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NOVEMBER

For a third year in a row, from June till the first days of October, we are witnessing a cheap soap opera starring Montenegrin institutions under the benevolent eyes of Brussels which, probably for strategic reasons, follows the farce like an uninformed neighbour.

In the last few months, we have seen the police find kilograms of heroin and arrest powerful businessmen who dared to ruin the environment, inspections dive onto the illegally built objects on Ada Bojana, and the cases of Morinj and persecution of Bosnians and Muslims return to courts after almost two decades...

Moreover, the Government is trying to persuade us that the judiciary has been "completely reformed", and points to the "obvious success" in combating money laundering.

If you are a devout consumer of news pouring in from the so called public service RTCG you can hardly believe it fair that Finland and not us is still the synonym of prosperity.

The million dollar question is the following: is the Montenegrin government doing all this to get a highly positive Progress Report for 2008 (we have a pending promise of membership application, and the parliamentary elections are approaching), or are we witnessing the first steps of the rule of law?

Let's make it simpler. Do you believe that the construction and tourist inspection will demolish all illegally built holiday houses of party officials and prime ministers' friends tycoons by 5 November when the European Commission publishes its Report, or will they still hunt mosquitoes at the mouth of Bojana river next summer? Do you believe that the courts will call the high commanding ranks to account for the cases of Morinj and deportation of Muslims and Bosniaks? Will the construction site in Lipci be removed or will we see a replay of Zavala (perhaps **Svetozar Marović** would be interrogated if the construction began a few months later)?

Should they by any chance decide that "year" only lasts from June to early October, or, which is easier, should the European Commission decide to write quarterly instead of annual Progress Reports, we would quickly find ourselves living in a virtual reality. **V.Ž.**

Maurer praises Montenegro (9 September) – Montenegro is ahead of its neighbours in the integration process, said the head of the Delegation of European Commission to Montenegro **Leopold Maurer**. He said that Montenegro has made progress in fighting corruption and organised crime, but added that it is too early to say whether the 2008 Progress Report will be positive.



Leopold Maurer

Rehn satisfied with implementation of SAA (12 September) – European Enlargement Commissionaire **Olli Rehn** said that he finds Montenegro's results in implementing the Stabilisation and Association Agreement satisfactory. "The important issue that remains is more effort in the fight against corruption, which is the case with all West Balkan countries", he said.

EC Delegation replaces EAR (12 September) – EC Delegation in Podgorica took over the responsibility for managing projects under the CARDS programme from European Agency for Reconstruction (EAR). EAR's mandate expires in December this year. EAR was formed in December 2000 in order to implement CARDS programmes worth up to 1.6 billion euros through its operating centres in Podgorica, Skopje, Belgrade and Prishtina. From 2001 to 2006 Montenegro drew more than 100 million worth of funds through EAR.

Serbia still awaiting Interim Agreement (15 September) – Council of EU ministers did not decide to unfreeze the Interim Trade Agreement with Serbia after the Netherlands opposed this move, demanding Belgrade's full cooperation with ICTY, which includes arrest of **Ratko Mladić**. Olli Rehn encouraged the government in Serbia to begin unilateral implementation of SAA in order to pave the way for acquiring candidate country status in 2009.

Tardiness of courts can be a problem (17 September) – Tardiness of Montenegrin courts in 2007 can be an obstacles for this country's progress towards EU, said President of the Supreme Court **Vesna Medenica**.

Constitutive session of NCEI (18 September) – President of the National Council for European Integrations (NCEI) **Srdan Milić** said that this advisory body shouldn't be seen as "another political arena". It was decided that the prime minister **Milo Đukanović** and his deputy **Gordana Đurović** should be invited to the next session of NCEI.

Agreement on cooperation with EUROPOL (19 September) – Minister of Home Affairs of Montenegro **Jusuf Kalamperović** and director of EUROPOL **Max-Peter Ratzel** signed an agreement on strategic cooperation between Montenegro and the European Police Office. Ratzel said that the agreement offers "a series of advantages" to both sides, allowing them to exchange strategic information, best practices, expertise, knowledge and experience.

A VIEW FROM EUROPE

The Year of Western Balkans

Western Balkans countries have a perspective to join the European Union once they fulfil all necessary criteria. The Irish "no" to the Lisbon Treaty has raised some questions on the future of enlargement. Will it affect the process? It should not be allowed to. Enlargement did not play a role in the debate in Ireland. It should not be used as a scapegoat for the result, either.

We need the Lisbon Treaty in order to make the current EU function better. But we cannot take any sabbatical from our work for peace and prosperity that serves the fundamental interest of the EU and its citizens.

The June European Council reaffirmed the EU accession perspective of the Western Balkans. Since then, we have opened negotiation chapters with both Turkey and Croatia. The EU has



Olli Rehn

negotiations before the end of next year.

In the progress report on the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, we will assess the fulfilment of the key

national consensus on Serbia's European objectives.

Albania, Montenegro and Bosnia and Herzegovina face the challenge of implementing their SAAs, including trade-related provisions. Dialogue on visa liberalisation for the Western Balkan countries will reach a crucial state during the Czech Presidency. Commission Vice-President **Jacques Barrot** recently confirmed that the countries most advanced in fulfilling the criteria might obtain visa-free travel already before the end of 2009. The Commission will present its assessment of this before the end of this year, but for 2009 to be realistic, discussions among the EU Member States should take a great leap forward under Czech Presidency.

Kosovo will remain a focal point throughout this period. A successful deployment of our ESDP mission EULEX Kosovo is essential. The EU is committed to help secure peace and stability in Kosovo and support its economic development, as well as its progress towards the EU as part of the Western Balkans. Kosovo on its part needs to ensure its commitment to a democratic and multi-ethnic society.

The political attention in the EU has recently focused on Southern Caucasus, which is only natural and necessary.

The enlargement process is back on track – not a bullet train, but on track

signed Stabilisation and Association agreements with Bosnia and Herzegovina and with Serbia. The enlargement process is on track – not a bullet train, but on track.

In the Balkans, countries that recently were at war are now busy setting up regional cooperation, an energy community, a transport community and a free trade area. They are all preparing for EU membership. Yet, much remains to be done on such key issues as the fight against corruption or the reform of public administration and judiciary.

The Commission will present the 2008 enlargement package, including progress reports, in early November. This will provide the December European Council with proposals for managing the way ahead. The accession negotiations with Croatia are proceeding well. I expect most of the remaining chapters to be opened this autumn, although the trickiest ones may be left for the Czech Presidency. It should be possible to close a large number of chapters during the spring, so as to conclude the technical

priorities of the Accession Partnership, especially the judiciary and administrative reforms and electoral standards. Any recommendation concerning the accession negotiations will depend on the country's performance. In Serbia, the new Government has made EU integration its key priority and set itself an

Commission Vice-President Jacques Barrot recently confirmed that the countries most advanced in fulfilling the criteria might obtain visa-free travel already before the end of 2009

ambitious reform agenda. The arrest of **Radovan Karadžić** showed that the

Serbian government is determined to cooperate fully with the International Criminal Tribunal in the Hague. As President **Barroso** said earlier this month, Serbia could achieve candidate status next year. This possibility is further reinforced by the fact that the Parliament of Serbia ratified the Stabilisation and Association Agreement (SAA) last week. The Radicals, who have traditionally opposed EU membership, abstained from voting, which may signal better

However, we cannot forget our friends in the Western Balkans and Turkey. In sum, 2009 is bound to be the year of the Western Balkans and of the Eastern Europe Partnership. That will certainly suit Czech priorities and the motto you have chosen for your presidency: "Europe without Barriers".

Excerpt from the speech of the EU Commissioner for Enlargement at the Czech Ministry of Foreign Affairs conference "EU and Western Balkans", Prague, 18 September 2008

WHY DO CIVIL SECTOR AND THE OPPOSITION PARTIES VIEW MONTENEGRO'S PROGRESS DIFFERENTLY FROM ITS GOVERNMENT AND EC

Machiavellian or biased



Brussels' oligarchy, well known for its Machiavellian approach has concluded that



by Danilo Mihajlović

its colonial interests and appetites in Montenegro and the region will be best served by the current government of the Democratic Party of Socialists (DPS).

This is why the European Union is happy to accept even the "polished" reports of Montenegrin agencies and ministries without excessive scepticism, in spite of the fact that "the everyday reality in Montenegro testifies to the opposite".

This is the answer of the professor of political psychology Dr Filip

Kovačević the question posed by the *European Pulse* – why do part of the Montenegrin civil sector and some opposition parties view Montenegro's progress in European integrations differently from the ruling coalition and European Commission (EC).

In spite of the devastation of the environment which continues at the same bitter pace, in spite of the Parliament which is barely functioning, RTCG as a public service directly controlled by the ruling structures, in spite of accusations against the functionaries of the ruling party for the abuse of office which are all collecting dusts in the lower drawers of the

Brussels' oligarchy is happy to accept even the "polished" reports of Montenegrin institutions without scepticism, in spite of the fact that the "daily realities of Montenegro prove them wrong at every step", because they decided that their colonial interests will be best represented by the current government, says Dr Filip Kovačević

local courts...Brussels has noted, more and more often as 5 November,



photo VIJESTI

Filip Kovačević

the date of submission of EC Progress Reports approaches, substantial

progress of Montenegro on the road of European Integrations.

How did the EC officials manage to overnight turn the conclusions of the last year's progress report, such as that "corruption is widespread" or that "little progress has been made in the prevention of money laundering" into statements that Montenegro is far ahead of its neighbours in the integration process and that it has progressed substantially in fighting crime and corruption?

"Can you imagine any country of the world, except for the corrupt banana republics, whose institutions would calmly watch as unknown individuals ravage the protected area of the seaside? Did you notice that the European officials in Podgorica had nothing to say on the issue, as they did not earlier, in the case of

EC AN OBSTACLE FOR THE CHANGE OF REGIME

Kovačević believes that the opposition should give up on the illusion that EC might democratise Montenegro.

"European Commission supports the current government, and thus becomes a direct obstacle to the ambition of Montenegrin citizens to emancipate themselves from one twenty years long rule of a single party and to finally institute democratic multi-party system", Kovačević said.

According to him they only possible basis for democratisation of Montenegro is the principle of changing the parties in government.

"Montenegro can only be democratised by votes of its own citizens. I believe that only a democratic Montenegro, with a government without lackeys and mortgages, can fight for its interests with the neo-colonialists in Brussels. As for the Montenegrin opposition, I believe that their only solution is to make a principled coalition and go to elections together. This can be done, for instance, on the platform of social justice and equality. This should all be done in the next 2-3 months, for already there are some signs of early elections coming", Kovačević said.

Zavala? What is the use of European "integrations" if it doesn't help to condemn flagrant violations of the existing laws?" Kovačević asked.

Recent praises for the progress of Montenegro by the head of the EC Delegation to Podgorica **Leopold Maurer** come as no surprise to Kovačević. "Evidently, the Montenegrin government has worked off or will work off certain "deals" which are of great importance to European commissioners. That may be connected to the delay of application for the candidate status. It is also possible that we are yet to discover what the deals were all about", Kovačević said.

However, executive director of Centre for Civic Education (CCE) **Daliborka Uljarević** finds other reasons for European Commission's praises. "International community is not suffi-



ciently committed to understanding our problems and adequately responding to them. We are in a way a victim of a certain regional context – we have the least capacity to create something bad in the region, and thus by definition we become a positive example, says Daliborka Uljarević

ciently committed to understanding our problems and adequately responding to them. We are in a way a victim of a certain regional context – we have the least capacity to create something bad in the region, and we thus automatically become a positive case. Inside the country, however, this comes back with revenge, like a boomerang", Uljarević said.

She adds that European Union can be of great help to Montenegro, if only it cares to help, because this club of 27 countries owns convincing mechanisms to entice compliance which are often "the only argument that the ruling structures are willing to understand".

Miodrag Vuković, an official of the Democratic Party of Socialists (DPS) and the president of the parliamentary International Relations and European Integrations Committee has a different view of the situation.

He claims that all relevant international actors see "at least some

of what we do or what the objective outside observers have to say about Montenegro. One should ask those non-governmental organisations why they criticise even those things that do not deserve criticism", Vuković said.

He adds that this only demonstrates the lack of political and social responsibility of some actors, since they, he said, only think that democracy is what they think it is.

Vuković, however, admits that one should be critical about Montenegro's progress to EU so far, since "it can always be better", but adds that he will not be lectured about it by parties whose leaders resolve their differences with screw-drivers, parties whose leaders are accused of dictatorial behaviour or those who keep on falling apart from one day to another.

"Seen all together, it is clear that there is no such thing as a democratic alternative, only the most blatant chaos and not a few of them are acting anti-Montenegrin... Our state has a long history, but a modest democratic tradition. You cannot defeat centuries of conservatism in Montenegro in mere fifteen years", he said.

Asked why then the EC has emphasised the problems of crime and corruption in one report, and

Vuković says that, in their critical attitude towards everything that goes on in Montenegro "one undefined political and societal alternative" agreed to organise a competition in the discipline "who can slander Montenegro more".

"They are always at it, regardless

THINGS NEVER CHANGE ON THEIR OWN

Uljarević says that she heard several times in her conversations with EU officials that Montenegrin opposition is not serious enough and that there isn't a strong alternative to the government.

"My personal response is that the international community did not do enough to create such an alternative. If we watch and analyse the situation in the region, we will see that the things never change on their own, nor does change rely exclusively on internal dynamics. There was always and everywhere a sizeable international support to democratic processes, except in Montenegro, where such support is really minimal. We must put more effort, both the civil society and the opposition, to stimulate the international community to be our ally in democratising the society, and to bring the point of the European integrations home: that this is a process of transforming our society into a democratic one", Uljarević said.

praised Montenegro's progress in another, Vuković replied that "one should be careful with such conclusions of the international community, as these reports are partly based on inputs from the local writers, who keep writing to various addresses every day and create different images of the same phenomena".

"There is the bureaucratic-administrative Brussels, and the other, the political one. I will remind you that **Olli Rehn**, the first man of EU enlargement, said two months ago that Montenegro is a regional leader in the fight against corruption and organised crime. But he finished with a coma, not a period... these pests do not have a nationality, it is an international phenomenon and is often more present in certain EU members than in Montenegro. And right after such

also finance certain NGOs whose projects and programmes do not have a speck of positive intentions.

"Often certain structures would offer assistance to Montenegro via those quasi alternative structures, who first eat up the money, and next come up with the result – that Montenegro is a bad environment for investing into democracy. When you sum it up, everybody loses", Vuković said.

Noting that the public speculates on whether the EC Report will be positive or negative, secretary of the Secretariat for European Integrations **Ana Vukadinović** says that, after all, annual progress reports compiled and published by the Commission for every candidate or potential candidate country "aren't good or bad, black or white".

"European Commission monitors

All relevant international actors see "at least some" progress in Montenegro, and the only ones who are bothered by it are one "undefined political and social alternative". This only proves the lack of social and political responsibility among them, says Miodrag Vuković

statements you will here the racket of our local legal and moral monuments who see thieves and criminals in everyone and everywhere", Vuković said.

He adds that some institutions

all areas and for every area it evaluates the degree of progress. Somewhere they find more, somewhere less progress, but it doesn't mean that the situation in that area is necessarily better or worse. We should



always bear in mind that the EC Report is not an evaluation of the current situation, but of progress in comparison to the previous year", Vukadinović emphasised.

She adds that EC provides recommendations for further action in every area.

"And of course we have to do more in every area, otherwise we would already be in the EU. EC report will provide the evaluation of progress and evaluation of the weaker points, and it all depends what you chose to read once our political scene starts commenting on the report", Vukadinović said.

European Pulse also asked one official in the European Commission about measurements of a country's progress in various areas and whether diplomats from the more influential EU states can pressure EC to moderate its views of a given state for the sake of the current political priorities of the Community. We were told that before the report is published they are not allowed to comment on its content or the more or less important items, and that we can find methodology summarised in the annual reports.

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

A POSITIVE REPORT IS BAD FOR INTEGRATIONS

Uljarević believes that the 2008 Progress Report will be positive, therefore confirming that our government is good at simulating reforms.

"Should the Report turn out to be overwhelmingly positive, this will be bad also for the process of European integrations. Simply, it will only encourage the government to continue simulating reforms, and we know that they are very good at it", Uljarević said.

She draws attention to the many new initiatives of the last few months.

"It is not a coincidence that the case of Morinj and other similar cases have been opened just before the completion of the Progress Report for Montenegro in order to cover up for numerous shortcomings and sluggishness of the reform process... Unfortunately, the current government has lost the sense for the public good long ago, and these last signs of the beginning of this process are forced, insufficient and very questionable with regard to future developments", emphasised the director of CCE.

WHY IS MONTENEGRO THE BRIGHT EXAMPLE IN THE REGION?

Fog sellers



It was instructive to watch a confused reaction of one regular visitor and contributor to various blogs



by **Nedeljko Rudović**

from a few weeks ago, who was shocked to discover that, try as she may to remain informed, she must have missed out on some important developments in the country. The cause of confusion was the visit of the European Union High Representative for Foreign and Security Policy **Javier Solana**, who met with the prime minister **Milo Đukanović** and afterwards told the journalists that Đukanović is a true leader and that Montenegro is steadily grabbing towards the potential membership in EU. All this whilst our concerned fellow citizen was convinced that Montenegro is advancing at a snail's pace although it could be progressing faster, and that the key reason why it remains so much behind is precisely the lack of will among the political leaders to transform Montenegro into a well functioning state ruled by law.

Now, after The West has trumpeted the message that Montenegro is an ideal young democracy with capable and responsible leadership, one starts to doubt. Solana is a politician, like Đukanović, and laudations to the latter could be interpreted in the light of the current political interests. But he is not alone. Many independent, expert voices paint the picture of Montenegro as a success story in the complex and turbulent Balkans.

For instance, Slovenian analyst **Boris Grgič**, director of the Ljubljana Institute for Strategic Studies, wrote a comment for the *Wall Street Journal* where he urged the EU to accept Montenegro as a member as soon as possible, and to accord it candidate status as early as 2009.

"Given the size of Montenegro, EU could absorb this country at virtually no cost. With a population of only 680 000 people, there is hardly any risk that Montenegrin labour force would "flood" the EU market. In fact, the economy of this country is so dynamic that few Montenegrins would ever dream of emigrating! Should EU refuse to absorb such a small country

Grgič's message is probably a good indicator of the success with which the Montenegrin leadership deals both with the West and with the local public. Or, of Đukanović's political skills. And skill politicians are good at selling fog

a Montenegro, what are the chances for the bigger players, such as Serbia or Albania, to ever join EU?", asks Grgič.

According to him, Montenegro is quickly progressing in reforms, far ahead of the regional average, but it seems that EU finds Montenegro's progress in the Balkans, as that of Georgia in the Caucasian region, embarrassing.

"Montenegro is a living example of regional success...If Montenegro does not get the status of candidate for EU membership this year, the message for the rest of the region will be crystal clear. Radicals will have strong grounds to argue that EU is not serious about recognising Balkan countries and will use this powerful lever to blackmail the reformer who are currently in the government", Grgič said.

The message of this Slovenian expert, who is a frequent guest at

closed meetings in various European capitals which have an impact on the direction of the official EU policies, is probably a good indicator of the success with which the Montenegrin leadership deals both with the West and with the local public. Or, of Đukanović's political skills. And skilled politicians are good at selling fog. What is going on?

The ruling parties know what Brussels' needs to hear and keep repeating it – Montenegro is a stable country without internal turmoil, with positive macroeconomic indicators, low inflation rates and falling unemployment rate. It has excellent relations with all of its neighbours and as such is a bright example in the region.

Which seems to be the only thing that matters at this moment to Brussels as well Washington. Faced with Kosovo, uncertain future of Bosnia and Herzegovina, potentially eruptive Macedonia and Serbia which still

threads the edge of the nationalist blade, an observer can only feel relief at the thought of Montenegro. Add to it highly optimistic, albeit dubious, results of the National Statistics Bureau and Boris Grgič's conclusions seem indisputable.

What remains is the dilemma whether Montenegro defies **Karl Popper's** theory that those outside of the circle see into it better than those inside. Those who see the bright torch of Montenegro in the regional darkness should ask whether in this happy democracy there is equality before law or a rule of the few privileged who can bend the law, the courts and urbanisation and spatial plans to their own liking. And if the bearers of this torch fail to seize the day and clean up the yard while there's still light, they risk pushing this country into a dark abyss ruled by modern feudalists. With serfs unaccustomed to revolt.

SEI SECRETARY ANA VUKADINOVIĆ SAYS FOR EUROPEAN PULSE THAT SHE EXPECTS A POSITIVE REPORT FROM EC

Judiciary the champion of reforms

Secretary of the Secretariat for European Integrations (SEI) **Ana Vukadinović** says she expects the Progress Report on Montenegro for 2008 to be "affirmative".

"We are in contact with the European Commission and at all meetings of the Interim Committees and the subcommittees we received congratulations for the efforts we invested in all areas we discussed. I hope that Montenegro's efforts so far will be objectively acknowledged by the European Commission and that EU will recognise the progress we made to a lesser or greater degree in all areas" said Vukadinović for the *European Pulse*.

● **Is there anything else but the communication which you had with European Commission representatives to support your optimism about the upcoming Report?**

The Government just adopted the third Annex to the Annual

We should not forget that areas such as judiciary, fight against corruption and crime are always the focus of public attention also in the developed countries. Even in those countries it sometime takes years of investigation and trials of "small fish" to put the "big fish" behind bars

Progress Report, and will submit it to the European Commission on 3 October.

Preparations for this annex confirmed to us that progress has been made in all areas, from judiciary to implementation, strengthening of administrative capacities, whether in terms of creating new institutions to implement legal regulations or recruiting additional people who have been adequately trained and are ready to implement these laws and work on their further harmonisation.

● **Where has there been the most, and where the least progress?**



Ana Vukadinović

The answer to that question is likely to be subjective. Every area is important, especially when we are talking about implementing standards and fulfilling economic and political criteria. In my opinion, one sector

which underwent the most intensive transformation in the last year is judiciary, where a lot has been done once the new Constitution was in place.

● **How do you explain the fact that still there are no "big fish" behind the bars?**

Reform of the judiciary and prosecution is a process which continues and must last longer than in many other areas. This is not a question of adopting one or two laws to be harmonised with European legislation and easily implemented.

We should not forget that areas

such as judiciary, fight against corruption and crime are always the focus of public attention also in the developed countries. Even in those countries it sometime takes years of investigation and trials of "small fish" to put the "big fish" behind bars.

It is sometimes easy to criticise our own flaws – but we should compare the length of court trials, percentages of completed cases and similar indicators of judiciary efficiency with other similar countries. This is the only way to build a realistic picture of ourselves.

● **What is your opinion on the protests from the opposition parties that some laws, for instance the law on telecommunications and Central Bank are not in line with EU regulations?**

The National Programme for Integration (NPI) contains a dynamic plan of harmonisation with EU regulations. In line with NPI those two laws have been harmonised with a great number of EU directives, and partially harmonised with other directives, with a deadline for full harmonisation with EU regulations.

Some voices from the civil sector have warned that Brussels had political reasons in mind, not the actual progress, when it had to pick out a bright spot in the region and it picked Montenegro?

I firmly believe that Montenegro did achieve actual progress, and the work and contacts of SEI keep confirming this.

As for the countries in the region, we have good cooperation with everyone in the integration process, we exchange good and bad experiences and learn from each other.

Obviously, internal political

developments in each of these countries will affect their path to EU, but also that of the region as a whole. It is in the interest of Montenegro that each of these countries should overcome their problems and intensify their integration efforts, which can only be a positive stimulus to Montenegro.

On the other hand, it is true that Montenegro has no severe political or other problems that could be a serious obstacle for the process of accession to EU.

● **From your office, you are in a position to give an accurate investment of administrative capacities in Montenegro. Have they been strengthened in the last 12 months?**

I am truly delighted with the development of administrative capacities, and we have also communicated our positive impressions with EU representatives, as it seems that we have achieved decentralisation of European integration process.

Until last year we had one representative on average in other ministries dealing with European integra-

It is true that Montenegro has no severe political or other problems that could be a serious obstacle for the process of accession to EU

tions, and he or she was our contact person for different issues. Then we had the Commission for European Integrations and seven working groups which brought in new people from different areas.

In the meantime we worked on NPI, and more than 400 people cooperated on this document, we all learned, improved our knowledge, especially in the area of European law. The level of knowledge and understanding of the European integrations process in state administration today is even hard to compare to that of only a year ago.

Everybody realised that European integrations are not the "job" of SEI but are responsibility of all employees in all ministries and other public institutions, who prepare laws and regulations and implement

them. The cooperation has been highly improved and everybody works together as a well-trained team.

Until perhaps a year and a half ago we had one person coming to the meetings of the sub-committees

The level of knowledge and understanding of the European integrations process in public administration today is even hard to compare to that of only a year ago

and talking about several issues, but now we have a process where we have to agree at least a month in advance on speakers, specific topics, the meetings include reports, advisors, presentations. This is why the EC representatives have been very satisfied with our administration at all meetings.

While working on NPI we also realised which are the areas where capacities are not sufficiently developed, in the sense that we have little knowledge or too few employees who are comfortable with working in that area. The result was that we increased the number of employees in all ministries and institutions.

This is also the case with IPA programme (Instrument for Pre-Accession Assistance). Until a year and a half ago our institutions hardly knew what that was all about, but today things are very different.

● **Are you saying that the interest for IPA has increased since your call a few months ago for local communities, NGOs and others to get involved in the process in order to exploit the opportunities offered by cross-border cooperation programmes?**

Secretariat, in cooperation with experts and donors, has worked hard on raising awareness about the availability of EU funds for the implementation projects made in cooperation with partners from border regions of the neighbouring states.

Last year, when we organised

seminars on the municipal level, we only got as far as vague ideas about participating in some cross-border projects, but today almost one half of municipalities have special divisions with two to four people who work specifically on international cooperation,

working on the projects of cross-border cooperation.

As for the programmes currently available to Montenegrin partners, we had 20 applicants for MED programme (requiring partnership with three EU states), and four projects got through the very demanding first round of evaluations, which is another indicator of rising interest for such projects in Montenegro. Cooperation in South-East Europe programme call received 106 applications with project partners from Montenegro, and 43 projects passed the first round of evaluations.

It is important that our local governments, NGOs, public institutions and others realise that this is the period when they need to search for a partner on the other side of the border and to develop projects that will improve economic situation, social cohesion and environmental protection.

● **What do you expect from the National Council for European Integrations, given the events that followed its establishment?**

First of all, I am happy that we have the National Council for European Integrations (NCEI). It consists of representatives of different structures and offers a broader perspective on the process of European integrations. We therefore expect to receive genuine inputs, useful suggestions, open cooperation and exchange of opinions from NCEI, without over-politicisation of issues, genuine cooperation which can benefit the whole society.

V. ŽUGIĆ

From dusk to down

by Brano Mandić

Let very English priest make a public Lapology to **Darwin**, and let the infernal CERN accelerator roar from the abyss of the underworld— I stand firm in my conviction that the Russian emissary to Montenegro was led by no other but the inexorable power of the Almighty, and the one from the Old Testament too, who was not famous for the sense of humour and love of small peoples.

He who rules everything meant the Russian minister for emergency situations to wheel over just a few days after we heard that **Oleg Deripaska** is aiming at half of the Montenegrin budget and is ready to pursue his wounded Slavic right through courts and courts, wounded, to make things even worse, by the people of the same blood; a people that was always ready to stuff its penitentiaries with the Russian name on all lips and with tearful eyes turned to the new Jerusalem and to the Tsar of all Muscovites.

They asked **Shoygu** why he came. Journalists, these dodgy sort concocted by the West, provocateurs and troublemakers asked – why did you come over batyushka – and he says – I have come, my dearest, to see you: the bit–

A story goes that Shoygu asked Đukanović in advance to clean the meeting room of all aluminium, to the last teaspoon that could turn this friendly conversation to the heavy topic of one unpleasant misunderstanding

ter borsch Deripaska cooked up he can munch up on his own; I will sell you a few helicopters to defend you from fire, and this is why I came. And do not ask me questions in English, ask me in Russian or in Serbian Slavic, Shoygy said briskly. And moreover he said: KAP is Deripaska's private business.

That the local reserve of aluminium is Deripaska's private thing is clear, and that private discussions are had in



bars we know well, outside of the protocol if possible for protocol is an invention of the Western man who is sunk in formalities.

Had **Duke** met the imperial emissary in Maša or in Grand we would have known they are talking KAP, musing over private business, i.e. privatisation. As it is, Shoygu rode over to see that we are well, took a bath in Žanjice

and already he is flying back, chasing who knows what more serious business set to him by an imperial administration on the rise.

But why should one feline personality like Shoygu ask the journalists to swallow their English is a damn interesting question.

Is it possible that the hard boiled diplomat showed considerations for our prime minister's predicament? Hardly, there must be something bigger at

stake. Seryozha is trying to show us the vibrancy of Russian, to return credibility to its great literature, send a message to the department in Nikšić: keep going, mother Russia is on your side.

The rumour has it that even the all times peoples' favourite "With Russians we are three hundred million" was skipped for the occasion, all to avoid mentioning the ominous number demanded in euros by Deripaska and his clique.

Another story goes that Shoygu asked **Đukanović** in advance to clean the meeting room of all aluminium, to the last teaspoon that could turn this friendly conversation to the heavy topic of one unpleasant misunderstanding.

The Government was so considerate not to whine to its citizens – by the superior **Njegoš's** cannon it has quietly suffered inside, careful not to disturb the presidential elections, their legitimacy, the tourist season and the success of the red Sharks. That's a Government you can trust – the people are already saddled with so many

troubles of their own, why burden them with just any scuttlebutt?

It was the same line of reasoning taken up by president **Vujanović** at a certain funeral, when he thanked the former head of the secret police for all he did with citizen's knowledge, but even more for his deeds the common mortals have no clue about. State business is the task of the chosen ones who had forsaken their own lives, who took over the burden and the sacrament of the holy communion to lead the people across the cliff of transition. The best would be to tell the folk there's a gorge underneath – half of us would fall from the sheer terror in the face of anti-national chimeras our leaders have to struggle with while we sleep tight in the shine of the colour bar on RTCG.

So curse on him, Oleg the Oligarch, who, disregarding the fragility of our democracy and the national interest of one brotherly country, made such a fuss about his troubles with the Aluminium Combine, the one he bought at the bar. What did he expect, that the waiters will stenograph it and the bartender guarantee the construction of the thermal plant with his life? Whoever saw any good from being a barfly, anyway? History teaches us that

Say, how can you stay calm when Putin's crisis minister in the middle of your homeland scorns English language. And just when we were beginning to get used to anglicisms, to think in Euro-Atlantic terms, dream of Marshall plans, tear down Berlin walls, let women out of the house

anything that begins in places that serve you beer ends badly.

But lets pretentiously sum it up: two historical moments are crucial for this story.

Decisive. One was when our eternally young prime minister, sick and tired of his clerk's pay, announced that he owns millions. The second was when the latter received a bill from Moscow for 300 million euros. The very same Russia that sent fans to the European championship under a flag



with the picture of Peter the Great.

Serbia too only mentioned a gas pipeline and already it got the big brother eager to help. Russia racketing the Balkans, surprise, surprise. It was only a matter of time when the power to which you comfortably yielded half of your economy will step up the pressure. Times mass, times acceleration... Like in that add for Partner: with Russia you are never alone.

But it gives you shivers when you

see that it all goes on by the best Cold War recipe, that every rot takes at least ten months before it goes public, if it goes public. In our rayon muzhiks are busy discussing the linguistic justifications of a phoneme (Š) and politics is left to the family, not the biological but the social one.

If you aren't that kind of family man, all you can do is elaborate conspiracy theories and wait for them to come true. Then you get the conspiracy practice: a Russian minister with two

model helicopters who refuses to speak English and mentions fire. To chill your bones! And just when you think he really came to collect the debt, he bangs a shoe on the table and cries NJET!, Shoygu says it's all right. Like it was all right the last ten months.

And what strange onomastics hovers over Chernogorica: Shoygu, Deripaska... where are the good old names like **Belostenyyn, Krilov, Tverдохlebov**... what are those Russians in gloves, Russian gentlemen, stable on their feet, brusque, cold, precise! Just the guys you want to have in court against you, and lose. O the boson of Higgs, if you are out there, protect us!

Say, how can you stay calm when **Putin's** crisis minister in the middle of your homeland scorns English language. And just

when we were beginning to get used to anglicisms, to think in Euro-Atlantic terms, dream of Marshall plans, tear down Berlin walls, let women out of the house. At the seminars we are told: we live in a world of global security, the world is not polarised any more, it's only the past playing tricks on us, there are no more camps, Russia isn't a threat to sovereignty and the US isn't either. We are all united in the fight against terrorism. There is no rivalry between China and America, on the contrary, they are intensively cooperating on preventing disasters. We will only be sending doctors to Afghanistan, etc. etc.

You will realise you are on the way to go mad from all this when you first start to choke, around 19:30. It's your body revolting. Russian quick fix for hangovers, vodka, points to the road to recovery. One should just watch more and more news from the public service and fight fire with fire. You will slowly start feeling that everything is in good hands. Relax. Enter the model of the Russian helicopter and flush. Harasho.

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

CANDIDATE COUNTRIES' AND POTENTIAL CANDIDATE COUNTRIES' PROSPECTS FOR EU MEMBERSHIP IN THE LIGHT OF THE IRISH "NO"

The Lisbon catch and the Balkans



For centuries, the Balkans have stood for something 'European, but not quite so'.



by Jelena Džankić

More recently, this claim has been proven after the fall of the Iron Curtain, when the EU was taken

And what if the doors remain stuck for the animated party, which spent years on changing their apparel and manners? A disappointment, perhaps?

aback by the bloody dissolution of Yugoslavia. Somehow, the events that tormented the region for over a decade reviving the old splinters inspired the association of the term 'balkanization' with fragmentation, rather than with integration.

To the outside world, this southern, dark corner of Europe looked as a gloomy, underdeveloped and frightening place. Hence, among other things, it is this stigma, the stigma of backwardness that the Balkans' countries want to dispose of. Then 'Europe' becomes the keyword. Europe of today, or a Europe of tomorrow – it does not matter so much: for as long as it is called Europe. Yet – that Europe comes with a catch – the 'Lisbon catch'?

And what is the 'Lisbon catch'? The current legal and institutional structures of the EU can accommodate 27 Member States. And – first come, first served – that is exactly how many countries there

are in the club at the moment. The Balkans' lineup tallies two candidate countries, and – depending on the count (on which the EU itself does not have a consolidated view) – four or five potential candidates.

These countries – one or two of which 'must-not-be-named' for reasons of political correctness – are at present involved with a number of reforms, targeted at accommodating their systems to

the requirements posed before them by the EU. Considering their past experience – an extreme makeover. And what if the doors remain stuck for the animated party, which spent years on changing their apparel and manners? A disappointment, perhaps? Indeed, it will be rather difficult to explain

The all-time Euroskeptic Danes and Brits have already deposited their signatures in Rome, but the Celtic Tiger is still wandering around the prairies...In the meanwhile, the Balkans countries are doing their makeovers, hoping that the doors will open once they ring the bell

to the Balkans' voters that after years of commitment to reforms, their hopes of standing on equal footing with the rest of Europe have been dismantled.

So – YES – the Irish 'No' did come as a strong blow for the Balkan countries aspiring to EU membership. And what would be the implications of the Reform Treaty for the Balkan countries

otherwise? Not many, actually, as they would be required to accept the new vision of Europe if they wanted to join the club. All newly acceded countries have been asked to do so. In any case, a number of policies adopted by the Balkan countries have already been made in Brussels, anyways. They would just have to be transplanted into national legislation. By entering the EU, the Balkan countries would actually get some leverage in formulating them.

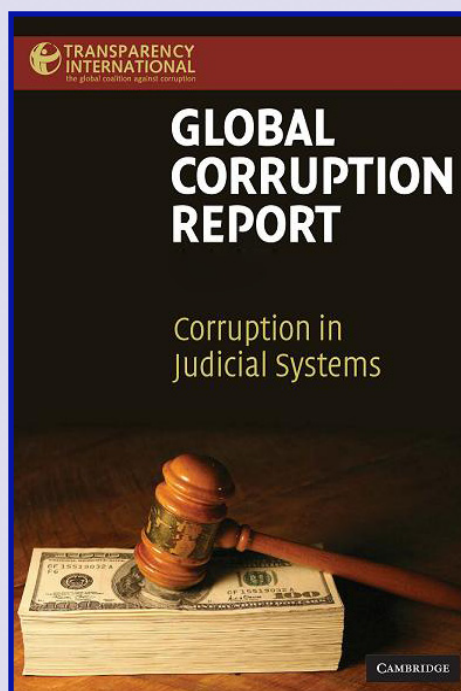
Still, none of this can happen before the EU itself 'catch' – Lisboa (or something else for that matter), and enables its institutional structures to absorb new Member States. The all-time Euroskeptic Danes and Brits have already deposited their signatures in Rome, but the Celtic Tiger is still wandering around the prairies...In the meanwhile, the Balkan coun-

tries are doing their makeovers, hoping that the doors will open once they ring the bell... In varietate concordia?

The author is a PhD candidate at the Centre of International Studies at the University of Cambridge (Murray Edwards College), and senior associate of Institute Alternativa

ON THIS YEAR'S LIST OF TRANSPARENCY INTERNATIONAL MONTENEGRO SHARES 84TH PLACE WITH ALBANIA AND SERBIA

A small step forward



With a corruption index of 3.4 Montenegro shares 84th place with Serbia and Albania, which puts it in the group of countries which have serious problems with corruption. These are the results of this year's Corruption Perception Index (CPI) of Transparency International, the most representative global corruption survey which includes a record 180 countries.

FROM DENMARK TO SOMALIA

Denmark leads the CPI index list as a country with least corruption and a score of 9.3, and is closely followed by Sweden and New Zealand.

Among the countries with the most rampant corruption problem Transparency International lists Afghanistan, Haiti, Iraq, Myanmar and finally Somalia, with a corruption index score 1.

Montenegro has made a small step forward compared to last year, when it took 85th place and was placed among the most corrupt and least developed countries of Europe with an index of 3.3.

CPI index is derived from a minimum of three out of thirteen surveys conducted in the last two years, mostly among businesspeople and investors.

Among the West Balkan countries, Bosnia and Herzegovina has the lowest rank, with an index of 3.2, which is 0.1 points lower than in 2007.

While Serbia remained at the same level as last year, Albania made a substantial jump – in 2007, it had an index of 2.9 and ranked 105th.

Similarly, Croatia progressed for 0.3 index points, and now has a score of 4.4 and is 62th on the list. Croatia

already improved its score last year – from 3.4 to 4.1, which means that in mere two years it progressed for an entire index point.

Transparency International survey results indicate that corruption is still one of the main challenges in the countries of the region and an obstacle on their road towards EU membership. In the conclusion, the report emphasises that "in spite of significant reforms and external stimuli in the framework of EU pre-accession process Croatia, Macedonia, Montenegro, Serbia and Bosnia and Herzegovina did not significantly improve the situation with regard to fight against corruption. Except for Turkey and Albania, there was very little progress in this field, in spite of all activities undertaken in combating this problem and in spite of promises of the heads of these states to make fight against corruption the key element of reforms on their path to EU membership".

Montenegrin executive believes that the progress made by Montenegro in combating corruption is greater than it appears to be.

Director of the Directorate for Anti-Corruption Initiative **Vesna Ratković** said that Montenegro is nevertheless advancing its fight against corruption and promised much better ranking for next year.

SLOVENIA AHEAD OF OLD EU MEMBERS

According to the survey, Slovenia holds 26th place with a score of 6.7 (from 6.6 in 2007) and is ahead of many "old" EU members, such as Spain, Portugal, Italy and Greece. Bulgaria, which shared the 64th place last year with Croatia (score 4.1) dropped several points to 3.6 and is now sharing 72nd place with Macedonia.

For Macedonia, the same place means progress of 0.3 points from 3.3 score in 2007. Romania, which grew 0.6 points last year continues to improve, but only slightly – from 3.7 to 3.8, which makes it 70th on the list.

prepared by: Petar ĐUKANOVIĆ

PREPARING IMPLEMENTATION OF AN IMPORTANT CLAUSE IN SAA

Soon a link to the European public procurement system

EVROPSKI REPORTER

Entrepreneurs from European Union member states can participate in the public procurement calls and procedure in Montenegro under the same conditions that apply to the Montenegrin entrepreneurs.

This is the way to establish free market foundations and to prevent budget losses through contracting products and services at higher than market prices. This is also a commitment ensuing from one of the clauses of the Stabilisation and Association Agreement (SAA). It can be used by all economic subjects in the EU, regardless of whether they

SAA stipulates that entrepreneurs from EU member states can participate in the public procurement calls and procedures in Montenegro under the same conditions that apply to the Montenegrin entrepreneurs. This is the way to establish free market foundations and to prevent budget losses through contracting products and services at higher-than-market prices

were founded in our country or are based in one of the EU states. In order to implement the new regulations in practice and to achieve greater transparency and protection of rights in the domain of public procurement on the Montenegrin territory a new software solution and electronic public procurement system will be installed with support of the IPA programme.

Although this was already promised in last year's report of the Public Procurement Directory, it turns out that the realisation of the project also depends on the available funding and the development

of this institution in the upcoming period.

These are the words of the director for public procurements, **Mersad Mujević**, the new software will enable development of the electronic system of public procurements.

"This would improve the existing public procurement system in Montenegro and connect it with the European system", says Mujević for the *European Pulse*.

In order to implement this project in the framework of IPA programme, Direction will need addi-

tional support from the state. The project should be completed by the end of this year.

At the moment, it is not possible to introduce an electronic system of public procurement because

A new software solution for electronic public procurement system will be installed in order to implement the new regulations and ensure greater transparency in the domain of public procurement in Montenegro

Montenegro does not yet have an established system of electronic lists, electronic trade, regulations on administrative procedures regarding electronic submission of files and documents nor public procurement.



photo: VIJESTI

Mersad Mujević

Similarly, the countries in the region, or indeed most of the European Union countries do not yet have an electronic public procurement system.

"Bearing in mind the level of development in Montenegro, as soon as the law on public procurements is in force we will be able to provide a lawful, comprehensive functioning of the public procurement system in line with the contemporary European practice, European standards and EU directives in this area", Mujević said.

He believes that harmonising the national public procurement systems among the EU member states constitutes one of the best instruments for strengthening the internal market and removing barriers.

ers to free trade.

"Open, non-discriminatory and transparent actions only reinforce positive competition among the actor in the public procurement markets. Only those actors who need to compete with foreign companies are capable of successful performance both in the foreign markets and in their domestic market", Mujević said.

According to him, the goal of public procurement regulations is to establish a minimum set of common criteria that would protect basic principles from the Treaty on European Union (non-discrimination and freedoms) in the domain of public procurement.

"Member states, which our country also aspires to become, can demand stricter rules in their national legislation, if these rules do not exhibit a discriminatory effect, i.e. they do not limit participation of foreign companies based in European Union in their national markets", Mujević said.

These common regulations concern the public procurement regimes with regard to public contracts, terms of use, technical spec-



ifications, rules of announcement, criteria for the selection of candidates, choice of the best offer...

He adds that the basic princi-

The report of the Directorate for Public Procurement states that "public institutions spend too much money on public procurement" and adds that competition in public procurement is the "key to efficient management of public money"

ples of public procurement have been laid out in the Article 2 of the 2004/18 EC directive and in Article 10 of the 2004/17 EC directive – that "the contracting party ought to act transparently, equally and with-

out discrimination towards all economic operators".

As in the report on all other institutions, this one too has been

judged to employ too few qualified cadres, and is suffering from a lack of funds necessary to implement the relevant commitments of Montenegro in the European integration process.

The report of the Directorate for Public Procurement states that "public institutions spend too much money on public procurement" and adds that competition in public procurement is the "key to efficient management of public money" which "helps public actors to acquire the necessary products and services at better quality and lower price".

It is emphasised that application of adequate public procurement procedures and greater competition lead to lower prices of public contracts, ensuring that "the taxpayers' money is spent more efficiently, more jobs are created, development generated and greater overall competitiveness achieved".

HALF A BILLION FOR PUBLIC PROCUREMENT

According to the report, Montenegro had more than 800 entities in 2007 that are subject to the law on public procurement.

Total estimated value of public procurement, excluding smaller expenditures amounts to 411 992 511.45 euros, and contracted value to 389 143 574.5 euros (with VAT). Out of this amount, state offices have spent 92 194 888 euros, public institutions and public companies 163 294 788, local government offices 123 682 117, and local public companies and public institutions 9 971 780.34 euros.

Savings from the public procurement procedures (excluding low value transactions – shopping or indirect agreement) amount to 22 848 936.95 euros or 5.55%. The value of public procurement in low-value transactions (shopping and indirect agreements) is 17 519 464 euros, out of which 10 749 070.95 for shopping and 6 770 393.77 for indirect agreement procedures, altogether 4.3% of public procurement value.

Total contractual value of all public procurement in Montenegro for 2007 (including low value transactions) was 406 663 039.28 euros.

Dragana BABOVIĆ

WHY DO I WANT TO BE A CITIZEN OF EUROPE

No waiting in the "non-EU" zone



Thinking of the concept of European Union and the geographic definition of Europe, I can-



by Mirko Đuković

not but wonder about where the real border lies. Trying to answer this question and at the same time trying to share my thoughts with the readers I have chosen a particular angle of presentation.

I will tell you about the attractions of EU for me, from the prism of students' life here and in Europe. I had a chance to attend lectures, seminars and conferences organised by law students across Europe and that helped me to see the borders clearly. And it gave me motivation to think about why we want to be in the EU, being a part of Europe already.

Putting together a mosaic of sights and events I experienced on my travels, I was most impressed by culture. I believe that culture really moves all borders, but it is painful to first hit the limitations when as a student you first

A synonym for the Bologna Process is student mobility, but our students are hardly mobile

step on EU territory.

Travels to Italy, Greece, Portugal, France, Belgium...all left gorgeous memories, but also a desire to make my country part of the same club. I will tell here only about my trip to Brussels, as this is a synonym for EU.

Passing the passport control zone at the Brussels airport in the "non EU countries" section, I found the fact unimportant on the first day. Later on,

however, after I spent about ten days in this country and made friends with around fifty students from various parts of Europe, I felt the flame of jealousy inside me, on the very day I returned to Montenegro. We all flew at about the same time, and at the passport control they just strolled across to the gates, without a moment's delay. I however, "naturally" remained in the long and slow "non EU countries" line. And for the first time I felt the difference between what is possible for us and what is possible for EU citizens.

However, walking down the streets of old Brussels which still smell of fresh waffles and chocolate, watching the military parade before the royal family, beautiful fireworks I saw from the Park Van Brussel, the unforgettable square and park of King Albert, Atomium, lec-

There is something beyond the economic, political, commercial and security considerations that comes with membership in the EU. This is the window from which I see EU – the possibility of cultural exchange, enjoying learning about diversity within this single community

tures at the VUB or St Louis, a visit to magical Bruges are all details that outweigh the awkwardness of standing in the "non EU countries" zone.

When talking to the colleagues from European universities I always tried to describe the beauties of our

our own, whatever we have to offer – this is what I wish to all other students from Montenegro, to know that out there exists this beautiful and perfect diversity that makes us all richer. Of course, without waiting in the "non-EU" zone.

The second frame in which I often see EU is that of student mobility. It is true that our universities are already applying the principles of Bologna Declaration, but I wonder whether we are really using the advantages of this different approach to studying. In a way, a synonym for the Bologna Process is student mobility, but our students are hardly mobile. Travel experiences of my EU colleagues, their experience of studying law at other universities, their practical skills, internships and scholarship opportunities are way

above anything we can boast now. If we also bear in mind the fact that even when financial opportunities exist very few of our students decide to take up studies or internships abroad simply because of the organisation of the exam period, our students' "mobility" consists of the trip from home to university and back.

There are many ways in which I like to think about EU, but let these two suffice for now. I hope that future generations will be learning about EU also through our country, from inside, and not from the outlook of their lonely "non EU countries" island where we are now standing.

The author is the vice president of ELISA Montenegro for international cooperation. He attended VII generation of European Integrations School

Reduce suffering at slaughter

European Commission is to propose a new set of animal slaughter regulations to replace the existing rules in order to limit pain and suffering of animals.

"As a society we ought to care for the animals, and that involves reducing suffering at slaughter. The current EU regulations are obsolescent and ought to be updated", says the Health Commissioner **Androulla Vassiliou**.

The proposal calls for regular monitoring techniques after the animals are stunned to ensure they do not regain consciousness before slaughter. Every slaughter house will

have to appoint a responsible person to oversee implementation of animal welfare measures. Small slaughter houses will be exempted from this rule, but the activists have called for better trained staff in slaughterhouses. None of the existing stunning techniques will be banned, but the regulation includes a precise definition of required stunning conditions for each species. The best known techniques involve using carbon-dioxide or electricity.

Every year, nearly 360 million pigs, sheep, goats and cattle and several billion poultry are killed in the EU.

Norwegians ever less interested in EU

Only 36.1% of Norwegians support Norway's accession to EU, claim the results of the opinion poll conducted by research institute Sentio.

According to an early September poll, 9.5% of the citizens of this country do not have an attitude towards the eventual membership of this country in the EU, which currently numbers 27 states. The poll was conducted on a sample of respondents older than 18, or in other words persons with voting rights.

The results, among other, showed that opposition towards EU membership

is equally present in all regions of the country, except for Oslo, the capital. The number of opponents has grown for the last three and a half years also in the Labour Party, the main party in the ruling coalition, as well as in the opposition Progress Party.

Norway has rejected the option of joining EU at two referendums, in 1972 and 1994. However, this country is closely collaborating with EU through the European Economic Area Agreement, which offers the members of EEA free access to the EU internal market.

Nokia, Louis Vuitton, Vodafone...

According to a recent study of the Viennese European Brand Institute, the most valuable European brand is the Finnish mobile phone maker Nokia, which is worth 38.283 billion euros.



Follows Moët Hennessy – Louis Vuitton from France worth 34.907 billion and the British mobile communications concern Vodafone with 24.128 billion. Among the ten most valuable are also three German brands: automobile makers Mercedes Benz and BMW, as well as Deutsche Bank. The institute makes the ranking on the basis of a survey of 3000 firms from 24 countries and 16 industries. Among the first 50 most valuable European brands 15 are from Germany.

In the top ten most valuable European brands are also Spanish Telefonica, Dutch-British concern Unilever, the Royal Bank of Scotland and France Telecom.

From 2011 euro instead of zloty

Poland, the biggest new EU member announced plans to introduce euro as its official currency in 2011. The greatest challenge for the Polish Government in this respect will be the Maastricht criterion which requires curbing inflation.



No smoking in bars

The Croatian Government will soon propose a law to the Parliament completely banning smoking in public places.

The proposal envisages a full ban on smoking in all educational, health and social institutions as well as workplaces. In bars smoking will be allowed only on terraces, and restaurants will have to have a special smoking room where they cannot serve food or drinks.

"Among the Croatian citizens 32% are smokers and 68% are non-smokers, and we want both to protect those who do not smoke and convince smokers to change their habits", said the health minister **Darko Milinović**.

Inflation slowly falling

Inflation rate in the 15 Eurozone countries was 3.8%, or slightly less than in the previous months. Record inflation was noted in July, 4%, because of the rising fuel prices, with oil at 150 dollars per barrel, which is the highest in history.

OLDER EU MEMBERS ARE NOT READY TO WELCOME WORKERS FROM EAST EUROPEAN COUNTRIES

Modern slavery in "old Europe"

Centre for European Political Studies from Brussels (CEPS) has recently warned that the workers from East European EU member states who come to work in the old members have been exposed to discrimination. The report of this organisation states that the violations range from bureaucratic obstacles to real crimes of hate, such as intimidation, emotional molestation, delayed wages, refusal of wages, work without contract and without right to holidays and social protection. All these are, the report warns, frequent enough.

Although most member states removed restrictions for workers from East European Members, they did not guarantee them equal rights stipulated in the European treaties, says Professor **Carby Hall**, author of the report.

He said that many East European migrants have to deal with a system he called "modern slavery".

Labour migration has become a global phenomenon. By the end of 2007 2.3 million people left Poland to find work abroad, and



1.9 million of them headed for one of the EU member states.

The restrictions will definitely end on 30 April 2011 for workers from Poland, Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia, the Czech Republic, Slovakia, Hungary and Slovenia, and for those from Romania and Bulgaria on 1 January 2014. There is more reluctance to open the labour markets towards the countries of the last enlargement – Bulgaria and Romania. All EU-15 countries with the exception of Sweden and Finland decided to restrict Bulgarians' and Romanians' access to their labour market.

Free movement of persons is one of the fundamental freedoms guaranteed by community law (Article 39 of the EC Treaty) and is

also an essential element of European citizenship. Community rules on free movement of workers also apply to member states of the European Economic Area (ie to Iceland, Liechtenstein and Norway).

In an attempt to address the complex implications of the EU's 2004 enlargement, several member states from the EU-15 introduced 'transitional restrictions' on the movement of the labour force from the new member states. The Accession Treaty allows for the introduction of 'transitional measures', commonly referred to in EU circles as the '2+3+2-year arrangement'. In other words, "old" members can restrict the right to

the freedom of movement of workers from the new countries for a maximum of seven years after these countries joined the European Union, but are obliged to declare themselves after the first two, and then the three years of the transition period.

The restrictions will definitely end on 30 April 2011 for workers from Poland, Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia, the Czech Republic, Slovakia, Hungary and Slovenia, and for those from Romania and Bulgaria on 1 January 2014.

There is more reluctance to open the labour markets towards the countries of the last enlarge-

NO RESTRICTIONS FOR WORKERS IN SHORT SUPPLY

Most countries maintained some transitional restrictions, but after 2006 many decided to partially or completely open their labour markets to the citizens of the new member states. Denmark was the first to open its borders, while Belgium, France and the Netherlands are proceeding more cautiously. Although France and Belgium have relatively high unemployment (9.8 and 8.6% respectively), the situation is not the same in all sectors, and the East European workers are much more readily welcomed in those sectors where qualified labour is in short supply – social and health care, hotels and catering, transport and construction.

ment – Bulgaria and Romania. All EU-15 countries with the exception of Sweden and Finland decided to restrict Bulgarians' and Romanians' access to their labour market. Italy considers allowing Romanians and Bulgarians in once a European agreement on combating organised crime is found, and France announced that it will include workers from the two countries into its scheme of sectorial barrier-lifting. All "new" EU members, on the other hand, decided to open their labour markets to Bulgarians and Romanians – with the exception of Malta, which constricts access, and of Hungary, which imposes some conditions.

What should cause more concern among Bulgarians and Romanians is the fact that even four years into the transitional period, the old member states remain split over easing access to their labour markets by their eastern neighbours.

Some of the EU's strongest and wealthiest 'old' member states continue to restrict access to their labour markets by workers from Eastern Europe, with Germany and Austria leading the way.

European Commission published a report two years which shows that very few citizens from the new member states were actually moving to the EU-15. The European Commission has warned that transitional restrictions should be phased out as soon as possible.

"The relatively small number of East European workers migrating to EU15 does not constitute the influx that would justify fears. In the meantime, the unexpected proliferation of complex national quotas and qualitative restrictions undermines the Lisbon strategy for flexible markets and a skilled, mobile labour force," says the former European Commissionaire **Mario**

SO FAR SO GOOD

Only UK, Sweden and Ireland decided not to impose transitional measures in the first wave of "Eastern" enlargements. The open-borders policy led to estimated labour immigration of 450.000 to 600.000 within just two years following the enlargement, or about 30-fold of what was previously expected. In spite of the undoubtedly positive impact that the immigration has had on the British economy, the UK government decided not to apply a similarly liberal scheme to Romanian and Bulgarian job-seekers. Only a few experts in selected areas and 20,000 unskilled workers for the food processing and agriculture industries will be allowed into Britain.

The same is the case with Ireland, which arguably profited most from liberalising its labour market for migrants from Eastern Europe. The Irish Economic and Social Research Institute says that the country needs an influx of around 50,000 workers a year to continue growing at the present high pace, but the Irish government argues that the eight East-Central European countries so far provide a "sufficient supply".

Monti.

Employment Commissioner **Vladimir Spidla** also said that free movement of workers has not had disruptive effects on the EU-15 labour market.

"Quite the contrary – individual countries, and Europe as a whole, have benefited from it", he said.

Germany's State Secretary for Employment **Gerd Andres** said, however, that the European Commission report might have been too optimistic, as it does not take into account the effect of transition periods, and that a lot depends on the geographical position, which makes Germany most vulnerable to an influx of workers from the East.

The government of Germany has decided to maintain the restrictions in place at least until 2009. One main reason cited by Berlin is high unemployment, especially in the federal states bordering the Czech Republic and Poland.

The European Commission, however, warned that unemployment is not a sufficiently good reason and that in order to maintain the transitory measures beyond

2009, Germany must prove severe distortions of its labour market.

The same requirement applies for Austria, which also announced prolongation of restrictions for workers from Eastern Europe. Unemployment in Austria is relatively low, but, according to the Austrian labour minister **Martin Bartenstein**, "the long-term forecast is a cause for pessimism".

Dilemmas about the organisation of the internal EU labour market and free movement of workers are the consequence not only of the current economic problems, but of the concerns about future enlargements. If and when Turkey becomes a member of the EU, this country of 70 million people will be second only to Germany in terms of the size of its population. Turkey itself has almost the same number of citizens as the ten new member states combined. The labour market implications of the EU's current enlargement, along with the conclusions reached from the current transition period, will certainly have a bearing on the way the EU can handle all future enlargements.

V.Ž.-V.Š.

GORAN ĐUROVIĆ (MFC) ABOUT THE MEMBERSHIP OF MONTENEGRIN PARTIES IN INTERNATIONAL ASSOCIATIONS

Allies for implementing EU standards

Any serious political party ought to, in addition to continuous work in its own country, establish and maintain international contacts, and consequently to be a part of certain international associations. To be a part of an international network of parties means being closer to Europe and to the European values and standards which are the goal of our society, but it also means having an ally in advocating the implementation of these standards and values in your own country.

This is how **Goran Đurović**, high official in the Movement for Changes (MfC), explained the decision of its party to join European Peoples Party, outlining the advantages of membership in international association in the interview for *European Pulse*.

EPP is the most numerous and most influential group in the European Parliament with 288 MPs. Leading figures from the European Parliament and European Commission **Hans Gert Pottering** and Jose **Manuel Barroso** are from EPP, and as many as 11 prime ministers of EU member states comes from a party member of European Peoples Party.

"Every contact established through membership in one of the strongest international associations which gather serious political parties from all over Europe certainly means greater opportunities for showing ourselves in a better, positive light before EU", Đurović added.

He finds it regrettable that so far the opposition parties in Montenegro did not recognise the importance of connections with similar parties in Europe.

"Certainly, we must not forget that the Liberal Alliance was member of the Liberal International, but I believe they failed to utilise this fact



photo VIJESTI

Goran Đurović

adequately. Socialist Peoples Party which for the longest time was the strongest opposition party could never become part of the Socialist International because of its past and connections with **Milošević's** regime. It is clear that the leadership of SPP is now trying to return to the basic values which are the part of social-democratic heritage and thus improve its chances to apply for membership, but the road from the wish to participate to full membership in one of the most influential internationals is very long and demanding", Đurović said.

He said that two things in particular must be thought through.

"Firstly, we also have the names of the parties which indicate their supposed ideological orientation which does not correspond to the programmes and actions of these parties. The most illustrative example is certainly the Democratic Party of Socialists (DPS) and the Social-Democratic Party (SDP). More precisely, SDP was once really a part of the social-democratic credo and was rightly accepted as a member of the Socialist International. However, this social-democratic element was evidently lost through a long-term inter-

est-based alliance with DPS, which is many things, but hardly a bastion of social-democratic values, although recently they also became members of the Socialist International.

Secondly, such as they are, both DPS and SDP (through associate, and now full membership) were able to use their contacts in the Socialist International to present themselves as the only possible option in Montenegro and as the only parties that stand for democratic values. Obviously, you cannot pull the wool over someone's eyes for too long, and it is good to remember that the leader of DPS got some of the sharpest criticisms from his very "ideological kin", in statements by **Hanes Swoboda** and other prominent representatives of this International", Đurović explained.

He said that MfC, as a party dedicated to permanent self-improvement and which recognised this weakness in the opposition, submitted a letter of intent to become a member to EPP in order to utilise the full potential of being a part of this club.

"It is undisputable that in the course of transition we have lost some basic values and that this will make our road to EU more thorny. Our insistence on the issues of virtue, honesty and justice is what we have in common with EPP. Tradition in itself is not harmful, what is harmful is if you insist on tradition once its times and context have disappeared. But certain universal values that this tradition has born ought to be our guiding principles. In that sense, we believe that our membership in EPP can help to regain the best of what Montenegro used to have and what it always had", Đurović concluded.

V.Ž

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.

Two-speed Europe: Refers to the possibility of differentiated integration, where a smaller group of states can agree to advance further in the integration process than the rest of member states.

Unanimity: When taking decisions on some issues, the Council of the European Union has to be in unanimous agreement – i.e. all countries have to agree. Any disagreement, even by one single country, will block the decision. This would make progress very difficult in a Union of 27 countries, so the unanimity rule now applies only in particularly sensitive areas such as asylum, taxation and the common foreign and security policy. In most fields, decisions are now taken by qualified majority voting.

Finally, we offer an overview of abbreviations frequently used in EU institutions and documents:

CAP – Common Agricultural Policy

CARDS – Community Assistance for Reconstruction, Democratization and Stabilization

CBC – Cross-Border Cooperation

CCP – Common Commercial Policy

CEP – Common Energy Policy

CFP – Common Fisheries Policy

CFSP – Common Foreign and Security Policy

DG – Within the Commission,



work is divided into Directorates – General, each under the political control of a Commissioner

EBRD – European Bank for Reconstruction and Development

ECB – European Central Bank

ECJ – European Court of Justice

EFTA – European Free Trade Area

EIB – European Investment Bank

EK – European Commission

EMU – Economic and Monetary

Union

EP – European Parliament

G7, G7 + 1 – Group of Seven industrialized states (USA, Canada, Japan, France, Germany, UK, Italy) now joined by Russia

GATS – General Agreement on Trade and Services

GATT – General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade, superseded in 1995 by the World Trade Organization

OJ – Official Journal of the European Community

SEA – Single European Act

TEU – Treaty on European Union, signed at Maastricht, December 1991, setting up the European Union (EU)

WTO – World Trade Organization, set up in 1995 as successor to GATT

NON – GOVERNMENTAL ORGANISATIONS IN EUROPEAN UNION



EUROPEAN FOUNDATION FOR STREET CHILDREN (EFSC)

EFSC is a Brussels-based organisation, founded in 1995 on the initiative of an MP of the European Parliament committed to improving the situation of children at risk, and particularly street children. Today, the Federation consists of a network of NGOs working in the field for the improvement of the rights and living conditions of street children.

The main objective of EFSC is to create, maintain and assist a platform of social actors involved in the realisation of the fundamental rights of excluded children with particular focus on street children.

The network seeks to achieve this objective by:

- Advising EU institutions and decision-makers on policies and programmes for excluded children
- Supporting the EU institutions, national institutions and NGOs in implementing policies and programmes on street children
- Assisting less developed countries (including Eastern Europe) in implementing policies and programmes on marginalised groups of children;
- Rising public awareness of the problems of street children
- Rising awareness of the problems of street children in EU institutions, the Member States and the Council of Europe
- Intensifying the political debate on street children and related issues, at the level of both the European Union and the Member States and the Council of Europe;
- Improving and strengthening the communication, co-operation, co-ordination and exchange of information between social NGOs, in particular those working with excluded children
- Monitoring and promoting children's rights in line with the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child
- Organising trainings and seminars to build up expertise and information among social workers, teachers and other persons whose professional life is likely to be related with the problems of street children

Together with similar partner organisation EFSC is also active in supporting and assisting street children in Latin America and South Africa.

More information on the organisation and its activities can be found at: www.enscw.org

Prepared by: Petar ĐUKANOVIĆ

Against Corruption in Education



Centre for Monitoring (CEMI) and Centre for Civic Education (CCE), with support by the Stability Pact funded by the German Government, organised a week long seminar for thirty activists from youth and student organisations. The seminar lasted from 22 to 29 September 2008 and was focused on building capacities in students' organisations to fight corruption in all the various guises in which it appears at Montenegrin universities.

The participants attended various lectures and exercises helping them to acquire public advocacy skills and write projects for EU funds, and a separate series of discussions on the issue of the conflict of interests and corruption in education, as well as about institutions whose job is to suppress these deviant phenomena.

Lectures and workshops at the seminar were facilitated by:

Biljana Zeković, executive director of SOS PG; **Ivana Vojvodić**, pres-

ident of the youth organisation Juventas; **Slobodan Leković**, president of the Commission for the Conflict of Interests; **Vesna Ratković**, director of the Directory for Anti-Corruption Initiative of the Government of Montenegro; **Zlatko Vujović**, president CEMI; **Boško Nenezić**, executive director of CEMI. The final lecture was given by the ambassador of the Republic of Germany in Montenegro **Peter Platte**. The seminar is a part of a larger project aimed at combating corruption in education, which is conducted by Centre for Civic Education and Centre for Monitoring with support of the German Government.

institut alternativa

New Initiatives

Institute Alternative (IA) has started this September to compile and distribute a daily electronic summary of the Montenegrin media in English – *Institute Alternative's Daily Brief*, published from Monday to Friday. Friday's edition is accompanied with a comment by one of the associates of Institute Alternative as well as other representatives of non-governmental organisations, University, media, trade unions etc. who are not directly involved with the Institute but whose opinion opens a different angle of view on the everyday life in Montenegro.

Daily Brief is distributed daily to several hundred addresses, and their number continues to grow. The objective of this project is to offer objective information to all decision-makers and those interested in Montenegro's democratisation who do not speak our language in order to assist them in making more informed decisions, assessments or statements. The comment offers an additional insight into the views advocated within the Montenegrin society. The project is supported by Friedrich Ebert Foundation.



Centre for Civic Education, Centre for Development of Non-Governmental Organisations and European Movement in Montenegro, with support of the Foundation Open Society Institute – Regional Office in Montenegro

ANNOUNCE A CALL

– For participants in the VII generation of –

EUROPEAN INTEGRATION SCHOOLS

European Integration School consists of 7 modules with a total duration of four months and encompasses a broad spectrum of theoretical and practical knowledge in the area of European Integrations.

Lectures take place twice a week, each lasting two hours (with a possibility of additional lectures) and are complemented by seminars.

Renowned lecturers and experts from country and abroad, members of the diplomatic corps in Montenegro and others will introduce participants to the history, development and functioning of European integration process, the contemporary shape of European institutions, their influence on our society and perspectives for cooperation in this area.

The candidates are expected to have a keen interest in acquiring new knowledge in this field and in contributing to the affirmation of ideas, values and standards of European integrations in Montenegro. All candidates are welcome regardless of the gender, nationality, religion or beliefs, but the advantage will be given to those who demonstrate high levels of social activism in the government, non-governmental, party, trade union, economic, scientific and cultural contexts.

All costs are covered by FOSI, CGO, EMiM and CDNGO, but the participants are obliged to attend at least 80% of the programme. Upon finishing the school successful participants will be awarded diplomas and a right to future participation in similar programmes.

Applications with a short CV should be sent by **9 October 2008** to:

Centre for Civic Education
(for European Integrations School)
Njegoševa 36, 81 000 Podgorica
or by fax: 020/665 122 or e-mail: info@cgo-cce.org

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FOR THIS ISSUE WE RECOMMEND:

PHD PROGRAMS IN POLITICAL SYSTEMS AND INSTITUTIONAL CHANGE IMT LUCCA, ITALY

Scholarship / Financial aid: 15 scholarships each of 13.638,00 Euros gross available

Date: 3 years starting March 2009

Deadline: December 5, 2008

Open to: students

The PhD Program aims to make students familiar with analytical tools and methodologies of investigation elaborated within different contemporary traditions in social sciences, thereby providing the theoretical and practical knowledge necessary to both evaluate comparatively the performance of institutional systems, and elaborate proposals for structural reforms. The courses will especially focus on the historical, political, institutional and economic dynamics that have been characterising the development of European and ex Soviet countries after the Second

World War. They will then consider among other topics: the institutional and decisional dynamics of European countries and the European Union including the trends towards multilevel governance both at the European and at the domestic level (federalisation, independent regulatory authorities, etc.); transatlantic relations EU-US; relations between politics, social processes and political economy decisions; paths of economic and political development; the institutional workings of international organisations; the characters of some geographical areas of special relevance.

Duration: 3 years

Language: Courses and seminars are held in English. Foreign PhD students are required to attend an Italian Language and Culture Course.

More information on:

http://www.imtlucca.it/phd_programs/political_systems/index.php

INTERNATIONAL EXCELLENCE SCHOLARSHIPS UNIVERSITY OF WOLVERHAMPTON, UK

Scholarship / Financial aid: a total of up to 2,000 pounds is offered

Date: one year

Deadline: 1 November 2008

Open to: international students who are non-EU nationals

Applications are welcomed from international students who are non-EU nationals. Applicants must be full-time or sandwich, undergraduate or postgraduate degree students of the University of Wolverhampton, and should be enrolled (or intending to enrol) at the University either for the first time, or for a second award.

Applications for this Scholarship are processed after your course commences, so you are encouraged to wait until you have arrived at the University before applying.

Successful candidates will be awarded two separate payments of ?1,000, a total of up to ?2,000. No additional payments will be made, and students will remain liable for the full cost of their tuition fees.

More information on:

<http://www.wlv.ac.uk/Default.aspx?page=8332>

CFA: RIO & LGI-OSI POLICY WRITING & ADVOCACY SKILLS DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMME FOR ROMA NGO LEADERS

Deadline: 01.10.2008

The Roma Initiatives Office (RIO) and the Local Government and Public Service Reform Initiative (LGI) of the Open Society Institute (OSI) opened a new initiative targeting the development of policy writing and advocacy skills of Roma NGOs, networks and experts in the countries of the decade of Roma Inclusion. The programme consists of 2 training events and the supported production of a policy brief to support the advocacy efforts of participants. It is designed to be run over a 2 month period. The programme is planned for the fall of 2008 and will take place in 5 decade countries: Macedonia, Montenegro, Romania, Serbia, and Slovakia. This choice was based on a balance of need and the ability of LGI's team to deliver in local languages. For more information, visit:

http://lgi.osi.hu/documents.php?id=2215&m_id=19



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