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## PARIS

The city of light, symbol of fashion and love, recognisable by the Palais de l'Elysee, Tour Eiffel and Louvres, the house of Da Vinci's famous *Mona Lisa*.

In this very Paris, in the light of TV cameras on the staircase of Palace Elysee, not to far from the Eiffel Tower, in an expectedly pricey and fashionable outfit Montenegrin Prime Minister **Milo Đukanović** handed Montenegro's application for membership in the EU to the French president **Nicolas Sarkozy**. All this under the loving eyes of the European Enlargement Commissioner **Olli Rehn**, perched right next to the Montenegrin and French leaders.

His directorate is like *Mona Lisa* – wherever you stand, their (her) eyes are on you, although they sometimes lower the eyelids when it comes to Montenegro. Application is only a formal, but nonetheless important act, for it opens up the road to deep reforms in Montenegro.

Once the EC gives a positive opinion on Montenegrin application, the Council decides whether to first grant Montenegro a candidate country status and then begin membership negotiations that will finally bring on genuine transformation of the society.

We are on the stairs of Palais de l'Elysee, but we have yet to climb the Eiffel Tower. Or, in the more Montenegrin vocabulary, we asked for the girl's hand and now it's up to her 27-member family to get to know us via the Questionnaire.

For starters, we should get ready to give honest, precise and timely answers, although truth, especially about ourselves, can be painful.

V.Ž.

**Judiciary much worse than Brussels thinks (4 December)** – President of the Supreme Court **Vesna Medenica** told the European Commission representatives that the "situation in the judiciary is much worse than it seems from the EC report on the progress of Montenegro", write "Vijesti", based on the information they acquired from the closed session of the National Council for European Integrations. Medenica promised the director of the DG Enlargement **Pierre Mirel** and the head of EC delegation to Podgorica **Leopold Maurer**, who attended the NCEI meeting, to continue with an even more radical campaign in the judiciary to eliminate certain negative phenomena.

**Now to implementation (5 December)** – Montenegro has successfully completed the phase of adopting reform legislation and should now dedicate its efforts to their implementation, said the director of DG Enlargement for the West Balkan countries **Pierre Mirel** after the meeting of the Enhanced Permanent Dialogue between Montenegro and EC.

**Montenegro achieved important progress (8 December)** – Council of EU ministers welcomed "important progress" of Montenegro, especially in further implementation of political and economic reforms and good implementation of the Interim Agreement, said the conclusions of the last meeting of the Council of Ministers. Foreign Affairs ministers of the EU members added, however, that Montenegro "still needs sustained efforts, especially in the direction of strengthening of the rule of law and capacities of public administration, as well as in the judicial reform, independence of the media and eradication of corruption and organised crime".

**Ireland for a makeup test (12 December)** – Heads of states and governments of EU member states agreed in Brussels to have another referendum on the Lisbon treaty in Ireland next year, with guarantees not to endanger the national politics of the country. Council of EU also adopted the package of measures on energy and climate as well as EC plans on the reconstruction of the European economy. The EU set itself the goal to increase the share of renewable energy in its total consumption to 20% by 2020, decrease emissions of greenhouse gasses by 20% and raise energy efficiency by 20%. The EC proposal to set aside 200bn euro of investments to moderate the effects of the global financial crisis was also accepted.

**Montenegro applied for EU membership (15 December)** – Prime Minister **Milo Đukanović** submitted Montenegro's application for membership in the EU to the French president currently presiding over the EU **Nicolas Sarkozy**. "This is a great day for Montenegro, an old European state, and yet the youngest member of the United Nations and the Council of Europe. This is also a big day for the Balkans and all candidates and potential candidates for EU membership", said Đukanović in front of the Elysee Palace. Sarkozy said Montenegro can count on France's full support in the process of EU accession. European Enlargement Commissioner **Olli Rehn** was also present at the application ceremony.



**Greater authority for NCEI (22 December)** – When Montenegro enters the process of negotiations for EU membership, the opinion of the National Council for European Integrations (NCEI) will be binding, concluded this advisory body at its last session.

**Visa free by the end of 2009? (25 December)** – Deputy PM **Gordana Đurović** said that, if Montenegro fulfils all the requirements from the Roadmap by the first half of 2009, it has very good chances to get the decision on liberalisation of the visa regime by the end of 2009.



## MONTENEGRIN ADMINISTRATION FACES A HUGE CHALLENGE – HOW TO RESPOND TO THE EC QUESTIONNAIRE

# Say it like it is

Montenegrin officials are now waiting for a dispatch from Brussels –



by Danilo Mihajlović

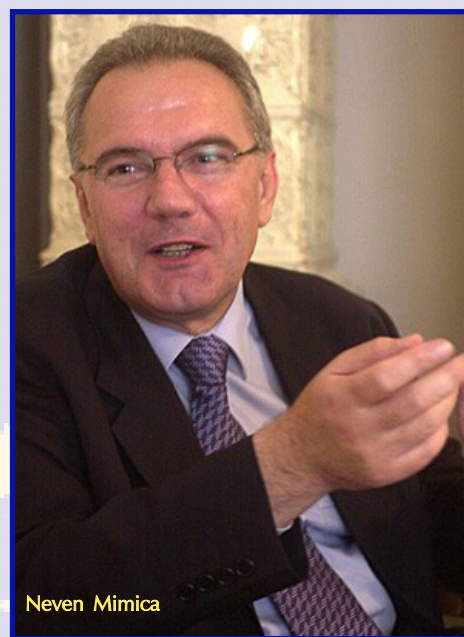
the famous Questionnaire with more than four thousand questions probing every aspect of the functioning of the state.

In spite of the efforts to con-

see and the handing over of application for the membership in the European Union were the most important step in the process of European integrations thus far, we are only yet to see the true face of the Montenegrin administration.

"Don't try to cheat on Brussels in the Questionnaire, they already know everything", says **Neven Mimica**, head of the Committee for European Integrations in the Croatian Sabor and the former minister of European integrations.

"This will be a very stressful period for Montenegrin administra-



Neven Mimica

*Croatia received 4 560 questions from the European Commission, and that its response took up 10 000 pages, says Neven Mimica*

vince the public that the meeting of **Milo Đukanović** and **Nicolas Sarkozy** in front of the Palais l'Ely-

tion", warns on the other hand Rado Genorio, the man who "led" Slovenia into the European Union.

## ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS

The work of the Montenegrin administration will not be over once they send the response to the European Commission.

The Commission often asks additional questions in order to clarify some points or if the situation has changed in the meanwhile.

Croatia, for instance, received 200 additional questions only days before the opinion on its candidacy was to be published. A good few of those questions regarded the political issues.

The administration is thus under strain from the moment it starts waiting for the questions until it gets the positive opinion from the EC. Although one would think that three to four months is enough to respond to the questionnaire, one shouldn't forget that this also includes their coordination, editing and translation.

Some of the most interesting questions and answers always leak into the media, although the European Commission and the governments usually agree to keep them secret.

After it submitted the membership application, Montenegro is waiting for the European Commission Questionnaire on the measures it needs to implement before it can become a member of EU.

The Questionnaire covers all areas of state functioning and it usually takes three to four months to respond to it.

Once the Commission receives the reply from Podgorica, it gives the Council of Ministers its opinion (avis) on the readiness of a country to begin membership negotiations.

Only after the Council adopts this opinion, which is not binding, the state in question receives the official status of a candidate for membership.

The Council then sets the date for the beginning of negotiations



Dukanović, Rehn and Sarkozy

and issues a recommendation to the Commission to begin negotiations with that state.

Mimica, whose country already travelled this road back in 2003–2004 explains that the Questionnaire will go into the smallest details, because Brussels needs to know the exact situation in a country which in due time hopes to become a member of EU.

He reminded that Croatia received 4 560 questions from the European Commission, and that its response took up 10 000 pages, written in the course of three to four months.

"The European Commission already knows answers to a number of these questions. They are not only asking for information about Montenegro, they are also trying to see how the country itself perceives different issues and to what extent it is aware of the level of its development and readiness to join EU", said Mimica for the *European Pulse*.

Mimica also said that the questions cover all elements of the public administration and having a team to coordinate the entire task can be very useful.

"This is a huge work, the first real test of your communication with the Commission, the kind of communication you will have once you become an EU member. This entire process is set up to examine the readiness of a country to speak the same language that Brussels speaks to its members", Mimica said.

Adding that it would be very good if this work could be completed swiftly but precisely and

effectively, Mimica advises the national authorities to rely on the experience of his own country as well as Macedonia, which have already passed this stage.

He warns, however, that the responses should always be completely truthful and without "ornaments".

"Covering up shortcomings will not bring anything good, and will not make a better impression on Brussels. They really know a lot about each of these countries, and every attempt to hide reality will surely be revealed".

"Simply, just say it like it is...If they ask: have you established this or that agency, say – we haven't, but we will as soon as we can. Never try to gild or hide the facts, this can only undermine mutual trust, and that is never a good foundation for future relations with European Union", Mimica said.

Deputy prime minister for European integrations **Gordana Đurović** said the country was ready for the Questionnaire.

"This is serious work, but we have known that all along, and in cooperation with various institutions and with EU support the Government has been preparing for it for months. We will respond effectively and in the given time-frame. I wouldn't talk about deadlines right now, let us wait for the EU to finish its part of the procedure and for the Questionnaire to

## PARLIAMENT TO LEND A HAND

The Questionnaire of the European Commission is divided into three chapters – politics, economy and harmonisation of the national with European legislation.

In the case of Croatia, out of 4560 questions, 400 were on finance, 664 on transport-related issues, 425 on work and social security, 224 judiciary and home affairs. There were 1180 questions that asked for statistics and EC also asked for 49 laws in their entirety.

In this part, there will be plenty of opportunities for the parliament to lend a hand.



arrive", Đurović said.

Responding to the sceptics who fear that Montenegro lacks adequate capacities to carry out this process properly and to the end, she retorts that not all "experts" on European integrations are always well intended when they doubt Montenegro's "capacities and political support for the process".

"Europe recognised our achievements, but some of the national public opinion never will. Many would like to become "Caliphs instead of the Caliph", but this battle is not won in newspaper attacks but by convincing the citizens in elections to give their vote in support of one programme or another. Those who do get the votes are then trying to put together a good team of experts whose task is to win the next "European race". Thanks to these rules, some have always been on the first team and are carrying the enormous responsibility in their positions on the first line of "attack" or "defence". Others are on the bench for substitutes, relieved of any responsibility and always ready to criticise", Đurović said.

She adds, however, that every-



one with good intentions and right expertise can find his or her place on the team.

"And those on the bench, who

are always dissatisfied with any result and find everything in Montenegro at fault? They have, of course, from the European perspective which we know as the bench, the right to criticise to their heart's content. Somebody has to do that too, and it's not a bad thing, it's good for the sake of internal dialogue to cultivate this critical thought in Montenegro. For us as the Government it is a stimulus to work even harder. And the citizens on the one hand and EU on the other, are those who judge, and will judge in the future the quality of the results achieved", Đurović said.

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

## WHAT DOES EC ASK

Please supply information on the state of health in the population of your country. This should include information on key health indicators such as infant mortality and mortality by gender, life expectancy; data on mortality and frequency of diseases as well as data on contagious and sexually transmitted diseases.

This or similar is what an example of the European Commission question looks like, at least judging by the experience of other countries that already travelled the path that lies ahead of Montenegro in the next few weeks.

In the area of work and social security, the EC will ask, for example, for unemployment rates with a special focus on the situation of vulnerable groups.

One of the questions will almost certainly be related to the types of legal and extra-legal measures in Montenegro that serve to eliminate discrimination and the types of discrimination recognised by the Montenegrin legislation – direct, indirect, harassment and inducement of discrimination.

## HOW MONTENEGRO MANAGED TO SUBMIT EU MEMBERSHIP APPLICATION IN THE HOPE OF ACQUIRING A CANDIDATE COUNTRY STATUS

# Bait for Serbia



In spite of categorical November warnings from Brussels and Paris to forget about an early application for membership in



by Neđeljko Rudović

the European Union, on 15 December 2008 Montenegro made the long anticipated bold step forward towards EU membership.

Whether Brussels welcomes these advances or not will depend on the attitudes of the leaders of EU member states, but if the political course to date is anything to go by, chances are that Montenegro might soon be rewarded again.

What is going on?

The French presidency, which is about to end on the 1 January 2009, has been sending discouraging messages to Montenegro asking it to defer its application. However, when on 15 December 2008 prime minister **Milo Đukanović** appeared in the Palais de l'Élysée he was welcomed by the President of France and temporary head of the EU **Nicolas Sarkozy**. According to some unofficial sources, the two had an unusually cordial exchange. Đukanović then handed over the application, told Montenegrin audience that this is a great day for Montenegro, for the Balkans and all candidates and potential candidates for EU membership and gave the word to the European Enlargement Commissioner **Olli Rehn** who also welcomed application, saying that European Commission was ready to prepare an "opinion" on Montenegro's candidacy as soon as it is requested by the Council of Ministers.

Only three weeks after having warned

Podgorica not to rush and to dedicate its efforts instead to the implementation of internal reforms, Rehn said that the same country has already "achieved important progress in its preparations for joining EU".

According to the diplomatic sources, there is one important factor in behind this bizarre chain of events – Serbia. All intelligence suggests that the background of such friendly attitude towards Montenegro is an attempt of the EU leaders to send the right message to Serbia – that membership in the EU may be well within the reach. It is no secret that Western strategists regard Serbia as the key to stability in the Western Balkans and consider an alliance with Belgrade a priority.

Without it, there is always the sense of a pending crisis and uncertainty. On the

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other hand, Serbia, wounded by the support the most powerful EU members gave to Kosovo's independence, is not managing to jump on the European bandwagon. It is being held back by the internal political turmoil, as well as by its inability to arrest General **Ratko Mladić** and thus fulfil the key EU requirement. The public, in the meantime, is wary of the internal EU crisis and is losing confidence in the European perspective of Serbia. In this situation, Montenegro's progress is a living proof that nothing is impossible.

In other words, Montenegro's success is bait for Serbia, a nudge to inspire greater efforts towards EU integrations and transform Serbia into an indubitable ally of Brussels. This could also mean softening Belgrade's stance towards Kosovo and taking this sour topic off the top of the agenda in EU–Serbian relations.

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distanced itself from Milosevic's regime and quickly earned the title of the "democratic star" of the Balkans complete with ample political and financial support from the West, today, again because of Serbia, it has earned recognition and friendship of the most powerful European players.

For the situation on the ground in Montenegro is less than rosy. Almost every single move or appointment decision of the government gives reasons to suspect that Đukanović's regime is only simulating reforms instead of implementing them.

Those who see the region as a single unit, trying to make the pieces fit, are obviously more concerned with the "higher goals", and Montenegrin diplomacy seems to know it. Soon after the head of Montenegrin diplomacy **Milan Ročen** met

his Czech counterpart **Karel Schwarzenberg** Prague announced that it will insist of speeding up the decision on Montenegro's application. At the moment it seems that the European Council might request an opinion on Montenegro's readiness to acquire candidate status as early as March.

These encouraging signs all came after the EU summit held on 11 and 12 December 2008, where the EU leaders agreed on a solution to the adoption of the Lisbon agreement, which is a precondition for further EU enlargement. Even if Montenegro's new success is rather a result of skilled exploitation of propitious circumstances than a fruit of visible internal changes for the better, the outcome may yet be positive. The new phase of integrations will also bring closer ties with the EU and the Montenegrin government might at least be forced to take its own pro-European rhetoric a little more seriously.



DEPUTY PRIME MINISTER GORDANA ĐUROVIĆ AWAITS 2009 WITH OPTIMISM

# A year of success is ahead of us

Deputy prime minister for European integrations Dr **Gordana Đurović** said 2009 will be another year of "successes with regard to Montenegrin European integrations, just like 2008 was".

In the interview for the *European Pulse*, Đurović said she is not afraid that the Council of EU will delay Montenegro's further progress by postponing the decision to request an opinion on the membership application from the European Commission.

"I believe that the Council of Ministers for General and Foreign Affairs will soon initiate the procedure prescribed by the Article 49 of the Treaty on European Union and ask the EC to prepare an avis on Montenegro's candidacy within reasonable time. I also think that the Commission will quickly prepare the Questionnaire and that Montenegro is well prepared to advance into this phase of integrations, i.e. to respond to the questionnaire precisely and within the expected deadline.

*It was not easy to "pry open" the French door, but the good communication we maintained for almost a year, transparently and in the interest of the whole region, managed to draw "positive attention" of the EU member states to this smallest state of the Western Balkans and to our arguments and efforts to achieve what we believed we deserved in this phase of European integrations*

● According to you, why did France oppose for so long Montenegro's intention to apply for membership in the EU?

It was not easy to "pry open" the French doors, but the good communication we maintained for almost a year, transparently and in the interest of the whole region, managed to draw "positive atten-



tion" of the EU member states to the smallest state of the Western Balkans and to our arguments and efforts to achieve what we believed we deserved in this phase of European integrations.

If you followed the statements of the highest representatives of the European Commission in

Brussels, Podgorica, and EU member states, you would have noticed that both before and after we submitted the EU membership applications their messages were always supportive of our orientation and full dedication to the process of European integrations. They always expressed full understanding for our application, and the arguments

against it were mostly in relations to the current internal European issues and problems, and not to Montenegro as such. As a country, we were very patient, and our mutual understanding finally yielded excellent results, which after all is all that really matters.

President **Sarkozy** also stressed that there is no "fixed schedule, and if Montenegro manages to be among the first states to fulfil all membership requirements, it will also be among the first to join the Union". He also added that Montenegro is "ahead of its neighbours in fulfilling the political criteria", which is certainly one of the most important preconditions for the next phase of integrations into EU.

His message, together with those by **Olli Rehn** and ambassador **Maurer**, that the European Commission will immediately continue to work with France, and later with the Czech Republic, on implementing the relevant procedures for the preparation of the Opinion on the readiness of Montenegro to begin membership negotiations clearly shows that nobody is thinking of "slowing down" Montenegro's next steps. As until now, everything will depend on our progress in implementing reforms, as well as on the capacity of our administration to respond to the upcoming requirements.

● Press reports mention EU's intention to disburse some 500 million euros in order to assist West Balkan countries in weathering the impact of the global financial crisis. Can Montenegro count on that support, and in what amount?

## 40 TRANSLATORS FOR STARTERS

### ● Has Montenegro begun preparations for the translation of *Acquis*?

Preparation of the national version of *acquis* turned out to be the biggest translation project in the history of most new member states. But the challenge is not only in the enormous number of pages to be translated and edited, but also in the complexity of the entire process, in contracting experts from many different areas, achieving the right level of knowledge and expertise and in the inevitability of inter-disciplinary cooperation.

For that reason, Secretariat for European Integrations (SEI) created an internal unit called Department for Coordination of Translations, which employs four translators, one lawyer and one computer engineer. The staff has been through several seminars and trainings related to coordination of translations of the EU legal acts.

In November and December 2008 SEI organised several meetings with Montenegrin experts on linguistics, translation and law, and presented the upcoming tasks and projects for the translation of EU legal acts.

The meetings have been very useful and have sprouted exchange of information and proposals related to the future coordination of translating activities within the country. We also established a Working Group to create a Manual for the translation of legal and other documents related to European integrations. The group consists of eminent lawyers specialising in the area of European and national law and with knowledge of English language, SEI representatives for legislation, experienced translators who are familiar with EU terminology and lecturers of Montenegrin language. In establishing this group and planning the contents of the Manual, we relied on the experience of other countries, as well as recommendations of experts from Slovenia and Macedonia (with support of the Twinning project). The goal is to create the Manual as a set of mandatory practical guidelines for translators of regulations and other documents, and it will also contain the basic terminology of European law (negotiated chapters and sub-chapters), as well as the key elements of the nomen-terminology and European and national law.

Based on our present and past communication and cooperation with the Institute for Foreign Languages, we prepared an initial database of qualified translators with some 40 names, who will constitute the core of the future translators' team for the translation of the Questionnaire. A number of them already attended several seminars where they were introduced to the upcoming tasks related to the translation of the EC Questionnaire and the responses to it.

EU has presented its Economic assistance programme for mitigating the impact of the global financial crisis in late November 2008, and a part of these funds will be directed at the Western Balkans, i.e. South East European countries. For 2009, the projected amount is 120 million euros in macro-financial support, and the regional governments have already started negotiations with the Directorate General for Economy and Finance. There is also the option of 500 million euros in total in loans on

favourable terms with the international financial institutions.

### ● When will the updated version of the National Plan for Integrations be completed?

According to the Government's programme for 2009, the annual revision of the NPI will be conducted in the first quarter of 2009 for the period 2009–2012. We are not changing the internal target we set for completing all preparations for EU membership, we are only revising our commitments and filling out the details.

● Last year there was the attempt to bring together those countries of former Yugoslavia where the official languages are almost identical for the purpose of mutual assistance in translating European legislation. What happened to that initiative?

Development of the national version of *acquis* is an important, long-term and demanding process, which requires a coordinated, systematic and standardised approach, in the environment of good regional cooperation and joint initiatives in the framework of European regional projects.

An agreement on regional cooperation in this area between the countries that share similar languages and legal traditions is a key short-term priority for Montenegro. It will enable us to complete this project effectively with minimum waste of resources and maximum expertise. We already have good bilateral relations strengthened by several programmes for cooperation in the matters of European integration.

So far we have discussed these issues at the Miločer Conference on European Integrations in September 2007 and again at the Zagreb Conference in November 2008.

Methodological issues in translation, exchange of experiences and joint activities were discussed at separate meetings among the Working Groups. We also considered the idea of joint translation of a large number of EU regulations by Montenegro, Serbia and Bosnia and Herzegovina to the benefit of all three countries. We are hoping to develop this idea further during 2009 and turn it into a project for joint application to the IPA fund in the segment of regional cooperation.

V. ŽUGIĆ



## CHALLENGES ON MONTENEGRO'S ROAD TO EU

# First Bank of the first family of Montenegro

At the time of Milo Đukanović's return to the office of president of the Government of



by Stevo Muk

Montenegro, a group of Montenegrin public figures addresses the international and national public with an appeal to closely scrutinize and, if possible, prevent the potential conflict arising between public interest and the private interests of Đukanović and his biological and business family.

In 2005, Aco Đukanović, Prime Minister's brother, bought 14% of shares in the then Bank of Nikšić, nowadays First Bank, and in November 2006 he bought another 42% from the Ministry of finance, (state owned) Employment Bureau and (also state-owned) Development fund. In December 2006 the bank was recapitalised with 6.5 million euros, and Đukanović's ownership decreased to 29% of shares, but the Bank's capital grew to 14.4 million euros.

With another two smaller recapitalisations Prime Minister Milo Đukanović also became one of the owners (his company Capital Invest now owns 2.86% of shares) as well as the deputy president of the ruling Democratic Party of Socialists **Svetozar Marović**, which further lowered Aco Đukanović's share to 27.9%. After three years of owning a majority package of shares, in late September 2008 Aco Đukanović

asked for and received authorisation of the Central Bank of Montenegro to officially manage the First Bank.

In early December this year the First Bank had another recapitalisation of 20 million euros: 14 millions by Aco Đukanović (14 million euros) and 6 million by Elektroprivreda (the Electric Power Industry, also a company in majority state ownership whose Board of Managers is mostly appointed by the Government of Montenegro). The capital stock of the First Bank now grew to 44 million euros, and Aco Đukanović's share to 46.47%. The share of Elektroprivreda, which through many recapitalisations had decreased since Đukanović's arrival from 25 to 9% now grew

again to 18.24%.

The First Bank next decided to use the advantages of the new Law on the Protection of the Banking System, adopted urgently through summary proceedings in late November 2008 by the Parliament of Montenegro and applied to the government for a liquidity loan of 44 million euros, offering as security 94% of the bank's shares.

President of the Board of Managers of the First Bank is **Radojica Žugić**, representative of the state-owned shares, MP of the Democratic Party of Socialists (DPS) in the parliament of Montenegro and director of the state Fund for Pension and Disability Insurance.



Miloica Dakić, General Director of the Central Bank recently said that the "First Bank has liquidity or solvency problems" and that the "situa-

tion with this bank is the same as with any other bank".

If this is the case, then there is really no reason for the state to sup-

port only one bank, even if it be the First one.

At the same time, the Government of Montenegro sold Aco Đukanović the right to the use of 7.637 m2 of state-owned land in Podgorica for 3 300 000 euros, with the possibility of acquiring ownership. The land is currently occupied by the building of the Podgorica Police Headquarters.

Parliamentary Committee for Economy, Finance and Budget rejected the proposal by the opposition to hold a control hearing of the Minister for Economic Development on the decision of Elektroprivreda to participate in recapitalisation of the First Bank. The decision was adopted by a majority vote of MPs of the ruling Democratic Party of Socialists and Social-Democratic Party.

Is Montenegro today a Private State or not can be easily determined by anybody who understands the simple mathematics of a permanently loss-making state monopoly company giving 8.5 million to the First Bank, and the equally transparent 40 million loan to the same bank by the Government.

Energy Regulation Agency accepted the request of Elektroprivreda to raise the price of electricity by 10%, based on a misleading and insufficiently established overview of the facts and misshapen application of the material law. Three Montenegrin citizens have since filed legal suit to the Administrative Court demanding to declare this decision void.

And the Government will subsidise individual citizens' bills on means tested basis.

All according to the laws and European standards on our road to Europe.

*The author is the president of the Board of Directors of the Institute Alternative (IA)*

## GODFATHERS AND FRIENDS



The *European pulse* announces a part of totally 74 shareholders of First bank, based on The Share Pledge Agreement signed by the Government and aforementioned bank on 17 December 2008.

On the basis of this agreement, the *European pulse* had insight into, Cabinet of Milo Đukanović issued a

loan to First bank in the amount of 44 million EUR. Apart from members of Đukanović family, large number of people who have godfather or friendly relations with the family have shares in this bank. Among the shareholders are also the companies behind which are people who are allegedly close to the authorities.

According to Share Pledge Agreement the biggest shareholders of this bank are Aco Đukanović (brother of Milo Đukanović) having 170.073 shares, with nominal value of a share 127,82 EUR, who is pledging 160.377 shares. Then, there is state-owned power utility Elektroprivreda (66.758 shares), company CAPITAL INVEST, where Prime Minister Đukanović has a partial ownership (10.466 shares), "Lovćen" insurance (10.918 shares), P&G Agency DOO Podgorica (8.131 shares) whose owner is Prime minister's godfather Vuk Rajković, who also has personal shares (3.234 shares). Then there are: Maprenat DOO Tivat (6.895 shares) whose owner is businessman from Tivat Rado Arsić, who also has personal shares (1.860 shares), Saša Aćimić from Podgorica (1.772 shares). "Kovinić company" from Tivat (1.760 shares), Global deal – Podgorica (6.878 shares), Monte adria broker diler – Podgorica (6.083 shares), Branko Ćupić with residence in Budva (5.042 shares), Izomont dv – Podgorica (4.809 shares), Moninvest DOO – Budva (4.675 shares) where until recently Vice president of DPS Svetozar Marović had a partial ownership, Stadion DOO Podgorica (4.234 shares). Fjord AD – Kotor owned by Veselin Barović (3.952 shares). Petričević Jelica from Podgorica (3.919 shares), Comersa DOO – Podgorica (2.749 shares), Vojin Žugić who also has partial ownership in DOO Stadion (2.640 shares), Zoran Lalić from Budva (2.547 shares), Milan Ivanović (2.042 shares), Ana Kolarević Milo Đukanović's sister (1.921 shares), PM Investment from Podgorica (1.876 shares), Tabacco shop – Podgorica (1.610 shares), Dragan Bećirović who is close Đukanović's friend (1.520 shares), Sofico DOO – Rožaje (1.136 shares), Ranko Milović from Nikšića who was the Ambassador of Montenegro to Slovenia (1.005 shares), Radenko Stijepović from Podgorica (916 shares).

Also, shares in "Prva banka" have Local Assembly Nikšić (761 Local Assembly Nikšić), then former Advisor of the President of the Republic and godfather of Prime minister Đukanović Goran Rakočević and Radmila Vojvodić, wife of Minister of Culture, Media and Sport and Đukanović's close associate, Goran Vuletić former Director of DPS and one of the closest associates of Aco Đukanović, "EUROFOND" "Kia montenegro" DOO – Podgorica, "Javorak" DOO – Nikšić. Below 100 shares have Bojša Šotra, "MI-RAI" DOO – Nikšić.

Shareholder have been represented by Irena Čanović, who is a shareholder of "Prva banka" and a daughter of the Minister of Economic Development, while on behalf of the Government the Agreement was signed by Minister of Finance Igor Lukšić.



# Spirits have a soul too

by Brano Mandić

It is very good that Paris happened, as well as the rolled slip of papyrus which shot through the Arc of Triumph at the speed of light, and which we call application. Not only is it good for ordinary citizens, but we also saw the Prime Minister smiling.

The child from Krypton is in good mood on the photos from Paris, cheerful, smiling, and proactive. While at home he slashes with his raised eyebrows, bangs his index finger at the pulpit and spits the pure flames of truth about one incompetent public which seeks anti-national elements in everything and under the banner of social critique tries to secretly lead us back into the arms of the state union. The undeserved supermen bestowed on us by the muse of history represents us abroad magnificently with a PR smile of a relieved leader of one happy Mediterranean province, com-

**Montenegrin citizens mostly celebrated the application after the ancient custom: with their families in front of the national public service TV programme and without great pomp, aware that this is only the first step towards membership**

plete with multi-confessional olives and all sorts of friendly agreements, especially political ones.

Montenegrin citizens mostly celebrated the application after the ancient custom: with their families in front of the national public service TV programme and without great pomp, aware that this is only the first step towards membership. Minister Roćen – proud owner of a library card, couldn't care less... the Paris reception was only for the highest invitees and **Roćen** remained with the native citizens to exchange impressions from the planet of the pale-face Europeans who welcomed us like first cousins, equal and deserving companions.

Carla's Nicolas, skilfully right



before the expiry of the French presidency hands the hot potato over to our Czech European friends. The Czechs, our old tourists, will have to

go on with the bore...

We submitted the application, got the weight off our chests and can now turn back to domestic issues. While

**In my house in Bar when I turn on the heating the power goes down and the TV switches off. Simply, there's no power transformer and that makes me a little frustrated on the road to Europe**

we're waiting we can notice that the Montenegrin opposition is falling apart and choking in debts. The way it looks right now, our democratically elected government will be all the more democratic by spring, and virtually without a challenger. DPS works like a clockwork – and a digital one, artfully concealing its chips, batteries, and the holy secret of the temporal continuum.

On the other side, the two strongest opposition parties decided to pay homage to those old clocks and machines which never hid their springs and coils and in the midst of pre-electoral holidays decided to turn inside out in front of the hungry eyes of journalists.

An average voter (and we're all average once we enter the voting booth) has the right to choose between a political Ferrari, which can always be excused for running over people on

the pro-European highway, and two or three trailers which found the start line an excellent opportunity to raise their bonnets and let out the prophetic smoke of their busted carburettors.

Thus we reach the situation where, for instance, a citizen whose rights have been wronged tries to ask for legal advice and political support from somebody in the opposition.

Knock, knock. We're sorry, we're making an inventory here, got no time for everyday trifles until we get the new statute and organise our elections where somebody from the Movement for Changes will finally have a chance to win. The situation is no different with the Serbian list, which is in the midst of historical step-by-step negotiations with Kadić's 1000 voters party... As a rule, political parties reorganise whenever the coffers are empty. It is no secret that the opposition run up a huge debt before the presidential elections ("the loans they supposedly took with the intention of returning them in due time", c.f. M.Đ.)

I can already see the armies of analysts this spring explaining to us how the Democratic Party of Socialists (DPS) is an invincible and "omnipotent" (!) power and how dangerous that is for a young democracy. There will also be sharp commentaries, articles that change nothing and mean little to **Marijana Mugoša** whose boss forbade her to enter the municipal building because she's blind and needs to have to her dog with her. And violation of human rights is a contagious disease. If you beat up one journalist today you give a green light to somebody else to beat up another one tomorrow. Dogcatcher manners of the first man of the Capital City only show that everything is allowed when you get a country on half a percent.

To be opposition in Montenegro has become a mannerism, and thus

**Whoever wants to don a Santa costume and promise better future should go on. Happy New Years and Christmas holidays. Wrap ourselves into the best of all worlds**

anything said against the government comes to be regarded with a shade of suspicion. Without personal, lived traumas, people speak about the nineties as if they read about them in pulp fiction. Hordes of independent intellectuals mouthing to the same pretentious bullshit, impotent to offer a different tone that would not be a counterpart to the DPS rhetoric but something beautifully indifferent and different, coming from elsewhere, from



the sources unknown to Machiavelli. And there's no shortage of issues coming up so hard that nobody can hear or recognise them any more, since everybody is talking in this same boring and miserable manner of half-baked revolutionaries.

Your aunt from the province, let us paraphrase **Vladan Desnica**, will host you in her house full of spirits and peacefully snore in the next room all night long. Your aunt believes in spirits and sleeps like a baby. You are a European style intellectual and you can't close an eye although you know that spirits don't exist and that the

doors of the guest room are only creaking because of weevils, humidity or draught. If you're an independent Montenegrin tribune, you will probably try to convince your aunt on the day of the elections, citing Plato and Voltaire, that the spirits are only her atavistic drug which promises her an afterlife in the lack of any life to speak of on this Earth. Auntie will only give you a blank look, because she doesn't care about phrases, she doesn't care

about anything because she lives alone in an empty house.

Instead of telling people what they already know – that Mafia is running the country – it is maybe better to take you aunt for a few days to some spa, get her Internet, talk to her about FirnajZ, the ideal product for exterminating wood insects. All this takes iron nerves, discipline and field work with the voters and, most importantly, the selfless desire to help your mother's half-crazed sister. And there are no such qualities among the oppositional free riders who call themselves politicians, alert protectors of human rights etc.

The reform of critical thinking and practices in Montenegro, inauguration of some l'art pour l'art mockery is perhaps something that will make people less worried about changes and spirits. Just keep it low and don't tell the patient before the time is right. Montenegro's public is a sick man, full of inexplicable nightmares such as the belief that archbishop **Amfilohije** is a wise, god-fearing guy.

Finally, a colleague of mine tells me I have fallen pray to dark thoughts because of my personal inadequacies, blind to the real things that are just about to happen, bogged down by the Balkan yearning and obsolete leftist sorrows. Here, it's a compliment.

Those who are immune to frustrations can peacefully take out their Zen loans, parade with clear conscience, play tennis and ornament Podgorica for the New Year's. Whoever wants to don a Santa costume and promise better future should go on. Happy New Years and Christmas holidays. Wrap ourselves into the best of all worlds. If there's electricity, maybe we can even turn on some entertainment. In my house in Bar when I turn on the heating the power goes down and the TV switches off. Simply, there's no power transformer and that makes me a little frustrated on the road to Europe.

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



## PREPARATIONS FOR THE TREATY ESTABLISHING A TRANSPORT COMMUNITY BETWEEN EU AND THE COUNTRIES OF WESTER BALKANS

# Montenegro wants Corridor 11

## EVROPSKI REPORTER

At the meeting with the European Commission in Brussels in late November Montenegrin representatives proposed to include support for Corridor 11, i.e. "blue highways" in the regional programme for maritime transport.

Those were the demands of Montenegro's Ministry of Transport at the second round of negotiations between European Commission and the countries of Western Balkans for the establishment of a transport community.

The goal of the treaty will be to create a Transport Community in road, railway and maritime transport, which would include the question of internal waters and development of a transportation network.

"The goal of the Transport Community is joint development of an infrastructural network in the

region that will connect the region to the trans-European transportation network", said in the interview for *European Reporter* **Srdan Vukčević**, deputy minister of transport and telecommunications.

Beyond that, the Transport Community envisages a number of "soft" measures regarding market liberalisation, removing all barriers at the borders, common transportation management systems and harmonised legislation in the area of transport, especially with regard to the European law.

The Treaty will define the basic outline of the transportation network for the territory of Western Balkans to be developed in line with recommendations for the development of Trans-European Transportation Network.

The basic blueprint will be extended on the basis of five-year



working plans, focusing on the projects of regional importance.

Vukčević said Montenegro proposed support for the Corridor 11 (blue highways) in the section on maritime transport of the regional framework which envisages financial assistance to non-EU members for the projects involving maritime transport and intermodality.

"We have dubbed the so-called "Corridor 11" "Blue Highways", because it exists on the sea, not on land. The important element is the short-range sea transport, that focuses on sea transport between two points on the land, instead of road transport, which is also of special importance for intermodality – transport of containers and combined transport. It is very important to connect the harbours which serve as nodes for this kind of transport to the railway lines. The

## TRUCK DRIVERS BY EUROPEAN MEASURE

In the area of road transport, the Treaty on the Establishment of Transport Community will be focusing especially on the implementation of directives regarding safety and social and environmental conditions. Provisions for full liberalisation of road transport will be defined based on the questionnaire the European Commission administered to all partners involved.

"This means providing technical standards for greater road safety. Social conditions related primarily to the working time of the drivers of trucks and busses, as well as introduction of specialised equipment for measuring their working time. Environmental conditions include standards for homologisation of vehicles, exhaust fumes, impact on the environment, migration, and protected areas", Vukčević explains.

He added that the Treaty will not deal with air transport, which has already been covered for the last two years by the agreement "Common skies", defining standards and technical possibilities in this area.

harbour of Bar already has such advantages and has been singled out in the report of the High Group for Transport as a harbour that is of special relevance for the development of Corridor 11", Vukčević said.

In the area of maritime transport, European Commission will focus on concessions in harbours, emphasising three principles: transparency in the issuing of concessions, duration of concessions up to 30 years to ensure return on investments and possibility of the extension of concessions after expiration of the original contract, which ought to be conducted in the same manner as when issuing new concessions.

The Treaty will also introduce requirements to comply to the technical standards set forth in the *Acquis Communautaire*, ISPS code, harbour capacities for the disposal of waste waters, public control of harbours and administration of the national flags.

"We are also expecting new directives in the area of the national control of harbours in line with European standards, i.e. on the inspection of ships. There is also the control of the national flag: every state issues certain certificates to the ships which enable them to participate in the international traffic, or authorises another agency to issue these certificates. ISPS codes are security standards that apply to harbours and ships in international



navigation, and are in force since 2005 as a part of the SOLAS convention (Safety of Life at Seas)", Vukčević explains.

As regards railways, for the time being the EU and the partner states from the Western Balkans will commit themselves to free access to infrastructure for the transport of passengers and cargo.

There is also the obligation of mutual recognition of security licences and certificates. The Annex of the Treaty envisages the so called "step-by-step" approach, providing phases and transition periods for the implementation of each commitment.

"This means that in railways, for

example, everybody has equal access to the infrastructure, and each partner country recognises others' certificates and licences for transport safety. By recognising certificates and licences of other countries we allow their companies to appear on our roads and transportation lines and use all available services", Vukčević said.

Representatives of EC Directorate General for energy and transport will visit all Western Balkans partner states in February and March 2009, and organise a multilateral meeting in April in Brussels.

The final version of the treaty between European Commission and West Balkan countries is expected to be finalised by the middle of next year and signed by the end of 2009.

Montenegrin transportation ministry said the pace of implementation and transition periods are yet to be defined and will be included as annexes to the Treaty.

## EASIER ACCESS TO EU FUNDS

Asked what this Treaty will concretely bring to Montenegro, Vukčević said it will facilitate access to EU funds, provide the countries with a better credit rating and stronger guidelines in defining national priorities for infrastructural projects.

"The agreement will eliminate daily politics from the decision on infrastructure priorities. It also helps us fulfil the requirements from the Stabilisation and Association Agreement", Vukčević said.

Dejan PERUNIČIĆ



## WHY DO I WANT TO BE A CITIZEN OF EUROPEAN UNION

# Towards democratic society

Why do all these citizens of Montenegro really want to be citizens of Euro-



by Sergej Sekulović, MSc

pean Union is indeed a very interesting question.

All relevant public opinion polls unambiguously point at the existence of a large majority of citizens who are in favour of accession to this European family of nations. We are perhaps lucky that the first broad national consensus should be forged on this particular issue. What gives some reason for concern, however, is the way in which the social awareness about European Union is being formed – is the desire of membership the outcome of extensive, critical and objective consideration and weighing of options or is it a consequence of social inertia directed from "above".

I have no desire to elaborate on this issue further here. But the very thought of the possibility of the latter option makes the debate a little more bitter.

If you ask – why? – the answer will depend on the category of citizens who respond, focusing on that segment of integrations which seems closest and most important to them. A student will probably tell you about easier access to student mobility and scientific exchange and cooperation, an entrepreneur who makes competitive products will expound on the

access to a bigger market etc. I will try to combine this partial with a more general approach, which are naturally intertwined.

I want to be a citizen of European Union because it enables me to live in a society with stable and democratic institutions.

Our social system is rife with institutions that are either too weak or too rigid over a longer time period, and the desire to have stable democratic institutions is a priority. Membership in the European Union guarantees such institutions, as their promotion and maintenance is the sine qua non condition of accession. I am perfectly aware that one can also reproach European Union for certain institutional instability and the repeated resurgence of the issue of its democratic capacity. European Union is a sui generis socio-political entity and certain turbulences in its constitutional and administrative composition are inevitable. On the other hand, the constitutive parts of the EU,

i.e. member states, have to be democratically consolidated and capable of the basic legal framework for dealing with social contradictions. This set of values is what Montenegro should be aiming for and I as its citizen have a real interest in living and working in such an environment.

I want to be a citizen of Europe because I believe in the supreme value of a multi-ethnic, tolerant society based on the rule of law.

European continent has long been, among other, the centre of conflict, lack of tolerance towards various social groups and the hotbed of most militant ideas in the human history. Europe today is a place where different peoples, religions, cultural patterns come together and coexist in mutual peace and tolerance. The system is held together by a set of legal rules which are the result of most progressive legal thinking. To be a citizen of a system like that is a privilege.

I can list many other reasons that make me choose for European Union as the best possible model in which my civic and political existence can be fully realised. I chose these two for the reasons of brevity and clarity, and because they are the basis for a dozen of other equally convincing reasons. At the same time, they allow me to present my own desires as general interests, because I truly believe that this is what being a citizen of Europe eventually comes down to.

*The author is the head of the Civic Office of the Movement for Changes (PzP). He attended VII generation of the European Integrations School*



## For the first time fewer employed

The number of employed in the Eurozone fell in the third quarter of 2008 by 0.1% or 80 000 citizens in comparison to the second quarter, Eurostat announced. This is the first such fall recorded on the quarterly basis since the Eurostat began to follow this indicator in 1995.

Thus, the number of people employed in the Eurozone in the third quarter was 146.1 million. Employment decreased most drastically in Spain, by 0.8%, followed by Portugal (0.7%) and Finland (0.2%). The

number of people employed in the biggest European economy – Germany – grew by 0.3%, while it remained unchanged in the second and third biggest economies of the Eurozone, France and Italy.

In the EU of 27 members employment remained unchanged in comparison to the second quarter, at 226.7 million.

The highest employment growth in the EU members in the third quarter was in Slovakia (3.2%) and the biggest drop in Lithuania (1%).

## Maximum 48 hours

European Parliament rejected the proposal on working time which envisaged that, under certain conditions, the number of working hours over a week can exceed 48 hours.

That was the end of a compromise solution which took very long to hammer out among the member states, and which stipulated that a work week could last up to 60 or 65 hours if the workers agree to

it. MEPs also supported the proposal to eliminate the clauses from the 1993 working time directive which allow exceptions from the 48 hours working time.

Great Britain and another 14 members use these exceptions to extend the working week well beyond 48 hours.

EUROCHAMBERS – association of European chambers of industry and economy, representing 19 million companies in Europe dubbed the decision of the European Parliament "tragic" for the business sector.

Now that the amendments to the directive on working time have been rejected the EU will again have to go through the process of "reconciliation" – new attempt at harmonising opinions between the member states and the European Parliament.



## Return one half billion euros

European Commission has asked several EU members to return a 528.5 million

euros that have been inadequately used for the purpose of agriculture.

"The money should be returned to the Community budget either because of inadequate control procedures or because they have not been used in accordance with EU regulations on agricultural expenditure", said the European Commission.

The member states are responsible for distribution and control, while the European Commission is in charge of monitoring and ensuring appropriate exploitation of EU funds.

Cyprus, Denmark, Estonia, Finland, Spain, France, UK, Greece, Ireland, Italy, Latvia, Netherlands, Portugal, Slovenia and Sweden will be asked to return the money. The biggest amount is requested from Italy, 105.5 million because of weak control in the production of olive oil and 57 million because it failed to meet the payment deadlines.

### Stop the smuggling of medicines

European customs have confiscated more than 34 million illegal medicines in the last two months as a part of the MEDIFAKE action, the first coordinated European action directed against this form of crime.

Among the confiscated medicines most belong to the categories of antibiotics, medicines against cancer, malaria, cholesterol, pain-killers and Viagra. The greatest amount of medicines was confiscated in Belgium, France, Great Britain and Spain.

## Switzerland in the Schengen

On midnight 18 December 2008 Switzerland abolished border control on its land crossings, becoming a member of the Schengen zone, but the airport control will remain until 29 March 2009.

Schengen zone currently consists of 25 countries. Switzerland decided to join Schengen agreement in a referendum in 2005.

Since this country is neither a member of EU nor of any other customs union its border police will continue to control freight vehicles.



## Museum of European history

European Parliament decided to establish a "House of European History" – a museum that will be opened in Brussels and will exhibit the history of Europe and of the building of EU, announced president of the EP Hans-Gert Poettering.

The museum will be constructed on 5000 to 6000 square meters and is to be opened by 2014.

## Extended Nature 2000

European area of the protected flora and fauna has been extended through the extension of the European network of protected natural areas Nature 2000 with addition of another 769 areas.

Most of the new areas are in the new member states, Romania and Bulgaria, which have only just joined Nature 2000, as well as in Poland.

Nature 2000 is a network of protected natural areas whose goal is to ensure long-term survival of the most valuable European eco-systems and endangered species. At the moment it comprises of 25 000 areas on around 700 000 square meters in 27 EU member states.



## CZECH EU PRESIDENCY WILL FACE COMPLEX EUROPEAN AND DOMESTIC PROBLEMS

# They will need plenty of luck

Under the motto 'A Europe without barriers', the Czech Republic will assume the six-month rotating presidency of the EU from France on 1 January 2009. Wish them luck, for the country will have to deal with complex European and domestic problems, including the ratification of the Lisbon Treaty by the Czech parliament.

According to the Czech Prime Minister **Mirek Topolánek** the Czech presidency priorities can be summed up as "the 3 E's": Economy, energy and external relations.

In a message on the presidency website, Topolánek explains that the Czechs' economic ambitions are "to increase Europe's competitiveness and to enhance consumer confidence, but also the confidence of small and medium-sized enterprises in the market economy". His government also intends "to deal with the financial crisis in an effective and reasonable way, to carry on liberal reforms of the budget and EU policies, particularly the Common Agricultural Policy, and, last but not least, to promote employment," writes Topolánek.

On separate occasions, Czech high representatives have also highlighted Prague's objective of pushing for full removal of all labour market barriers faced by citizens of the new EU countries.

Czech Republic will also insist on a European strategy for better energy security, and more generally, a common energy policy.

"We believe it crucial for the future and security of the European Union to have a common energy policy and to act as one when negotiating energy supplies," Topolánek states.

On external relations, the presi-



Mirek Topolánek

dency's main emphasis will be on a "new beginning" for EU-US relations, with US President-elect **Barack Obama** assuming office on 20 January 2009. The Czech Republic wants to build on its excellent relations with the US and lead the Union into a new era of a more balanced and multilateral approach to global challenges.

Significantly, Topolánek did not name enlargement as a '4th E'. But he has said that a "priority of the same importance for us is the openness and further enlargement of the EU". The Czech Republic is pushing for significant advances in the Western Balkan countries' bid to join the Union, especially regarding Croatia. At the same time, Prague is aware of the more cautious approach preferred by older EU members. An EU-Balkans summit should take place

under the Czech EU Presidency, Topolánek announced.

Topolánek also skipped the mention of EU-Russia relations while outlining his government's presidency priorities. The Czech Republic is among those EU countries with a tendency to see this summer's Georgia crisis primarily as an example of Russian aggression. Nor is it alone: Poland, Estonia, Lithuania, Latvia, Sweden and the UK share similar opinions.

A more detailed programme for the Czech EU Presidency is yet to emerge. A 32-page document, entitled 'Sectoral priorities of the Czech EU Presidency', has been published on the government's website, but thus far it is only available in Czech. It has not yet been translated into English or indeed any other language, despite the fact that the document bears the date 'July 2008'.

Despite the situation, EU officials are wary of over-dramatising the situation at this stage. It is assumed that the Czech Republic, as any other country, will not "write its programme on a blank page," instead taking stock of the presidency trio's programme (France, the Czech Republic and Sweden).

**Alexandr Vondra**, Czech vice-premier and minister for European affairs, recently said the final programme would be published in December. "A Czech minister will come to Brussels with the programme before the end of December," a

## ANNIVERSARY OF THE GREAT ENLARGEMENT

It is expected that the celebration of the fifth anniversary of the 2004 EU "great" enlargement on 1 May 2009 will be a highlight of the Czech Presidency. Prague, and indeed the EU as a whole, would like to convey the message that the latest round of EU enlargement, sometimes also referred to as the "reunification of Europe", was a major and historic success.

Council official confirmed.

EU diplomatic sources said that before presenting their priorities, Czech decision-makers would need to know the outcome of negotiations on the climate change package.

Perhaps more importantly, Prague could be waiting to hear proposals by Irish Taoiseach **Brian Cowen** on how to proceed after the failed Irish Lisbon Treaty referendum.

The Czech Republic is actively involved in the 'EU trio' format, which aims to bring more coherence and longer-term planning to the EU policy agenda over an 18-month work programme. The first such programme was drawn up jointly by Germany, Portugal and Slovenia in 2006. The 18-month programme of the current 'trio' (France, Czech Republic, Sweden) runs until the end of December 2009 when the next group which includes Spain, Belgium and Hungary will take over.

There is some concern that the Czech government has been weakened by recent local elections, which changed the balance in the Czech Senate. Topolánek's government, which comprises his Civic Democratic Party, the Christian Democrats and the Greens, does not have a majority in Parliament and relies on a dozen independent MPs. Last



October, Topolánek's administration survived its fourth vote of no confidence since taking office in 2007, with 96 MPs voting against the government and 97 in favour. 101 votes are needed to topple the government.

Some analysts predict that the country may face early elections, to be held together with European elections in June 2009. The Czech government will be having a very hard time if it finds itself forced to lead the EU and fight for its own political future at the same time.

A German conservative MEP **Ingo Friedrich** even came up with the idea that Prague and Stockholm should swap their presidencies, a suggestion which was immediately rejected by both sides. Friedrich, however, said that he "honestly doubts that the Czechs will be able to solve their problems in the coming weeks".

The very active French Presidency is also suspected of trying to play a leading role even after 1 January 2009. Czech President **Václav Klaus** is among those who have accused France of planning to "siphon" the Czech EU Presidency in the first half of 2009. According to press reports, the French have already indicated that they expect to retain a leading role in some areas, at least in the recently established Mediterranean Union.

At a more official level, Sarkozy has stated that continuity will be necessary to deal with the Georgia crisis. France has put much effort into the aftermath of the war and it is widely believed that the EU's momentum would be lost if Paris were not to remain a major player in the region after January 2009.

V.Š.-V.Ž

## IS PRAGUE HONEST?

Although the ratification of the Lisbon Treaty has been the top priority and a centerpiece of the programme jointly drawn up by France, Czech Republic and Sweden, some European leaders doubt the determination of the Czech Republic to ratify the Lisbon Treaty. Czechs have postponed the ratification of this document several times – it was first sent for consideration to the Constitutional Court, to discuss the need of calling a referendum. In the meantime, the court cleared the way for its ratification by the parliament, but deputies' final vote has since been postponed until 2009. In order to be approved, the Lisbon Treaty requires a three-fifths majority in both chambers of Czech parliament.

The trouble with the Lisbon Treaty is not the only cause for acrimony in Brussels when it comes to the Czech Republic. Its president **Václav Klaus** is the highest ranking eurosceptic in the EU, and his recent visit to Ireland and meetings with prominent Irish 'No to Lisbon' campaigner **Declan Ganley** and other Eurosceptics from across Europe did nothing to strengthen confidence in the Czechs' suitability and capacity to lead the Union.



## THE ASSESSMENT OF PROGRESS OF WESTERN BALKAN COUNTRIES IN FULFILLING THE REQUIREMENTS OF VISA ROADMAPS

# Macedonia closest to visa free travel

Of all West Balkan states Macedonia is the most advanced in fulfilling the requirements of the Roadmap for the liberalisation of visa regimes with European Union.

Serbia and Montenegro make up the second group and Albania and Bosnia and Herzegovina are in the third group.

These are the conclusions of the first assessment of progress made by West Balkan countries in fulfilling the requirements for liberalisation of the visa regimes, published by the well known European think tank European Stability Initiative (ESI).

ESI reminds that the European Commission presented the first results of its assessments to EU member states on 24 November.

The Commission's assessments are based on "readiness reports" that the Western Balkan countries submitted by September 2008.

On 15 to 17 pages, they examine the state of play with regard to each individual requirement listed in the visa roadmaps and to Schengen visa refusals and entry refusals. The Commission has already sent the assessments to the Western



Balkan governments.

The Commission continues to believe that it will be able to propose next year a lifting of the visa restrictions for the most advanced countries, in particular Macedonia, if the pace of reform is maintained.<sup>3</sup>

However, some EU member states consider 2009 too early, notably Germany, Spain and Belgium, states ESI's publication.

The European Commission also invited the member states to nominate experts that will participate in field missions that are planned to all the Western Balkan countries to obtain and verify information on the ground, and in seminars with government officials from the Western Balkans. All the field missions and seminars should be concluded by the end of March 2009, after which the Commission will report back to the EU member states' officials.



Excerpts from the draft assessments by the European Commission of the implementation of the visa liberalisation roadmaps by Western Balkan countries

	ALBANIA	BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA	MACEDONIA	MONTENEGRO	SERBIA
<b>BLOCK 1:</b> DOCUMENT SECURITY	"Some progress" "The introduction of biometric passports is foreseen in January 2009."	"Some progress" "The introduction of biometric passports is foreseen in January 2010."	"Very good progress" "Since April 2007, 321,831 travel documents corresponding to the new standards have been issued."	"Very good progress" "Between 5 May and 8 October 2008, 55,339 passports were issued under the new system."	"Progress" "So far more than 50,000 biometric travel documents have been personalised."
<b>BLOCK 2:</b> ILLEGAL MIGRATION INCL. READMISSION	"Some progress"	"Good progress"	"Good progress"	"Good progress"	"Some progress"
<b>BLOCK 3:</b> PUBLIC ORDER AND SECURITY	"Considerable additional progress is still required across all policy areas in this block."	"Considerable additional progress is still required in most policy areas of this block."	"Substantial progress has been achieved in the policy areas covered under block 3."	"Insufficient inter-agency cooperation and operational and investigative capacity remain obstacles to effective law enforcement."	"Additional efforts are needed to comply with the requirements of the roadmap and to make further progress in these fields."
<b>BLOCK 4:</b> EXTERNAL RELATIONS AND FUNDAMENTAL RIGHTS	"The legal framework... appears to be in place. ... Problems still remain."	"Adequate legal framework... When it comes to implementation, some problems are being reported."	"Adequate legal framework... The country should make further efforts to ensure continued progress..."	"Efforts are needed to further develop the legislation... Considerable efforts are still needed to ensure its proper functioning."	"Legal framework... broadly in place... Some efforts for further progress are still needed as regards the implementation of the provisions."

#### **BLOCK 1:** **DOCUMENT SECURITY**

Machine-readable biometric passports; secure personalisation and distribution process; training programmes for officials; cooperation with Interpol Lost/Stolen Passports Database; secure breeder documents and ID cards.

#### **BLOCK 2:** **ILLEGAL MIGRATION INCLUDING READMISSION**

Efficient border management incl. appropriate legal framework; training programmes for officials; cooperation with FRONTEX; legislation on carriers' responsibility;

appropriate asylum legislation; monitoring of migration flows; returnee reintegration strategy; measures against illegal migration; law on third-country nationals; expulsion of illegal third-country nationals.

#### **BLOCK 3:** **PUBLIC ORDER AND SECURITY**

Fight against organised crime, human trafficking, money laundering, financing of terrorism and terrorism; anti-drug policy; fight against corruption; judicial cooperation in criminal matters at international, EU and regional levels; cooperation with Eurojust; efficient law enforcement; cooperation between national law

enforcement bodies and with judicial authorities; law enforcement cooperation at regional and EU levels; fight against cross-border crime; cooperation with Europol; personal data protection.

#### **BLOCK 4:** **EXTERNAL RELATIONS AND FUNDAMENTAL RIGHTS**

Freedom of movement for all citizens; access to travel and ID documents for all citizens, IDPs and refugees; anti-discrimination legislation; specified conditions for acquiring citizenship; protection of minorities.

Prepared by: V.Š.-V.Ž.



## IN THE EYES OF THE PUBLIC

# Stable three quarters for EU

Montenegro's membership in the EU is supported by 73.9% of Montenegrin citizens, shows the research conducted by Centre for Democracy and Human Rights (CEDEM) in the last week of November on a sample of 1013 respondents from 9 municipalities.

11.5% of the citizens are against Montenegro's membership in the EU, while 14.6% has no particular opinion on this question.

The results of the latest opinion poll by CEDEM show that in the last two years around three quarters of the Montenegrin citizens declare themselves in favour



of EU membership. In February 2007 the number of supporters stood at 74%, a few months later it grew to 78.3% and in June 2008 decreased to its lowest, but still rather high mark in the last few

years – 70.8%.

The research also reveals that Montenegrins believe EU should be the main anchor of Montenegrin foreign policy.

As many as 23.6% of the respondents said Montenegro should extensively rely on the EU in its foreign policy, and 21.7% believe that Montenegro should rely "entirely" on the EU. Only 10.9% think that Montenegro should not rely

at all on the EU in its foreign policy decisions.

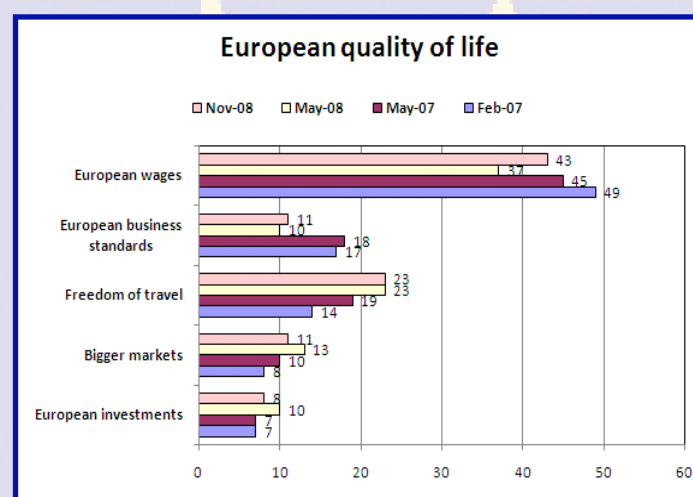
After EU, the most popular candidate for a foreign policy anchor is Russia, followed by USA and Serbia.

# No impact in the near future

58% of the respondents agree with the statement that "EU association is important for Montenegro's foreign relations, but won't have any impact on the life of its citizens in the near future", shows the opinion poll conducted by the US National Democratic Institute (NDI).

Asked what they see as the "European" living standards, 43% of the citizens cited European wages, while 23% see the freedom to travel as the key ingredient of European quality of life.

Some 11% cited European markets and business culture as the syn-



onym of European living standards, while 8% lists investments.

A majority (56%) of respondents believes relations with EU are the most important for Montenegro. This

holds across most national categories, with 66% Montenegrins, 71% Muslims and 79% Bosniaks identifying with this attitude, finds NDI.

However, one third of the respondents younger than 40 singled out USA as the most important Partner for Montenegro, while nearly one half (45%) of the respondents who identify themselves as Serbs chose

Russia.

NDI's office in Podgorica conducted the research in early November on a sample of 1250 respondents in 16 municipalities.

# Learning democracy



**XII** generation of School of Democracy, organised by Centre for Civic Education (CCE) with support of Friedrich Ebert Foundation (FES), has successfully completed their work at the ceremony of delivering of certificates on Saturday 27th of December 2008.

Participants of the School have received certificates and have been addressed by ph. D. **Radovan Radonjić**, manager of the School, **Ivana Račić**, Programme co-ordinator in regional office of FES and **Daliborka Uljarević**, Executive director of CCE.

Aim of the school was to contribute to raising of general level of democratic culture in Montenegro through education and informing participants on democracy, its values and ways for its accomplishment. During the School, 24 participants have had an opportunity, within 4 modules, to expand, update and improve their knowledge in the fields of democracy and human rights, economy, civil society, political

systems, government, electoral systems, media responsibility, conflicts, authorities, gender equality, marketing, leadership, syndicates etc. Lecturers have been professors from Montenegrin Universities, as well as professors from universities from the region, judges, civil sector and political activists, MPs, journalists and lawyers. As well as previous generations, XII generation has also focused on the most topical issue, in this case global economic crisis and its influence on democratic processes. Besides already mentioned, special panel has been dedicated to participation of the youth in the politics, and participants have had an opportunity to listen to the representatives of the youth of Democratic Party of Socialists, Movement for Changes and Socialists Peoples Party.

The most dedicated participants have been awarded at the closing ceremony.

Next generation of the School will start with work in February 2009.

NON – GOVERNMENTAL  
ORGANISATIONS  
IN EUROPEAN UNION



## INTERNATIONAL FEDERATION OF JOURNALISTS (IFJ)

IFJ is the world's largest organisation of journalists. Established in 1926, today the Federation represents around 600.000 members in more than 100 countries.

The IFJ promotes international action to defend press freedom and promotes social justice through strong, free, effective and independent trade unions of journalists.

The association does not support any particular political organisation, but promotes independently and impartially the principles of the protection of human rights in general, protection of the professional rights of journalists and supports democracy and political, ideational and cultural pluralism.

One of IFJ's primary goals is to oppose discrimination of all kinds and condemns the use of media as propaganda tool or to promote intolerance and conflict.

The federation believes in freedom of political and cultural expression and defends trade union and other rights of association aimed at the preservation and enhancement of human rights, primarily the right to the freedom of speech and expression of opinion.

The IFJ is the organisation that speaks for journalists within the United Nations system and within the international trade union movement.

The IFJ also tries to support journalists and their unions financially. For that purpose, it established an International Safety Fund to provide humanitarian aid for journalists whose human and professional rights are in danger.

IFJ policy is decided by the Congress which meets every three years and work is carried out by the Secretariat based in Brussels under the direction of an elected Executive Committee.

The IFJ often organises campaigns, seminars and trainings designed to raise awareness and capacities of journalists and their associations with regard to human and professional rights accessible to them, and the related protection mechanisms. All projects are carried out by a special wing of the IFJ which is in charge of rising funding and other resources aimed at the implementation of activities set forth in the working programmes defined by the Congress.

For more information please visit:  
[www.ifj.org](http://www.ifj.org)

Prepared by: **Petar ĐUKANOVIĆ**



## Culture of resistance does not reside in Montenegro?

Center for Civic Education (CCE), with support of Friedrich Ebert Foundation (FES), on 26<sup>th</sup> of December 2008 has organised a panel to the topic "Year 1968. – 40 years later: and where is Montenegro?" in Multimedia room of Human Resource Management Authority.

Guests/panelists at the panel have been **Dusan Lekić**, journalist and diplomat, **Baša Brković**, writer and editor in Daily Vijesti PhD Filip Kovačević, professor at the University of Montenegro and **Miloš Novović**, Executive Director of Reform Youth Initiative. **Daliborka Uljarević**, Executive director of CCE was a moderator at the panel.

Across the Europe in 2008 there were discussions on four decades since the protests which marked and changed one era. Two revolutionary springs (Rupchek): Parisian and Prague have left different heritages in Europe, which is still today divided on different basis. "Revolutionary lyricism" which characterized one and "post-revolutionary skepticism" (Kundera) which characterized second political discourse in sixty-eight turmoils in these "two poles of Europe", has as a result not such a divergent heritages, as one might conclude on the first glance. On the Parisian side, influence of sometimes naïve "new left", critics of the consumers' society, political ecology, feminism, multiculturalism, dispute of the traditional model of family and authoritative approach in education, and on the Prague side: "clinical death of Marxism in Europe" (Kolakovski), but also persistence regarding



restoration of civil society ("Return to Europe" twenty years later), European culture and culture of human rights as a contrast to the totalitarian regime which "normalised" Czech reality in following years.

"June stirs" on Belgrade university, somewhere on the half way between Paris and Prague, have been the closest point to these historic events for Montenegro.

Year 1968 never happened in Montenegro. Instead of it, "exported anti-bureaucratic revolution" took place, with bitter results which can still be seen today. Stay on the side and not meddle in your own life – is it possible that the entire Montenegrin wisdom could be concisely put in this sentence? What did year 1968 mean for Europe, and what for Montenegro? And if not then, what now?

These questions were discussed using different approaches by panelists and participants of this very well attended event, which have also analysed from different aspects both complexity of these events and Montenegrin every day life.



Conference organised by ECAS, in cooperation with Centre for Civic Education from Montenegro, Macedonian Centre for International Relations from Macedonia, European Movement from Albania, Vesta from B&H and Civil Pact for SEE from Serbia, titled "Is it really important? Monitoring of implementation of the agreement on easing the visa regime" took place in Brussels on 10<sup>th</sup> of December 2008.

These agreements signed by EU and Western Balkans countries (Albania, Bosnia

## Still hard to get visa

and Herzegovina, Macedonia, Montenegro and Serbia) came into force on 1<sup>st</sup> of January 2008. Their goal was to ease the contacts between citizens of the region and member states of EU, and especially to allow specific categories of population stay in Schengen area without unnecessary administrative procedures.

But, the monitoring conducted by consortium of NGOs from the region has shown that there are serious problems in the implementation of these agreements, and also that there are huge differences in how the certain states implement particular provisions of agreements.

Aim of the conference was to initiate the debate on findings of these researches and to present the full data acquired in field researches and open lines for complaints and comments of the citizens which have been opened for month. At the same time, possibilities for liberalisation of visa regime,

## Montenegro in EU

Delegation of thirteen members consisting from representatives of state administration and nongovernmental sector was on study visit to Brussels from 8<sup>th</sup> to 12<sup>th</sup> of December 2008 within the project "Communication of EU in Montenegro and Communication of Montenegro in EU" conducted by Centre for Civic Education with support of British Embassy in Montenegro through fund granted by Foreign Office.

During the five day long stay the delegation has visited the most important institutions of EU and it was introduced with manners of their functioning and activities regarding process of European integration of Western Balkan countries.

The delegation had a meeting with **Doris Pack** who is chairing the Delegation of EU Parliament for relations with South Eastern Europe countries and **Jelko Kacin**, European Parliament reporter for Serbia, and also reporter in shadow for Montenegro, in Committee for International Relations of the EP. Special meetings have been organised with officials of European Commission, Council of EU, Committee of the Regions, Economic and Social Council. The position of Montenegro in the process of European Integration and assistance programmes offered by EU to Western Balkans countries have been discussed during the meetings.

On the last day of the visit, the delegation had a meeting with representatives of Diplomat Independent organisation, as well as the Ambassador **Slavica Milačić**, Head of the Mission of Montenegro to the EU and her associates.

The project is one of necessary interventions in the process of quality capacity building of administration, and its added value can be seen in strengthening of co-operation between civil society and public servants which leads towards integration of the sectors functioning within Montenegro and full usage of existing capacities.

role of European Union and national governments of Western Balkans in this process have also been discussed.

The conferences was attended by representatives of permanent missions to the EU of member states, as well as of states of Western Balkan, officials of European Parliament and European Commission, and activists from NGO sectors from the region.

Conference was supported by King Baudouin Foundation.

## FOR THIS ISSUE WE RECOMMEND:



## NEW EUROPE COLLEGE FELLOWSHIPS

(the academic year of 2009–10)

New Europe College – Institute for Advanced Study in Bucharest, Romania – announces the competition for the 2009–10 academic year fellowships.

The program targets young Romanian and international researchers/academics working in the field of humanities and social studies. Applicants must be doctoral students, or hold a Ph.D. title.

Duration of the Fellowship: a) a full academic year (10 months, October through July) or (only for the international Fellows) b) a one-term fellowship (October through February, or March through July).

Location: New Europe College in Bucharest, Romania.

The Fellowship consists of a monthly stipend of 600 Euro (tax free), accommodation, international transportation to and from the home country of the Fellows at the beginning and the end

of the Fellowship, as well as for season holidays. The Fellows who stay for the whole academic year are offered a one-month research trip abroad to an institution of their choice (2,600 Euro for transportation, accommodation, and per diem).

The Fellows are expected to work on their own projects and take part in the scientific events organized by the New Europe College. At the end of their Fellowship, each Fellow is expected to hand in a research paper comprising the results of his/her work over the duration of the Fellowship. The papers will be included in a NEC publication.

Working languages: English, French, and German. A good command of English is desirable.

The deadline (the arrival date, not the mailing date) for the international candidates to submit the application is January 31, 2009. The application form, the instructions for the application and additional information on the New Europe College can be downloaded

from: [www.nec.ro](http://www.nec.ro)

**Contact person:** Irina Vainovski-Mihai, Program Coordinator, Tel. (+4) 021 307 9910, Fax: (+4) 021 327 0774, E-mail: [imihai@nec.ro](mailto:imihai@nec.ro)

## CENTRAL EUROPEAN UNIVERSITY SUMMER SCHOOL, BUDAPEST, 2009

Central European University's summer school held between June 8–July 31, 2009 ([www.sun.ceu.hu/courses](http://www.sun.ceu.hu/courses)) is an international program in English for graduate students, junior or post-doctoral researchers, faculty and professionals in the social sciences and humanities. It draws its student body of around 500 participants annually from more than 60 countries and its faculty from over 30 countries.

In 2009 the summer school offers 21 high-level, research-oriented, interdisciplinary academic courses as well as workshops on policy issues for professional development, taught by internationally renowned scholars and policy experts (including CEU faculty). Application from all over the world is encouraged. Financial aid is available. More information about the courses and the application process are available at [www.sun.ceu.hu/apply](http://www.sun.ceu.hu/apply) and at the relevant course web sites.

The general application deadline is February 16, 2009 (unless specified otherwise on the course web site). Contact: CEU Summer University, 1051 Budapest, Naidor utca 9, Hungary, <http://www.sun.ceu.hu>, e-mail: [summeru@ceu.hu](mailto:summeru@ceu.hu), tel: 36 1 327 3811, fax: 36 1 327 3124

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