Miklos Haraszti**, who said that "transferring responsibilities for broadcasting services onto Agency for Telecommunications, which is controlled by the Government, you put a question mark over the independence of the licensing procedure".

Brankica Petković, editor of the Media Network from Slovenia and a researcher in the Ljubljana Peace Institute, was categorical: "Such glaring coarseness and broom-sweeping leads to weakening of the public voice and smells of authoritarianism by the parliamentary majority".

FRENCH AMBASSADOR IN PODGORICA BERNARD GARANCHER

It always can and should be better

During its presidency over European Union, France will expect Montenegro to advance reforms in terms of strengthening the judicial system and administration, and to intensify its fight against corruption and crime, said the French ambassador to Montenegro **Bernard Garancher**.

Garancher, who will lead the European Troika in Montenegro until the end of this year, said for the *European Pulse* that France will take over the priorities for the Western Balkans set by Slovenia during the last presidency.

● **What exactly do you have in mind?**

Our first priority is stabilisation. Almost all Western Balkan countries have achieved stability, and it is paradoxical that Serbia, the biggest and



Bernard Garancher

the richest country of the region, should be the last one to stabilise. You should therefore understand that the emphasis on Serbia is legitimate.

LITTLE IS NEEDED TO MOVE THINGS FOR THE BETTER

● **You mentioned corruption. Do you think that corruption is a big problem in Montenegro?**

Corruption knows no borders. French institutions, the police, judiciary, are not strangers to cases of corruption and organised crime, which are with one leg in Montenegro and with another in France.

On the technical level we ought to speak about these cases. On the Montenegrin side there is somebody who gives the right answers and takes the right steps. In practice, when they have to do something, they do it. In theory, you have everything you need: action plans, laws, your civil servants are no worse than ours. In the dialogues between Montenegro and European Commission I can see that you officials know their job. There is probably not enough of them, but in my opinion expanding capacity is not as important as making the right decisions that will change something. For example, the Government announced that 52 persons have been sentenced in corruption cases since 2004 when the new law was adopted. True. Yet, some of them deserved a stricter sentence.

I believe that the courts will soon deal with the bigger fish and that will change something. You need one such sentence to change the overall outlook and habits of the judiciary, politicians, citizens.

Just because Montenegro is small, you need small steps for big changes. In a bigger country it is more difficult. I believe you have a good chance.

The second priority is to continue our efforts that began a few months ago in extending the energy and transport community in this part of the Balkans. We want the seven countries of the Western Balkans to be part of these communities, which will make them a step closer to EU.

At the same time, there are other issues such as transport – great European projects linked to projects in Serbia, Croatia... We expect European Investment Bank and the Bank for Reconstruction and Development to invest more resources. These are some practical issues to be attended to.

Should any of the West Balkan countries apply for membership during the French presidency, it will be a great event.

● **What do you think of the Montenegrin Government's intention to apply for EU membership by the end of French presidency?**

This is no surprise. Your deputy PM (**Gordana Đurović**) said immediately after she signed the Stabilisation and Association Agreement (SAA) on the 15 October last year in Brussels: "be ready for our application as soon as possible".

There were already some plans for this application during Slovenia's presidency, and then Montenegro did exactly what we expected – it consulted its major European partners. We believe that one result of these consultations was Montenegro's decision to reconsider and postpone application.

At the same time, the Government always said that quality is of equal importance as the time, although these two factors are not unrelated. Montenegrin government has a clear goal to submit this

application before the end of this year.

● Do you think this goal is plausible?

We think the consultations will continue. Some progress is obvious, however, the glass is only half full – and half empty. There is always space for improvements and some improvements must be made. On the other hand, we from European embassies admit that nobody will come up to Montenegro and say: come on, you are ready. All initiative must come from here. When it does, we will respect it and react accordingly.

By the end of this year the situation here will be very different from last year's. Montenegro is making progress, there will be some improvements with regard to visas and the situation in the region is also different: BiH signed the SAA, Serbia has a new government which calls itself pro-European and it could perhaps also become a candidate. This all makes a difference for Montenegro's application.

● What are the advantages for Montenegro from the membership in the Union for Mediterranean whose main initiator is France?

Take the example of transport: so far there were some national initiatives, such as the feasibility study on highways or the initiatives in the sub-regional zones (e.g. Montenegro,

WE ALL HAVE TO CHANGE OUR HABITS

● Your colleagues, Italian and German ambassadors Gabrielle Meucci and Thomas Schmidt reiterated many times that we ought to change our habits in order to progress in European integrations. You ride your bicycle everyday in the surroundings of Podgorica. Is that your way to show Montenegrins, who prefer their cars, the need to change their habits?

French love cars too. You, me, we all have to change our habits. Take water: we have it today, but who knows whether we will still have it in 20 years. Or the garbage. Yours is an ecological state, but the garbage is everywhere. You should organise a public waste collection. I saw some garbage separation bins in Podgorica for paper, glass...this is just a beginning. This will all change when private companies start recycling garbage and earning a lot of money on it.

I believe, when I was a child, our streets were very dirty. In Paris, for instance, if there is a strike longer than a single day you will see plenty of paper. If the street is already dirty, more people will be throwing their garbage around. If it is clean, they too will be more careful. It is like that everywhere, and the same mechanism of behaviour works with tourists. Tourists here will be more careless than in their own countries.

for environmental protection....

Although very small in itself, and therefore with a small sector of road construction, Montenegro will be able to participate and will have a representative in this process. This is the idea.

What we liked as initiators of this project is the immediate positive reaction we got from Montenegro, already in January.

Your Government consulted us and asked us to support Montenegro's wish to become a member of the new Union. We said not to rush, and that your case will be ready by the time we open the Union for Mediterranean, and this is

What I really worry about is the lack of ethics in its political life. I speak as an observer, not as somebody who wishes to lecture you. You will never hear me talking about corruption – there is no use talking about it, corruption must be fought. But I do say that I worry about the lack of ethics. It is a fact that the Parliament has been immobilised for reasons I respect, but it still means that this institution is not performing its role. People have elected MPs and they expect them to do their work. This is already lasting two months and it signals trouble.

There is also another thing: in late June, CEDEM published a public opinion poll which shows that 71% of the population wants membership in the European Union and only 12% say they are not interested. We can say that a great majority is in favour of EU membership, but if the political elite, and by that I mean both the Government and the opposition, continues to behave like that in such important issues as the formation of the National Council for Integrations, public opinion will lose interest in the EU.

What I really worry about is the lack of ethics in its political life. If the political elite, and by that I mean both the Government and the opposition, continues to behave like that in such important issues as the formation of the National Council for Integrations, the public will gradually lose interest in the EU

Croatia and Albania have a common project). These efforts have been directed exclusively by states. The new idea is that the projects of the Union for Mediterranean will be conducted by a group of interested parties: states, international banks, international investors, associations

what happened. You became members of a broader union, something that offers Montenegro a forum to discuss with the parties you do not often have a chance to meet, such as Egypt.

● What is your biggest concern in Montenegro today?

V. ŽUGIĆ

AFTER EC'S WARNING THE RULING COALITION URGENTLY MOVES A PROPOSAL OF A NEW LAW ON PARTY FINANCING ONTO PARLIAMENT'S AGENDA

Unless the parties strike another money deal



Several weeks after the head of the Department for Montenegro in the Directorate General for Enlargement of the



by Danilo Mihajlović

European Commission **Teresa Sobieski** warned the Montenegrin authorities against negligence with regard to legal provisions regulating anti-corruption, the MPs of the ruling coalition suddenly brought a proposal for a law on party financing onto the agenda of the running Parliament session. There was, however, not a word on discussion on this document, which collects dust in the parliamentary drawers since late 2007. The benches reserved for the opposition were empty on the occasion, however, although one wonders whether their presence would have sparked a debate. Three years ago, when the law was amended for the last time, all parties heartily agreed on a proposal which forced Montenegro three steps back in this matter. The new document which is scheduled for parliamentary debate next week brings some hope that the next elections could be held in a somewhat fair environment, at least with regard to financing.

"In addition to comparative practice, we relied on recommendations of the Council of Europe (CoE). By this I mean not the general recommendations but concrete suggestions from the Report by CoE experts on Montenegro... Everything was incorporated and I believe that the new law will be perfectly harmonised

with international standards", says **Zlatko Vujović**, president of the Centre for Monitoring (CEMI), which was involved in the process of drafting the new law.

New proposal again establishes the upper limit on public finances available to the parties: for their regular functioning, the parties are entitled to between 0.2 and 0.4% of the total state budget, minus capital budget and public funds. In the local parliaments, parties can get between 0.5 and 1% of the total munic-

ipal budget, minus the capital budget.

The government admits that the ruling coalition made a mistake, and emphasises that "there should be less money from the public funds dedicated to parties".

"So far the Parliament of the Republic as well as the local parliaments could decide on the amount of financing on their own. With the upper limit abolished, local governments could easily abuse their freedom, allocating up to

BIG DONATIONS LEAD TO CORRUPTION

Unlike some legislations which forbid public subsidies, authors of the Montenegrin law opted for the principle which is prevalent in most European legislations, and envisages combined financing from public and private sources. Private sources, explains Vujović, can be divided into smaller donations collected from a large number of citizens party members (grassroots) and large donations coming from single rich individuals, enterprises or other financially and politically powerful entities.

"Big donations should be avoided in order to eliminate the threat of corruption, and the political parties are thus motivated to increase membership and become less dependent on big donors. On the other hand, the danger is that in some countries political parties can become entirely dependent on big public subsidies and thus uninterested in the grassroots work", Vujović warned. CEMI's director says that private financing is dominant in Western democracies.

"In Germany, for instance, state finance amounts to 30% on average while the rest comes from private sources. In the structure of private financing, however, membership fees account for more than a half of all funding, one quarter is due to donations and only 10% of total party funds comes from big donors", Vujović said. He adds that in the Anglo-Saxon world the situation is similar, although big donors have dominated these systems for a long time, causing major scandals.

"USA and their federal electoral commission introduced numerous prohibitions in order to decrease the influence of "fat cats" in the guise of big corporations and foreign interests, and increase the influence of individuals with smaller donations. For this reason the USA too introduced public subsidies", Vujović said.

He notes the example of UK which is a rare instance of a country which does not allow public subsidies to political parties.

"True, some changes were introduced, such as the public fund for support of opposition parties in order to help them fulfil their parliamentary obligations. In the pre-electoral campaigns candidates are entitled to media time, postal services and use of office free of charge", Vujović said.

2.7% of their budget to the parties", states the government's justification of the proposal.

With support of the Foundation Open Society Institute, Representative Office in Montenegro (FOSI ROM) CEMI has been working on a project of monitoring the financing of political parties for the last four years. In 2005, only a year after the law proposed by this non-governmental organisation was adopted, it was suddenly changed in the Parliament without notifying the public, favouring the parties which, at the time the elections were announced, were already in the parliament. Again on CEMI's initiative the Constitutional Court declared non-constitutional the clause which allowed 20% of the budgetary financing scheduled for campaigns to be allocated to parties already in the Parliament, 10 to those who submit a confirmed electoral list, and the remaining 70% to be divided on all parties according to won number of seats. The Council of Europe recommends amendments of the existing provisions "to eliminate fixed subsidies" (currently 20% of total available funding) to the parties with secured parliamentary status. All funds which are not allocated according to the number of seats should be divided equally on all parties and other elected entities. In that sense, the regulation which was in force before the last amendment proved to be an attractive solution, allocating 20% of funds equally to all participants in the elections and 80% according to the number of seats", explains Vujović for the *European Pulse*. It is, however, unclear which model of financing will be adopted, as the government's proposal envisages 80:20% sys-

STOP TO THE SPECIAL BUDGET



Zlatko Vujović

Vujović claims that the Government refused to accept CEMI's proposal to create a special fund (0.1% of the budget) for the work of the MPs and committee members, while the parties could still use their 0.2%. This is the only clause of the Government's proposal so far which is clearly out of line with CoE recommendations and international standards.

"In most countries the MPs have their own budget, independent of political parties. This makes them more independent", Vujović explains.

"There would be no dilemmas about the MPs leaving their parties – the party would lose nothing financially, and the MP could finance his or her work independently, hire an advisor, for instance. The point is to enhance the quality of MP's work".

tem, whereas the accompanying rationale of the same document says that the allocation system will be 15% to 85% of the funds.

"The same solution can be found in the regulations dealing with political party finances on the level of the European Parliament, and similar provisions are found in Slovenia (10% to 90%), Croatia (20% to 80%). The 15% to 95% solution is based on the will of their voters, and allows the parties that win seats in the elections to "build" on their trust and legitimacy", states the rationale.

Vujović believes that a better solution would be to provide finances for the needs of electoral campaigns from the state budget (up to 0.2%), in order to

prevent the ruling parties from financially overpowering the opposition. The current law has up to 0.3% of the state budget in the electoral year scheduled for the campaign, while the proposal envisages 0.15%. According to the proposal, the costs of the electoral campaign can be covered with another 1% of the public funds, allocated according to the number of seats won, provided that the parties have already collected from private sources twice the amount they are entitled to when they submit electoral lists. CEMI's proposal had 0.2% of the budget for the campaign and another 0.1% for the related funds.

Under the pressure from CEMI and the media, parties have published financial reports for the campaign for the first time at the last presidential elections, although the current legislation obliges them to do so after every elections since four years ago. The new proposal also obliges the bearer of the electoral list to report on the expenses in the electoral campaign, and to submit all documents to the electoral commission within 45 days from the day of the elections. The same deadline applies for the report on origin, amount and structure of money collected from private sources. The fine for failing to comply with these regulations ranges between hundred and two hundred times the amount of minimal wage in Montenegro.

GRANT CONTROL TO AN INDEPENDENT BODY

Monitoring of the implementation of the law on the financing of political parties should be done by an independent body, not by the Ministry of Finance, as is currently envisaged by the government's proposal, says the Movement for Changes (Pokret za promjene, PzP). Director of PzP, **Boris Marić** also proposes a change in the system of allocation of budgetary funds. According to the current proposal, 15% will be divided evenly and 85% according to the results of the elections.

"The ratio should be 30% to 70%. Such laws are in effect a support programme for small parties, and their interests ought to be taken into account", Marić explains.

NEW DRAFT LAW ON THE CONFLICT OF INTERESTS A STEP FORWARD, YET FALLS SHORT OF THE EUROPEAN STANDARDS

Holes in the dike against corruption

EVROPSKI REPORTER

The European Commission has a reason to insist on the warnings against the lack of effective eradication and prosecution of corruption cases in Montenegro. The best illustration of their concerns is the very law on the prevention of conflict of interests, one of the key anti-corruption laws.

After the existing law has been generally described as a "caricature", the Government of Montenegro has adopted another draft, claiming that the new document incorporates recommendations of the GRECO, a Council of Europe body for the fight against corruption.

Soon it turned out that the CoE experts have visited Podgorica only a week ago as guests of the Commission for the prevention of the conflict of interests, and offered their recommendations for improvement of the new law.

Once it has been adopted by the Government as a draft, this important law will be passed on to the Parliament, but the non-governmental sector has already voiced reservations about efficacy of the new document.

Brussels has emphasised GRECO recommendations as the priority steps in the fight against corruption, and the Government promised the Council of Europe in its programme

Towards the end of last year the Government decided to show the Council of Europe that it has understood the rules of the game and applied itself to creating a new law on the conflict of interests. Unfortunately, the public officials forgot once again to define their own status and renounce certain privileges

for this and the last year to adopt anti-corruption legislation in line with the GRECO demands.

In between the old and the new law on the conflict of interests, which is about to reach the parliamentary discussion floor, there have been numerous complaints about the most prominent public officials turning into millionaires through parallel private businesses.

Law on the conflict of interests, public's most powerful weapon against the conflict of interest ought to have worked to suppress and prevent nepotism and concentration of power in the hands of public officials. So far, it has been found wanting.

One obvious reason of its ineffi-

ciency is the fact that the same public officials who adopted it failed to incorporate any kind of sanction in case the law was broken. The new draft contains some sanctions, e.g. a ban on public employment for a duration of four years, which suggests certain progress.

GRECO report for 2006 emphasised that the interlocking of public and private interests, politics and business has grown into a serious problem, that it is the least controlled area, very prone to corruption.

Towards the end of last year the Government decided to show the Council of Europe that it has understood the rules of the game and applied itself to creating a new law on the conflict of interests.

However, this law too the public officials forgot to define their own status and renounce certain privileges.

The Commission for the prevention of the conflict of interest, however, offers contradictory comments.

President of the Commission Slobodan Leković has recently announced a new legal document to the members of the legal committee of the Parliament of Montenegro, promising harmonisation with GRECO recommendations, but has recently revised his statement.

In an interview for the European Reporter, Leković said that "the new legal document is being harmonised with GRECO recommendations as we speak, and the Government is also considering the amendments pro-



Building of the Government of Montenegro

posed by the non-governmental organisation MANS".

"This work should soon be completed. We are currently considering some solutions for the new law offered by MANS. On 11 July the Council of Europe experts visited Podgorica and will submit their evaluations soon", Leković said.

The new law announces radical measures against public officials who fail to declare all property, broadens Commission's prerogatives allowing it to check the trustworthiness of the reports, and threatens public officials who fail to obey the law with dismissal from their office, with a four-year ban on return to public administration.

Vanja Čalović, executive director of MANS warns against the lack of precise definition of a "public official".

"Given that we are currently in the process of European integrations, which will inevitably result in the establishment of new institutions, "public official" must be defined in accordance with the European Convention on the Fight against Corruption", she stated.

She believes it necessary to also define conflict of interests for third



persons closely related to a public official.

"Interest of such persons, which is not, strictly speaking, personal interest of the official in question, can also influence his or her decision making", Čalović warns.

Executive director of MANS has further objections to the solutions found in the new draft law. Especially problematic is the solution which does not recognise membership of an official in working groups or committees as "multiple work engagement", provided these bodies are established by the government.

"This clause ought to be changed:

WHAT DID GRECO WANT?

GRECO recommendations for Montenegro envisage a separate clause to be incorporated in the national legislation barring transfer of wages to the public officials until they submit a report on property.

Commission for the investigation of the conflict of interests ought to have adequate immunity and to be professionalised.

The same document adds that the Commission "should have the ability to check property declarations, investigate and diminish the value of gifts and supervise the terms of departure of a public official into the private sector or retirement.

GRECO insists on a precise definition of the "public official" and "public office", noting that the current regulations allow public officials to hold offices in various committees of business organisations where the state is a majority owner, and stipulate no limitations on their engagement once they cease to be part of the civil service.

The gist of the document is – solve the conflict between public and private interest, fight the political influence in business transactions, prevent abuse of the public offices and prioritisation of private over public interest. Those are the conditions that Montenegro ought to fulfil, on paper and in fact before it is allowed to knock on the European door.

the government can form various working groups and commissions with executive power and other public prerogatives. Membership in such bodies should therefore be considered a public office. Also, although the law forbids public officials be presidents, members of the boards of directors or managers in business organisations, this ban should be extended to the position of an authorised representative, since his or her background as public official and the related mandate may influence the decision-making process", Čalović said.

On the 1 July 2008 website of the Commission for the prevention of the conflict of interests has information on 1882 public officials in Montenegro, 750 on the state level and 1 132 on the level of municipalities. MANS recommends more rigorous obligations for public officials regarding reports on their income and property, both in terms of the fulfilment of this requirement and in terms of veracity of the reports.

"Every public official ought to be required to enter correct information in the Report on income and property, and be held liable, materially and legally, for their truthfulness", Čalović said.

According to the draft law on the prevention of the conflict of interests, Commission for investigation of the conflict of interest would consist of representatives of political parties.

MANS suggested to balance the influence of political parties who appoint a majority of members to these commissions by nominating the president from the opposition.

"This would provide for greater political control of the government. The Commission could also involve members from different institutions or from the civil society. This would result in a non-party Commission made up of experts", Čalović explains.

Dragana BABOVIĆ

When money talks parties stay silent

by Brano Mandić

Sergei Polonski's Mirax Group hang shiny lampions on Zavala's crane. Russian constructors covered their emerging skyscrapers with finely woven fabric as if the boss of their PR service were a fan of the Bulgarian sculptor and conceptualist **Christo**, the one who wrapped Reichstag in a big plastic bag.

Polonski, who earned his first daily bread by building apartments for roubles and sold them for dollars (alchemy of the Russian transition), gave Montenegrin water polo presentation a present of 150 000 euros.

A month ago the silence around Saint Nicholas was shredded by fattened motor boats with sheiks at the helms. Mirax's motto "impossible becomes possible" once again, like mirage from Pelevin's "Generation P". Cruel lack of innovation, powerful reduction of style which is anyhow redundant when you have a messianic role and a wallet to go with it.

The chief mystic among the local partners, **Svetozar Marović** proudly announces Madonna's concert for September. **Madonna**, the crafty old sympathiser of DPS will have nothing against somebody's spreading a party flag at her concert like they did at the celebrations of the triumphant water polo team in Podgorica.

And a comment by the sports journalist **Nebojša Šofranac**: "note the Latin American atmosphere, everybody going wild around the famous fountain". There, the past month has already left us with the insight that our freshly mortared fountain has already become famous. Everything in this capital city must be "extra", "awesome", "wicked"... Total invasion of tycoon money sweeps along the emerging urban slang.

The said fountain could now be used by the no less famous mayor **Mugoša** as one of the five swimming pools he promised as a gif to the cap-



ital city...An ocean of money is haunting Montenegro, new times brought new symbols and a general rush after the spoils, in case you happen to occupy an important party office. Not two, not three or four plus one, but five swimming pools!

Marović, who already once tried to use a peace award to wash away his warmongering past is now using Madonna's concert to lift himself out of

Madonna, the crafty old sympathiser of DPS will have nothing against somebody's spreading a party flag at her concert like they did at the celebrations of the triumphant water polo team in Podgorica

the mire of those days when the sidewalks of Budva swarmed with the squeaky tribe of turbo-folk stars. We're washing up.

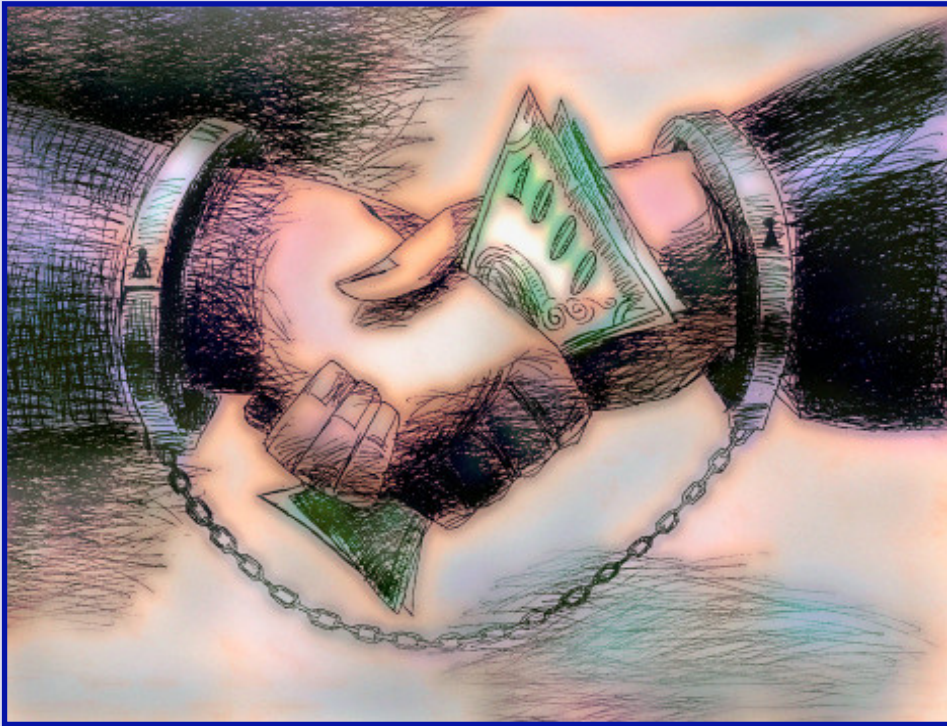
Representatives of the Montenegro's football team have their abs decorated with a curled-up dove, the logo of a new bank on the national jersey. It is not a coincidence that the advertisements for the First Bank of Montenegro invariably remind us that the bank has been founded "in 1901".

Money can also buy continuity, a place in history and a family line. Marketing wins. Football rules! – nobody will cease to root for the national team because of their sponsors – "the ball is round", "everything is relative", "panta rei", "if you can't win, join them" etc, etc, down to the deepest wells of folk wisdom, ever ready to bless and wash away the crime with a carouser's dithyramb.

We can follow these rhymes all the way to the empty opposition's benches, mostly wrapped in mourning clothes for Kosovo. To make the trouble infinite and despair deeper, the strongest opposition group is highly attuned to the essential social problems and with the speed of a hawk launches onto the problems of one neighbouring country. Kosovo tirades of the Serbian List are the best way to kill every last speck of will to the better life which is anyhow being drained from our pockets by the long-fingered god-fathers. Just wait until the hot season is over to watch **Mandić Andrija** head a popular uprising. He has China, India and Russia are all behind him, except for the Mirax Group, perfectly indifferent to the treachery of the current regime.

With this balance of power

between the government and the opposition, with such complementary strategies, it is no wonder that more and more people are reconciling themselves with the fate of living in a dirty, messy and conceited sphere of interests none of which are of any benefit to the "ordinary citizen". Supposedly this is all very obvious when seen from Brussels, which is turning the old record about corruption and the lack of administrative capaci-



ties. Surprisingly enough, the European Union missed out on the laudable surplus of capable capacities Montenegro. Two major capacities, **Milić** and **Medojević** are competing for the place at the helm of the National Council for Integrations, making that institution look ridiculous even before it has been properly founded. And while they fight the DPS scribes are sharpening their pens and throwing jokes as if they were watching a cockfight. With an occasional legalistic intervention by the President of the Parliament, freshly revived from a rooting trance. Nobody is a greater historical figure than **Krivokapić**. He is aware of his majestic contribution to the restoration of independence. He knew our water polo team would win. He knows that the Parliament ought to be moved to Cetinje. He holds his hand over his heart while the anthem is playing and is probably secretly writing something for leather binding, some memoirs with a tinge of travels...

He already "speaks up from the darkness of archives" to quote D.K.

Few would believe that politicians are the one who wield the real power, so the voter unerringly opts for the party with the highest concentration of money from the beginning of this arti-

cle. Political parties in power are simply service shops whose job is to trim the large domestic and foreign capital to fit national legislation, or to allow it to flow bypassing procedures and written regulations, with a good sense of husbandry and benefits for the nation. Which is why the parties do not recruit great creative minds: they are redundant. All they need are good bankers, extorters, occasionally good speakers,

Surprisingly enough, the European Union missed out on the laudable surplus of capable capacities Montenegro. Two major capacities, Milić and Medojević are competing for the place at the helm of the National Council for Integrations, making that institution look ridiculous even before it has been properly founded. And while they fight the DPS scribes are sharpening their pens and throwing jokes as if they were watching a cockfight

but never people capable of developing and improving the system of minority terror. The languor and socialism of the many municipal committees whose meetings I was privileged to attend, where the real action starts with the point "other" of the agenda around the topic of employing somebody's cousin or a nephew – all that is absolutely necessary in order to grease the machine with corruption and minor swindles without which the bigger ones could not be swallowed.

This is, then, the country and the standing pattern of dividing political power and decision-making. Enter **Sergej Polonski**, member of the small cabinet of **Vladimir Putin**. Which is also easy to see from Brussels. Over a cappuccino, they will tell you off the record that Montenegro has already become a Russian province and has tied its destiny dangerously close to the future of Russia-EU relations.

Which is where the things become complicated and simple. The "Western factor" is not naive and is twisting with **Ćukanović**, especially the recognised democratic elite such as Berlusconi or Solana. We also have the media to tell us that Montenegro is the central point, the geostrategic gem to be sold to the NATO for a high price so that the poor, troubled people can eat three meals a day, times seven days.

This summer's idyllic picture of progress has been slightly spoiled by empty beaches and the absence of tourists willing to spend their holidays under the lampioned cranes, to the tune of concrete mixers or at the delta where sewers meet the beach of **Šušanj**. It's not like this pearl of tourism failed, we are simply waiting for the elite guests, say those who charge you 2 euros for an easy chair and a para-

sol. Not a bad strategy to get rid of Serbs and Kosovars, but what with the falling numbers of Russians?

The coastal flock has been so intoxicated with the ideological glorification of Montenegro as the most beautiful country on Earth that they all rushed on to get loans and erect apartments which are now sitting empty in mid-July. Awaiting implementation.

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

WHY DO I WANT TO BE A CITIZEN OF EUROPE?

Can we climb the throne of our own abilities?

In the geopolitical sense, every territory in the world was in its own time a scene of integrative



by Marko Otašević

and disintegrative fluctuations. The USA were created in 1776 by a declaration of 13 British colonies fighting their way to freedom and independence from the British crown. Germany as we know it today was forged over the centuries through multiple integrative processes that brought us three Reichs, the last being the most notorious one in the human history. There is also a host of countries on the same continent that saw their territory disintegrate under the burden of political and historical circumstances – USSR, Czechoslovakia, SFRY and many others.

Throughout its history, Montenegro has often been integrated into different political associations, by its own or others' will and decision and participated in their disintegration until the final definition of its statehood status at the May 2006 referendum. After a long period

Can the Montenegrin mentality be improved? It can, of course, it can. All we need is a minimum effort in this direction by every individual in Montenegro

of political upheavals and undefined status, our country has now entirely turned to Europe and sealed its decision with an official document. On the 8 June 2005 session the Parliament of

Montenegro adopted Declaration on the association of Montenegro to EU, taking on and delegating to its citizens the commitment of serious reforms legal, economic, social and all other terms.

The roadwork has been laid. It has been a little more than three years since, and a lot has been done. Montenegrin citizens are inevitably a part of this process, me as everyone else. It is up to me to embark on this train to Europe (as in the song with the idealised "train to happiness") because this is the only way. Or is it?

There is, of course. This is the road proposed by the Eurosceptics. I have seen and heard very few such people

I read opinions of the Eurosceptics from France, UK and Norway. Their arguments are essentially based on their national performance – political, geographical, economic, historical etc. And most of their arguments stand. The French are afraid of the immigrants, Brits defend their currency and emphasise their identity and historical role, and the Norwegians guard their natural gas reserves and the marine wealth of their coastal fishing belt. As the folk wisdom goes: "They can afford it!". Which is how we come to the question: can Montenegro and its citizens afford it?

where I live and I know little about their arguments. I read opinions of the Eurosceptics from France, UK and Norway. Their arguments are essentially based on their national performance –

political, geographical, economic, historical etc. And most of their arguments stand. The French are afraid of the immigrants, Brits defend their currency and emphasise their identity and histor-

ical role, and the Norwegians guard their natural gas reserves and the marine wealth of their coastal fishing belt. As the folk wisdom goes: "They can afford it!". Which is how we come to the question: can Montenegro and its citizens afford it? Are we content and self-sufficient on our 14 000 km² with 685 000 people?

Thinking rationally, it is enough to make a simple cost-benefit analysis to get the right answer. The limits of this column prevent me from doing it here and now, but such studies already exist and those interested can consult their findings. For this occasion, I preferred to draw a few lessons from the great minds and great achievements of social

and natural sciences.

In physics, a close system is the one which does not exchange mass, energy or heat with its environment, i.e. does not exchange anything.

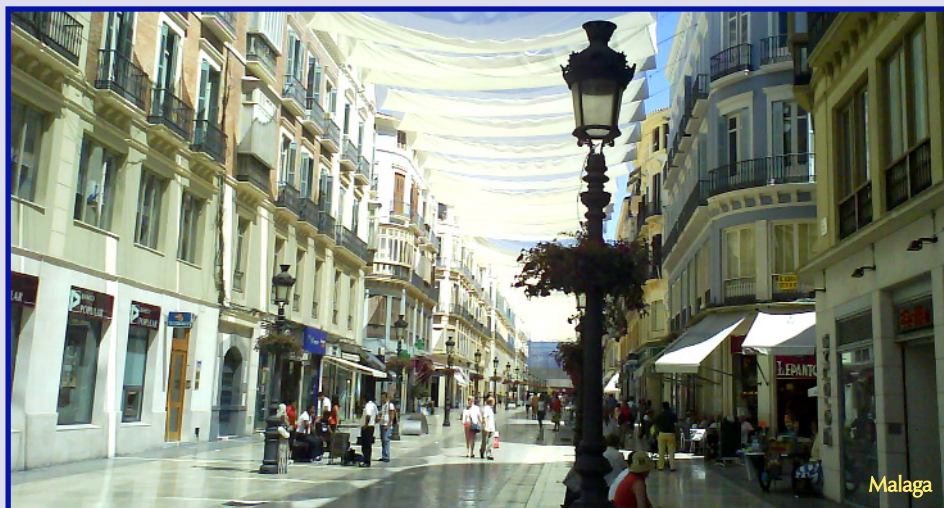
In economics, closed system proved to be unsuccessful and unsustainable in the longer run. One great classical economist David Ricardo (1772–1823) developed a theory of comparative advantages to show how an open system of trade is better than a closed one for all actors involved.

Psychology, biology and anthropology provide us with convincing evi-

dence that a man cannot function in isolation. Since a society also functions on the same premises as a living organism, most regularities can be generalised from the level of the individual to the meso level (state) and the macro, i.e. the level of integration with the relevant international subjects.

Without wanting to deny that portion of the citizens who are against integration into EU, I will offer a few more arguments to support my positive attitude towards this question. I have first-hand experience to confirm that as a nation at the moment we cannot boast enviable achievements in the most basic civilisational values, by which I mean norms of behaviour, a whole range of cultural functions, tolerance towards the other and the different, respect for the basic principles of democracy, development of the culture of dialogue, respect for human rights etc.

In the domain of these few segments of the social life, at this moment, we are still far from the main currents of civilisation. Opponents of such



meters from the container, out of laziness (read: unformed ecological awareness and the lack of basic manners) and knowing that no sanction will follow. A lady who also witnessed the event shortly commented: "If someone could beat you up or fine you for this, you would never think of doing it again!". The rest of her comment I will keep for myself, as it does not fit the place. The epilogue of this short illustration is that

also in politics, economics, social engagement and cultural heritage, survive and prevail as a small but important and proud part of the grand family of European nations. The final avalanche of counter-arguments to my proactive attitude to Europe concerns the very survival of EU. What if, in the meantime, the EU collapses from its internal institutional problems? What will be the consequences for our country? Montenegro will remain standing where it always stood and continue its own way, whatever it be. We will try to make it the best possible.

I finish this short overview, without pretending to offer definite truths, with a final question: Can we climb the throne of our own abilities? Instead of an answer, let me remind you – we have already climbed the sports throne of Europe on the wings of hard work, quality, real human and civilisational values in the heart of an important cog of the community we are striving for – Spain! Why couldn't we also do it in the matter of vital life goals, using our best abilities as the crown of development and progress. Because of all this I want to be a citizen of Europe. And will be, very soon!!! The first step towards this goal is the fact that I feel like one, since a very long time now.

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understanding will quickly launch back the objection that there are many more who are worse than us or immediately direct my attention to the Middle East. I agree that there and in a few more places on this Earth the situation is incomparably worse, but as I always wish better life for myself so I wish the community where I live to be better off.

The next question is the oft-mentioned Montenegrin mentality. Can we be improved? Can this mentality be modified for the better? It can, of course, it can. All we need is a minimum effort in this direction by every individual in Montenegro.

A few days ago I witnessed a potential method of "re-education" of mentality. The event took place in a suburb of Cetinje. A young man left a plastic bag filled with garbage a few

the mentality can be channelled in the desired direction, first through education and in the final instance through punishment.

Now I need to ask the question that has been bothering me for a while and is closely related to this story: "What on Earth does this lady when she finds herself in the shoes of this trespasser, and what if nobody sees her then???"

I believe another handful of values would slowly find fertile ground in Montenegro after integration into EU: modesty and dignity. The example of our golden water polo players from Malaga led by Petar Porobić, a man everybody should learn from, is enough to support my hopes. Their self-assured expedition made it clear to me that Montenegro can, not only in sports but

The author is a student and teaching assistant at the graduate programme of the Faculty of Economics in Podgorica. He completed VI generation of the European Integrations School

Law protects the behind

If a colleague gives another compliments for the behind he or she can be sued and fined for 5 000 euros for harassment.

These are the new regulations in Croatia which are meant to protect gender equality.

Since 15 July 2008, it is forbidden to ask women whether they are planning to have children, they must be paid the same as the men for the same job, there will have to be at least 40% of women in the Parliament and children will not have to study from textbooks full of stereotypes, like those with pictures of a "mom" making lunch

with a her hair in curlers.

From early 2009 onwards, nobody will be allowed to call you fat or ugly.

"It is always traumatic to live again through what you already experienced before – and our courts are really terribly slow and insensitive to such behaviours", says **Ružica Kišur Črlenec**, secretary of the "Mobbing" association.

Ružica is speaking from first-hand experience: her boss fired her because she was pregnant and, as he said, "dragged herself around like a dead cat". She brought up charges against him in a process which, she said "lasts since 2003".

Better homosexual than old



Most EU citizens would prefer their leader to be gay than to be "too old".

According to the public opinion poll conducted by Eurobarometer on a sample of 27 000 EU citizens, only

17% of the respondents would be perfectly fine with a leader aged 75 and more. 36% of the respondents would rather have a president who is homosexual or belongs to a minority or a different religious group (20 and 36%).

Although they are suspicious towards old people, EU citizens are not thrilled with youngsters either: only a quarter of the respondents said they would have no problem with a leader younger than 30.

Among the current leaders in the EU, older than 75 are only presidents **Karolos Papoulias** (79, Greece), **Valdas Adamkus** (81, Latvia) and **Giorgio Napolitano** (83, Italy), whereas no prime minister is older than 75.

Only dead into the Parliament

Albanian PM **Sali Berisha** threatened the MP of the opposition Socialist Party of Albania **Taulant Bala** to kill him, reports daily Tema.

During the discussion on the rebalancing of the budget, Bala prodded Berisha with sharp and inappropriate replicas, to which Berisha responded in kind, remembering also the mother of the said MP.

Berisha even threatened to have a

physical fight with the socialist Bala, saying that "he will kill" Bala, and that he "will not come back to the Parliament in one piece".

Bala was suspended from participation in the Parliament's sessions for 15 days because of the conflict with Berisha.

In spite the rude language he used which is inappropriate for a prime minister, there will be no consequences for Berisha, says the daily.



Fruit against obesity

Schoolchildren in Europe will soon start getting free servings of fruit and vegetables at school in order to decrease obesity in children.

22 million children in 27 EU members are considered obese, and 5 million over-obese.

According to European Commission proposal to be discussed by the Council of EU and European Parliament, fresh fruit and vegetables worth 90 million euros will be paid for from the EU budget, with member states contributing another 90 million.

"Children should acquire the right habits, in order to use them later on in life", said the EU Commissioner for Agriculture and Rural Development **Mariann Fischer Boel**.

Higher prices, fewer smokers

Excise tax on cigarettes will be raised in order to correct for inflation, guarantee equality among EU members and convince more EU citizens to stop smoking. The proposal which is yet to be discussed by the Council of EU reflects the current trends: between 2002 and 2006 excise tax was raised by 33%, while cigarette consumption in the EU decreased by 10%.

"We believe a further rise in excise taxes will lead to a similar decrease in consumption in the next five years", said the Commission.

Referendum on the reactor

Lithuanian parliament supported the proposal to hold a non-binding referendum on the continuation of work in the nuclear reactor "Ignalina" which dates from the Soviet era, in spite of the promise it gave to EU to close down the plant by 2009.

The first reactor of the nuclear power plant "Ignalina", which is of the same type as the Ukrainian "Chernobyl" which blew up in 1986, was shut down in 2004. The remaining reactor of this Lithuanian plant should be closed down by the end of next year, according to an agreement made during this country's negotiations for EU accession.

CENTRE FOR MONITORING (CEMI) PUBLIC OPINION POLL SHOWS A BLURRY PICTURE OF EURO-ATLANTIC INTEGRATIONS IN THE HEADS OF THE CITIZENS

Europe undisputed, dilemmas about NATO benefits

Montenegrin citizens lack adequate information about the NATO council and the process of Montenegro's accession to this alliance, finds the public opinion poll conducted by the PR Centre on behalf of the Centre for Monitoring (CEMI) via telephone questionnaire on a sample of 1020 citizens.

According to this poll, a slight majority of 51 believes that NATO membership would bring some benefits to Montenegro.

45% of the citizens agrees or partly agrees with the statement that Montenegro should strive towards full membership in the NATO, while 31% disagrees or partly disagrees. A large 23% minority has no opinion on this issue.

As regards trust in the NATO council, the public is almost evenly split into those who trust or partly trust the alliance (36%) and those who mistrust it to some degree (35%).

Asked about the reasons against joining the NATO, 48% of the respondents listed 1999 NATO bombings of FR Yugoslavia, followed by the fear of political influence from



USA (36%) and the current status of Kosovo (18%). A further 13% believe that NATO membership can lead to deterioration in security, whereas another 13% fears the costs of the membership for Montenegro.

With regard to the process of association with European Union, the situation is much clearer. The process is recognised as a positive development by 73% of the citizens who completely agree with the statement that Montenegro should strive towards full membership in the Union. Only 5% is partly or completely against and only 8% does not have an opinion.

The advent of armed conflict in Montenegro is judged as impossible or nearly impossible by most respondents – 83%, while 68% believe that in the case of such conflict Montenegro will not be able to independently defend its territory.

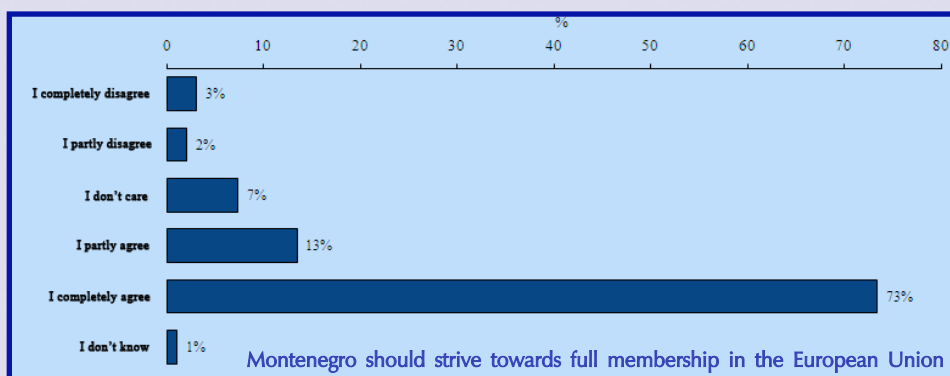
Most citizens (80%) believe that a threat of terrorism in Montenegro is negligible or close to zero.

According to the poll, only 4% of the citizens consider themselves very well informed about the NATO alliance. A further 46% believes to have sufficient information about the alliance, against 37% who believe themselves to be insufficiently (37%) or very badly (13%) informed about this topic.

In the course of the poll 37% of the respondents could not recall countries in the region which are among the NATO members, 44% could list Slovenia, and 21% Bulgaria. Only 16% knew that Romania is also a NATO member, and the same number listed Croatia (not yet a member).

Asked about the institutions responsible for disseminating information about this important topic, most respondents chose the Government (46%) with the Ministry of Defence (15%), while 30% believes that the media should do the job. According to the citizens' perception, currently the Government is most active in talking about Montenegro's accession to NATO (57%), followed by the political parties (21%), whereas 10% of the respondents see this topic discussed in the media.

A large majority (57%) of the citizens is dissatisfied with the level of information they receive about the work of the Defence Ministry.



V.Ž.

ACCORDING TO A CEDEM POLL, MOST OF THE CITIZENS STILL SUPPORT MEMBERSHIP IN THE EU, BUT

Eurosceptics on the rise

According to the latest public opinion poll conducted by Centre for Democracy (CEDEM) this June, 70.8% of the Montenegrin citizens supports Montenegro's membership in the European Union.

Compared to earlier polls by CEDEM, the extent of support is lower, and indeed measures a



slight decline, in spite of being high overall. In August 2006 76.5% of the respondents supported the European orientation of

Montenegro, whereas in June last year the number stood at the record 78.3%, only to decline to 72 to 73% in the later polls.

At the same time, the number of recorded Eurosceptics is on the rise: from 5% two years ago to 9% in the last two polls, whereas in this most recent research 12.1% of the citizens declared themselves against Montenegro's membership in the EU. In the June 2008 poll 17.1% of the respondents did not have a specific opinion about Montenegro's membership in the EU, which is comparable to the results of earlier reports by CEDEM.

Similarly, most Montenegrin citizens believe that the European Union should be the primary anchor of Montenegro's foreign policy.

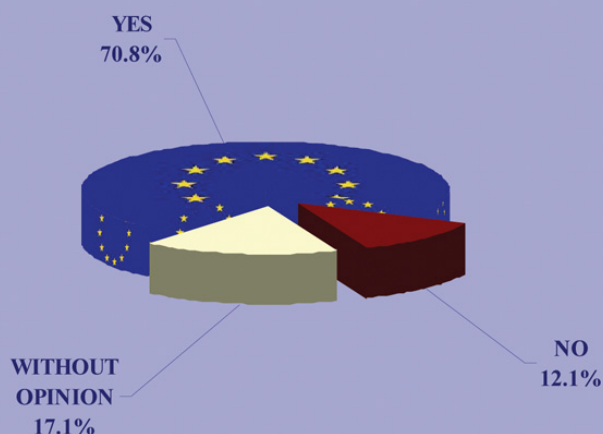
According to the CEDEM's poll, Montenegrin citizens would vote against membership in the NATO this June if they had a chance to declare their opinion in a referendum. A convincing 46.7% of respondents were against membership in the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation, against 26.3% of those in favour, with 27% undecided.

CEDEM's research thus indicates a definite decline in NATO's popularity. Two years ago, only 31.4% claimed they would vote against NATO, but their percentage grew steadily to 40.7 and then 44.2% since.

MEMBERSHIP IN THE EUROPEAN UNION

Attitude	For the period					
	Aug '06.	Feb '07.	June '07.	Sep/Oct '07.	Feb '08.	June '08.
YES	76.5	74.0	78.3	72.4	72.8	70.8
NO	5.6	8.4	6.5	9.4	9.2	12.1
Without opinion	17.9	17.6	15.2	18.2	18.0	17.1

MEMBERSHIP IN THE EUROPEAN UNION



V.Ž.

BEGINNINGS OF THE "UNION FOR MEDITERRANEAN" AND THE POTENTIAL THREAT FOR EUROPEAN UNION

Barriers on every step

The 13 July 2008 Summit in Paris which gathered together heads of states and governments of 43 countries from European Union and Mediterranean was the place of birth of another, new Union: Union for the Mediterranean.

The goal of this Union, whose conceptual father is no other than the French president **Nicolas Sarkozy**, whose country currently presides over the EU, is to build on the EU's "Barcelona Process" in developing relations with the states of the Mediterranean.

"Barcelona Process" was to enhance political, economic and cultural cooperation, support for political



concrete projects aimed at political and economic reforms in Mediterranean countries, the new Union should also offer active assistance in establishing peace in the Middle East and in the entire Mediterranean region. For Sarkozy

The Union had a rather bumpy start. The initial idea of the French president went through a series of modifications in order to ensure support of important partners from EU. Sarkozy expected all 27 EU member states to contribute to the funds, without allowing for their participation in the Union. This approach caused protests in other EU members, most of all in Germany, which is the biggest donor to the Mediterranean countries though the "Barcelona Process"

and economic reforms in the region and to facilitate formation of a Mediterranean free trade area by 2010. The project was, however, stalled by the unyielding conflict between Israel and Palestine. Authoritarian governments of the Mediterranean South also showed little interest for political and economic reforms and rather avoided closer cooperation, although the EU already invested more than 16 billion euros in the Mediterranean countries under "Barcelona Process".

In addition to cooperation in

and **Mubarak**, president of Egypt, who co-presided the Paris Summit, peace is of vital importance for economic and social development of the region.

Union for the Mediterranean

Turkey has expressed much concern over the creation of the Union, fearing that the Mediterranean Union may serve as a substitute to its membership in the EU

involves 27 EU member states, 12 Mediterranean states of the "Barcelona Process" and four Balkan countries with access to the Mediterranean, among them Montenegro.

The Union had a rather bumpy

start. The initial idea of the French president went through a series of modifications in order to ensure support of important partners from EU. In the beginning, the planned Mediterranean Union was to include 12 Mediterranean countries headed by France, and with a separate institutional framework. The first problems arose with regard

to finances: Sarkozy expected all EU member states to contribute to the funds, without allowing for their participation in the work of the Union. This approach caused protests in other EU members, first of all in Germany, which is the biggest donor to the Mediterranean countries though the "Barcelona Process". German federal chancellor **Angela Merkel** warned Sarkozy that her country will not be a passive observer of the Mediterranean events for the simple reason that it has no access to the Mediterranean.

For Merkel, the original French idea of the Mediterranean Union was a project that could easily cause divisions within the EU if such a union of the Mediterranean region, together with the former French colonies in

North Africa, could offer European funds without participation from other, non-Mediterranean European countries such as Germany. German chancellor warned that a separate involvement of some EU countries with EU

FASHIONED IN EU'S IMAGE

According to the Joint Declaration, "Barcelona Process: Union for the Mediterranean" is a multilateral partnership whose goal is to strengthen the potential for regional integration and closer links between countries of the Mediterranean region.

Sarkozy announced that the cooperation will be taking place in six sectors: cleansing of the Mediterranean sea basin with the ambitious goal to make it the "cleanest sea in the world", fixing maritime routes so that as little as possible of hazardous materials will be transported by roads, protection from natural disasters, planning and construction of solar energy plants, creation of a Euro-Mediterranean University and support for development of a regional economy.

After the example of the European Union, the Union for Mediterranean will also have a six month rotating presidency, with system of co-presiding, with one president from EU and one from the Mediterranean countries. The leaders of the countries will be meeting every two years, and these summits will serve as forums for adopting political declarations and selecting regional projects to be initiated in the next period. Foreign Affairs ministers should meet once a year to monitor the implementation of the conclusions of these summits. The Union will also have a Secretariat and a permanent joint committee with a seat in Brussels. For the first half of the existence of Union for Mediterranean, its presiding countries will be France and Egypt. Technical issues surrounding the work of the Union and the seat of its Secretariat will be decided at the next summit in November.

accession funds could cause "corrosion in the very heart of EU". Similarly, Merkel said that the problems of immigration from the Mediterranean countries, energy deficit, terrorism and environmental protection are common to all EU countries, and not a monopoly of France. It is therefore in the interest of these EU states to be actively involved with the new project of cooperation in the Mediterranean.

In spite of the extant failure of the "Barcelona Process", EU still considers it a basis for its Mediterranean policy. Some analysts were therefore concerned that a Mediterranean Union as proposed by Sarkozy could

ly separate actor, independent of EU, and capable of solving its problems through its own institutions and mechanisms. However, critics of his idea believe it to be a rather senseless and irrational solution and as such unacceptable to EU members.

Under the pressure of critics, Sarkozy accepted to correct his initial plan. The official title of the project is now "Barcelona process: Union for the Mediterranean", and all 27 EU countries can become members of this club, regardless of whether they have access to the Mediterranean sea or not. It was decided that the financial support for the Union for the

invested 16 billion euros in the "Barcelona Process" from 1995 to 2007, and is planning another 9 billion for the next six years.

Turkey has expressed much concern over the creation of the Union, fearing that the Mediterranean Union might be forced upon Turkey as an alternative to its membership in the EU.

France, for its part, is one of the strongest opponents of Turkey's membership in the EU. Sarkozy already proposed to arrange the relations between EU and Turkey through a model of privileged partnership, and got Germany's support for the proposal. Right ahead of the summit Turkey was uncertain about its own membership, but decided to join nevertheless, after the initial Mediterranean Union was substantially weakened and diluted into Union for Mediterranean, and France gave a guarantee to Turkey not to block its negotiations with EU and that the Mediterranean Union is no substitute for the European Union.

Sarkozy's initial proposal was also sharply criticised from inside the country. A renowned political analyst from Paris **Sylvie Goulard** says that Sarkozy's concept of a community of Mediterranean states will prove to be inefficient, as it was not made to serve the interest of those it should serve – citizens of these countries. "The biggest problem is that the countries of this region have no communication among themselves. Morocco, Algeria, Tunisia ... the difference from the middle of the last century is that these countries do not share the same values any more. It is an illusion to believe that cooperation between their governments could modernise these societies. We should rather invest in building civil societies in these countries, and approach our task with confidence, instead of arrogance!"

EU estimates to have invested 16 billion euros in the "Barcelona Process" from 1995 to 2007, and is planning another 9 billion for the next six years

double institutions and weaken the existing EU mechanisms towards these states in the matters of trade policy, immigration, politics, judiciary and home affairs. Sarkozy, who believes that the "Barcelona Process" failed to produce palpable results, proposed Mediterranean Union as a complete–

Mediterranean will come from the remaining funds of the Barcelona process. For the time being there are no other funds planned for this project. Additional finances for the Union will come from cooperation with private enterprises, through bilateral cooperation etc. EU estimates to have

Prepared by: Petar ĐUKANOVIĆ

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

Eurojargon

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.

Schengen land (the Schengen area, the Schengen countries): In 1985, five EU countries (France, Germany, Belgium, Luxembourg and the Netherlands) signed the agreement to abolish all checks on people travelling between them. This created a territory without internal borders which became known as the Schengen area. (Schengen is the town in Luxembourg where the agreement was signed). The agreement has a twofold objective – enhance internal security of the member states and establish effective controls at its external borders, and facilitate mobility of people and goods within EU and between EU and third countries.

Step by step, the Schengen area has been extended to include almost every EU country plus Iceland and Norway, and the agreement has become an integral part of the EU treaties. However, Ireland and the United Kingdom, as well as Malta, Bulgaria and Romania do not take part in the arrangements relating to border controls and visas. You do not need a visa for travelling within the Schengen area if you are a citizen of one of the Schengen countries. If you have a visa for entering any Schengen country it automatically allows you to travel freely throughout the Schengen area.

Social dialogue: This means discussion, negotiation and joint action between the European social partners



(see below) and discussions between these social partners and the EU institutions.

Social partners: This is jargon for the two sides of industry – i.e. employers and workers. At EU level they are represented by three main organisations:

- The European Trade Union Confederation (ETUC), representing workers;
- The Union of Industries of the European Community (UNICE), representing private sector employers;
- The European Centre for Public Enterprise (CEEP), representing public sector employers.
- The European Commission consults them when drawing up proposals for social and employment legislation.

Stakeholder: Any person or organisation with an interest in or affected by EU legislation and policy-making is a 'stakeholder' in that process. The European Commission makes a point of consulting as wide a range of stakeholders as possible before proposing new legislation or new policy initiatives.

NON – GOVERNMENTAL ORGANISATIONS IN EUROPEAN UNION



WIDE – WOMEN IN DEVELOPMENT EUROPE

WIDE is a pan-European network of women's organisations, development NGOs, gender specialists and women's rights activists.

WIDE strives for a world based on gender equality and social justice that ensures equal rights for all, as well as equal access to resources and opportunities in all spheres of political, social and economic life. Through its activities WIDE seeks to halt the persistently increasing trend of the feminisation of poverty in the South, East and North and to safeguard women's human rights globally.

Its mission is to articulate the relevance of the principles of gender equality and equity to the development process through research, documentation, information dissemination, economic empowerment, capacity building and advocacy, networking, and the organisation of conferences and seminars.

WIDE is strengthening strategic alliance building between women's organisations in and outside the EU, enhancing women's capacities and political assertiveness to influence policy changes decision making. WIDE is taking advantage of existing spaces/platforms such as World Social Forum (WSF) and European Feminist Forum (EFF) to promote its agenda.

In its advocacy work, WIDE applies an inside-outside strategy to influence the institutions responsible for economic and social development. On the one hand, this approach means working within the institutions themselves as part working groups, task forces or official government delegations. On the other hand, WIDE works from outside with other women's organisations and alliances to increase pressure on policy and decision making and to hold governments accountable.

One of the main WIDE's activity is organisations of annual conferences to allow women from Europe and the world to come together and not just share experiences, but critically think through alternatives, actively learn, and network in a supportive space.

This year's conference will be held in October in The Hague, under the title: "Feminist vision for a just Europe".

More information about WIDE can be found at: www.wide-network.org

Prepared by: Petar ĐUKANOVIĆ

A new start for better cooperation

Secretariat for European Integrations hosted on 8 July an informal meeting between representatives of Montenegrin NGOs, Office for Cooperation between the Government and NGOs and representatives of the Delegation of European Commission (EC) in Podgorica.

The meeting was held on the initiative of the Delegation of European Commission in Podgorica with a goal of gathering all NGOs interested in the IPA assistance programmes, launched by EU for the West Balkan countries in the period 2007–2013. The meeting was organised by the Government's office for cooperation with NGO sector. EC representative **Nicolo Bertolini** emphasised that the meeting is a product of EU's desire to improve communication with NGOs in order to achieve better and more targeted planning and use of

IPA funds so that their projects reflect the real needs and problems of the Montenegrin society. NGOs active in the field are in the best position to note and understand these problems, and their full participation is absolutely necessary for the programming and implementation of IPA.

NGO representatives, and among them representatives of CCE, noted some of the many problems they have had so far in communicating with EU institutions and agencies, and in the process of applying for their funds. At the same time, they expressed their full readiness to actively participate in the programming of IPA assistance should the Delegation of European Commission show real interest in communicating and consulting with the NGO sector and overcoming the present problems.

How to win a European Union project

Presentation of the Community Programmes, titled "How to win a European Union project" was held on 11 July in the offices of the Secretariat for European Integrations, and with support of the Delegation of European Commission in Podgorica. Target audience of the presentation were Montenegrin NGOs.

Representative of the European Commission **Henk Visner** spoke about the programmes which are accessible to Montenegro and its civil society organizations. In addition to a comprehensive presentation of

the programmes which are available to the local NGOs, Visner also spoke about application procedures for the assistance from European funds, the ways in which the winning projects are selected, and emphasised some of the more important guidelines for writing and presenting the projects that could be of great importance in the application procedure.

The presentation gathered many representatives of the NGO sector. **Petar Đukanović**, programme coordinator, participated on behalf of CEE.

Democracy and identity

A summer course on "Politics of belonging: democracy, identity and power in the 21st century" took place at the Central European University in Budapest from 30.06. to 11.07.2008. The programme was intended for university professors and fellows as well as for the graduate students in humanities and social sciences who are working on their final project – a thesis or a dissertation, or on an independent project. The programme gathered participants from all corners of the world, from Brussels and India to Italy and Montenegro. Intensive teaching programme with renowned professors from USA, UK and Hungary offered the participants an insight into the most influential and controversial articles and theories that are subject to scientific discussion at institutes and universities worldwide.

Intensive migration and transnational movements of people, dilemmas related to identity politics and demands for group

rights, disputes in the domain of theories of multiculturalism between liberals and communitarians, development of new powerful supranational entities such as the EU, dismantling of state socialism, problems of countries in transition etc. are all processes indicative of new, powerful social transformations which demand continuous analysis of the influence of various social groups and the consequences of such developments on the utopian promise of democracy. Central theme of the course is the way in which these processes come to define forms of political and social belonging in contemporary democracies.

Centre for Civic Education, whose goals and vision are akin to the fundamental problematic discussed by this course was glad to have its programme director, **Paula Petričević**, participate in the course. She is currently working on a master thesis dealing with identity politics.

Montenegro and European Union

Centre for Civic Education (CCE), Centre for Development of Non-Governmental Organisations (CDNGO) and the European Movement in Montenegro (EMiM), with support of the Foundation Open Society Institute organised a seminar "Montenegro and European Union" from 3 to 6 July 2008 in Kolašin.

The seminar represents the last module of the VII generation of European Integration School, the oldest and the most comprehensive programme of alternative education in the area of European integrations. It was attended by 30 participants from public administration, political parties, NGO sector, media, business and the academic community.

Lecturers at the seminar were professors at the University of Montenegro and University of Belgrade, officials in the Government of the Republic of Slovenia, MPs of the Parliament of Montenegro, officials in the Government of Montenegro and representatives of the NGO sector in Montenegro.

Dr **Čedomir Čupić** (Faculty of Political Science of the University of Belgrade and the Faculty of Political Science in Podgorica) spoke about the road to EU from the standpoint of cultural and ethical problems of societies in transition. **Koča Pavlović**, author of the documentary "War for Peace" spoke about the importance of reconciliation with the past and the participants had a chance of seeing and discussing the documentary with the author. **Momčilo Radulović**, Secretary General of EMiM gave a lecture on the conditionality principle in European integrations of the Western Balkans, and **Dragan Đurić**, leader of the CDP project about the course of negotiations, content and obligations ensuing from the Stabilisation and Association Agreement. At a special session MPs **Valentina Radulović Šćepanović** (DPS), **Aleksandar Damjanović** (SNP) and **Zarija Pejović** (PzP) presented the approach of the Parliament of Montenegro to the process of European integrations.

Economic aspects of European integrations were discussed by Dr **Miroslav Prokopijević**, while Dr **Rado Genorir** from the Government of Slovenia offered a detailed account of Slovenia's road to EU. Dr **Gordana Đurović**, deputy PM of the Government of Montenegro spoke about Montenegro's process of association with EU, and **Mehmedin Tahirović** from the Ministry of Defence about Montenegro's progress towards NATO.

After the final seminar the participants, who already completed the programme lasting several months in Podgorica, attended the final exam.

In autumn, CCE, CDNGO and EMiM will enroll VIII generation of European Integrations School.

FOR THIS ISSUE WE RECOMMEND:

UNIVERSITY OF LUXEMBOURG, CENTER FOR STUDIES OF HOLOCAUST AND RELIGIOUS MINORITIES (OSLO), NETHERLANDS INSTITUTE FOR WAR DOCUMENTATION (NIOD, AMSTERDAM), LUXEMBOURG

This conference will discuss how cultural practices of representing and interpreting the past are being reshaped by interrelated processes of globalization, de/re-nationalization and localization in the long term.

It will seek to address historical (dis)continuities concerning the connection of local memory cultures and global world orders throughout the 19th and 20th centuries.

The relation between the local and the global still awaits further theoretical investigation: what is "the local" or the "locality"? Likewise, the "global" is very much a container term: what exactly is it that confronts the "local"?

Researchers from all disciplines are invited to participate: women and gender studies, museum studies, media and cultural studies, political sciences, philosophy, sociology, geography and history. Presentations of concrete case studies (especially from Norway, the Netherlands and Luxembourg) are welcome, as are more theoretical approaches of cultures of remembrance caught between the local and the global.

The conference will be held at the University of Luxembourg, the travel expenses of accepted speakers will be covered.

Please send proposals of up to 250 words for 20 minute duration papers to sonja.kmec@uni.lu. Accepted formats are Word and PDF. Please include also the following information: name, affiliation, contact details, and technical requirements.

Abstract submission deadline is 15th of September 2008. Paper acceptance notification will be sent out by the 1st of October 2008.



Organizers:

Claudia Lenz, senior researcher at the Center for Studies of Holocaust and Religious Minorities, Oslo, Norway

Madelon de Keizer, senior researcher at the Netherlands Institute for War Documentation (NIOD)

Sonja Kmec, assistant-researcher at the University of Luxembourg, Research Unit IPSE (Identities, Politiques, Societes, Espaces), Luxembourg

EUROPEAN REGIONAL MASTER'S DEGREE IN DEMOCRACY AND HUMAN RIGHTS IN SOUTH EAST EUROPE

The European Regional Master's Degree in Democracy and Human Rights in SEE (ERMA), is a unique regional interdisciplinary one year full time MA programme. It is established in 2000, through the joint efforts of eleven participating universities and research centers, coordinated by the Center for Interdisciplinary Postgraduate Studies of the University of Sarajevo in cooperation with the University of Bologna through its Istituto per l'Europa Centro Orientale e Balcanica.

The ERMA Master's Programme participating universities are: University of Bologna and its Istituto per l'Europa Centro Orientale e Balcanica, University of Sarajevo and its Center for Interdisciplinary Postgraduate, University of Belgrade, University of Graz, London School of Economics and Political Science and its Centre for the Study of Global Governance, New Bulgarian University, University of Peloponnese, University of Podgorica, University of Prishtina, University of the Ruhr, University Ss. Cyril and Methodius, University

of Zagreb.

The programme is co-financed by the European Commission and the Italian Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

The ERMA is an educational activity intended for students that would combine practical experience in human rights issues with further academic study. After recognizing that human rights go across the disciplines of study, as political science, law, sociology, philosophy and social sciences in general, the Programme has adopted an interdisciplinary approach.

The MA Programme promotes development and realisation of young generation of officials for state management, inter-governmental and non-governmental organisations, for universities and think tanks in Albania, B&H, Croatia, Macedonia, Serbia, Montenegro and Kosovo as well as in the countries belonging to the EU, the rest of Europe, and worldwide.

The structure of the lectures, the access to internships and the Faculty are defined in order to emphasise among the participants a shared consciousness that the democratic development and human rights promotion, protection and implementation in the region depend on plurality of factors.

Most of the relevant issues in the SEE stability, democracy, and development are mutually correlated and influence each other. Thus, a common regional effort in achieving them will have more chance for success in a context of inclusive policies and in the framework of a rapid European Union integration process.

For the full course of study, the programme awards a total of 120 ECTS and it can be taken only as a full time study. Working language is English.

The successful students receive the European Regional Master's Degree Diploma in Democracy and Human Rights in South East Europe, issued jointly by the University of Bologna and the University of Sarajevo.

PLEASE NOTE DEADLINE TO APPLY FOR 2008/2009: 7 SEPTEMBER 2008.

More information on <http://www.cps.edu.ba> or <http://www.eurobalk.net/>

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