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PROXIMITY

Proximity is a relative notion. The same thing may be close for some, distant for others.

For the taste of most citizens of EU the Western Balkans drew a tad too close, while on this side we should realise how far we are still from European values.

Recently the Czech Foreign Affairs Minister **Karel Schwarzenberg** said the Council of Ministers of EU was "nearing consensus" on the issue of asking the European Commission to create a Questionnaire for Montenegro.

"Nearing consensus" means that at least one EU member state doesn't support Montenegro's application. Serbia's road to EU has been obstructed for years by a single member state – the Netherlands, which is why Belgrade is always close, but never close enough to catching up with Macedonia, Montenegro and Albania.

Expectations that our application will land on the table of the Council of Ministers already in March or a little later should thus be met with moderate optimism.

It is a fact that during January and February four EU member states refused Montenegro's bid. The key reason was probably that the authorities in Germany, Netherlands, Belgium and Spain are fearing the public reaction to any sign of further EU enlargement and pursuing their own interests, unrelated and unknown to us.

On the other hand, they can always boast loudly that in fact they are opposing any further advances by Montenegro since its authorities are not working hard enough on eradicating crime and corruption.

What is worrying in the whole application story is the prospect of Montenegro being rooted to the spot (close to or far away from EU) for entire 12 months should the Council of Ministers refuse to ask the Commission to submit the Questionnaire in the next two months.

Then comes June with the elections for the European Parliament, reconstituting the Commission, summer holidays...

The Questionnaire could arrive only in the end of the year, although we submitted the application on 15 December last year.

And that's far.

V.Ž.

Netherlands ratified the SAA (29 January) – The Dutch Parliament has ratified the Stabilisation and Association Agreement (SAA) between Montenegro and EU. The Netherlands is the thirteenth EU member to have ratified Montenegro's SAA.

Poland gives a green light to SAA (6 February) – Poland ratified the Stabilisation and Association Agreement between Montenegro and EU.

Scanning the Roadmap (9 February) – European Commission experts visited Podgorica and examined the situation with regard to the implementation of requirements of the Roadmap for visa liberalisation regarding personal documents. On 22 February another group of experts should visit Podgorica with the task of studying the final two blocks of the Roadmap – public security and basic rights.

Twinning project unveiled (12 February) – A Twinning project on legal harmonisation of Montenegro's administration and institutions with EU standards was presented in Podgorica. The project, worth 1.1 million euros, is financed by EU. In the course of 21 months some 50 experts from Slovenia will be transferring their knowledge to the employees of the Secretariat for European Integrations, Secretariat for Legislation, Parliament and ministries. The leader of the project on behalf of the Slovenian government, **Andrej Engelman** said that twinning is a "unified system" beginning with in the ministry with an employee drafting a law and ending in the parliament. "This whole system ought to work in the same tune, according to the same laws".

Emphasis on administrative capacities (18 February) – The temporary EC Committee and representatives of Montenegro met in the context of the Enhanced Permanent Dialogue on transportation, energy, environment and regional policy. The official announcement stated that the meeting was focused on legal harmonisation and development of administrative capacities in these areas.

An obstacle to application (19 February) – Germany, Netherlands, Belgium and Spain vetoed the scheduling of discussion on Montenegro's membership application on the agenda of the Council of Ministers. Most other member states believe this is a "technical, not political" issue, and that the Council ought to simply order the Commission to create a Questionnaire for Montenegro, like it was the case with all other countries before. However, Germany is opposing the move, insisting that Montenegro did not make enough progress in the key reform areas and fearing that another move of Podgorica towards integration could sprout a wave of applications from the Western Balkans. Netherlands and Belgium believe that Montenegro did not do enough in fighting corruption, and The Hague does not want risk being accused for double standards because of its unswerving stance towards Serbia's integration process.

There's still hope (23 February) – EU is close to a consensus to give EC a mandate to evaluate Montenegro's readiness to become a candidate, said **Karel Schwarzenberg**, foreign affairs minister of the Czech Republic after the meeting of the Council of Ministers in Brussels. Schwarzenberg, whose country will be presiding over the EU until June said he did not rule out the option that the Council of Ministers would adopt positive decision already at the next meeting, on 16 March.



Karel Schwarzenberg

A VIEW FROM EU

Don't look too far ahead



Between 1995 and 2007 the EU has almost doubled its membership, from 15 to 27 members,



by Eberhard Rhein

accepting more new member states than ever before within a very short time span.

Unfortunately, this rapid expansion has not been preceded by the necessary strengthening of its institutional functioning, in particular its decision making capacity. Since 2004, the EU has found it even more difficult and time-consuming to arrive at the necessary compromises between increasingly diverging interests of member states. The addition of 12 new has only superficially strengthened the EU. Every new member state, small or big, enhances EU diversity, which is an enrichment but also a burden.

Enlargement therefore has a price, which we have tended to ignore in the post – 1989 euphoria of European reunification. So far it has hardly led to the hoped for strengthening of the EU.

Still, the EU continues enlarging as if it had not learned much from the experience of the last two waves. It has offered the seven countries of the Western Balkan, two of which can hardly be considered full-fledged stable states, a "European perspective".

With Croatia, negotiations have been under way for three years, and there is hope they might be concluded by the end of 2009. EU has granted Macedonia a status of "candidate country". Montenegro has filed its formal request for membership in December 2008.

The way things stand right now,

however, the accession process of the Western Balkan countries is likely to drag until 2020 and even beyond. That should suit everybody. Both the EU and the Balkan countries will need a lot of time to fully prepare.

The EU will have to digest the Lisbon Treaty, which is a "sine qua non" for any additional membership.

And its success is by no means assured: what are all the new functions really supposed to be, like the "President of the European Council"? Will he have political authority or be no more than a Secretary General with a more pompous name? Will the "High Representative" be strong enough to shape an EU foreign policy that deserves this name, against opposition from big member states? Will the

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Council make it a habit of voting on all Commission proposals? Will the Commission be more effective in "leading" the EU, with its membership due to reach 34 after the completion of the Balkan enlargement?

Since 2005, the EU is also negotiating on Turkish accession. It does so without much zeal, as the uneven progress of the Turkish and Croatian negotiations shows. It has opened only half of the more than 30 chapters and provisionally closed one. Cypriot and French opposition have prevented negotiations from progressing faster.

Turkey would have to wait well after 2020, and possibly after another Treaty change, before it might eventually join.

Turkey is a "big fish" for the EU, in terms historical and cultural baggage. If it ever joins EU, it would be the biggest country population-wise and accordingly claim an adequate say and status.

Like some former communist member countries, Turkey lacks a tradition of freedom, democracy, political compromise and the rule of law. Its record of human rights is anything but convincing. The military continue to have bigger political role than in any EU country, despite many efforts to rein them in. Last not least, Turkish troops continue to illegally occupy northern Cyprus, which the EU considers its territory, though EU legislation does not apply there.

Similar considerations apply to Ukraine and the three Caucasus countries, whose relations with the EU are much weaker than Turkey's.

With all this in mind, the EU would be well advised to refrain from enlarging beyond the countries of the

Western Balkans and reaching eastward beyond the Bulgarian and Rumanian Black Sea beaches.

History shows again and again how armies and empires have perished due to over-expansion and weakening links between the Centre and the Periphery. The EU should draw the appropriate lessons. Its present size enables it to play a much bigger role in the world; provided it starts effectively bundling its forces. As long as member states are unwilling to strengthen the EU at the expense of their own powers, the "acquisition" of more territory is likely to weaken the EU, which cannot be in Europe's interest.

The author is a senior analyst in the European Policy Centre in Brussels and the former Director for the Mediterranean, Near and Middle East at the European Commission

HOW CLOSE IS MONTENEGRO TO THE WHITE SCHENGEN LIST

Custom officers with eyes wide open

Can you imagine yourself in a few months travelling to 22 European Union countries, Norway



by Danilo Mihajlović

and Iceland with only a passport in your pocket?

There is no guarantee that the citizens of Montenegro will soon be able to travel to the countries of the Schengen zone without visas, but it seems our country has already covered a good part of the Roadmap and that this may not be impossible after all.

Unofficial sources suggest that Montenegro could be put on a probationary white Schengen list by the second half of 2009 for a period of six months during which the European Commission would supervise the process.

According to the first reports of the European Commission, only Macedonia progressed further than Montenegro in the fulfilment of the requirements from the Roadmap, a document in which the EC stipulates all the steps to be taken by the West Balkans countries in order to achieve visa liberalisation.

"Whoever works the hardest will get there first", promised the former vice chairman of the European Commission **Franco Frattini** in the beginning of negotiations on the liberalisation of the visa regime, in February 2008.

The second, less favourable scenario will be that the visa requirement will be lifted for Montenegro in the second round, in early 2010, together with Serbia.

One should bear in mind that the process of visa liberalisation is a deeply political, and not only technical issue, as the EU officials would like to present it.

Technically speaking, the Commission registers the extent to which each of the countries fulfilled the requirements and proposes to the Council of Ministers of Justice and Home Affairs the countries that can be moved to the white Schengen list.

The Council adopts the decision unanimously, which means it is possible for any one of 27 EU members to veto placing Montenegro's on the white list.

On the other hand, the EC itself is not immune to politics. One should therefore not rule out the possibility of the EC turning a blind eye to some partial progress of Montenegro with regard to the Roadmap, in order to "compensate" for the blockade of its application for the candidate status.

Besides, the EU has no reason to



worry that some 100 000 citizens of Montenegro, who by the rough estimates of the authorities are in possession of either the old or the new passport will invade the European labour market. It is clear that Montenegro is currently in a very sensitive position and that both custom authority and other public organs responsible for border control must keep their eyes wide open.

Any larger illegal transport that happens to pass through the Montenegrin border and is caught in Italy or Croatia would draw us further from the white Schengen.

The Roadmap is divided into four areas – document security, illegal migration, including readmission, public order and security and foreign relations and basic rights.

There are no negotiations between the national governments and Brussels about the terms of this document. The Commission simply estimates whether the national authorities have fulfilled all the requirements.

The first two groups of EC experts evaluated the progress in the first two

VISA-FREE REGIME AS MANIPULATION

Representatives of the ruling coalition often speculated with the date of liberalisation of the visa regime. During the campaign for elections on 6 April 2008 the now President **Filip Vujanović** promised the citizens of Montenegro visa-free travel to the countries of European Union by the end of 2008, and just before the end of the same year Minister of Interior **Jusuf Kalamperović** suggested that the fateful day was just around the corner.

At the moment, representatives of the ruling coalition are curiously silent about progress towards the white Schengen list, although the upcoming parliamentary elections offer plenty of opportunity to collect another few political points with the same promise.



areas last year and, according to the unofficial sources, produced a rather positive report on Montenegro.

However, whoever went to get new documents could predict that the EC experts will have positive things to say about the first block of requirements. This is easily the only task that is being done practically impeccably by Montenegrin public administration, and the documents were made according to all standards that rule out any possibility of falsification.

By the end of October 2008 some 60 000 biometric documents were issued.

As for the second area, even before it got the Roadmap Montenegro signed readmission agreements with most EU members.

As few persons left its territory illegally during the 1990s to go to one of the EU countries the implementation of these agreements went more or less smoothly.

The biggest headache for Montenegrin authorities, as already noticed in the course of submission of the Roadmap, will be some of the parts of the third chapter, where the Commission will assess the progress in eradicating money laundering, crime and corruption, focusing on cross-border activities.

Recently two groups of experts from the European Commission visited

Montenegro in order to evaluate its progress in these key areas.

Their report will be ready in April, and will probably be decisive for the future of visa liberalisation between Montenegro and EU.

In the Roadmap, Brussels asked for efficient implementation of the action plan and strategy for the fight against corruption and organised crime (especially its cross-border aspects), and in this context emphasised the strengthening of law-enforcement bodies, both

European Commission is not immune to politics. One should therefore not rule out the possibility of the EC turning a blind eye to some partial progress of Montenegro with regard to the Roadmap, in order to compensate for the blockade of its application for candidate status

financially and in terms of personnel.

Montenegro also has to implement its national anti-trafficking strategy, adopt and ensure smooth implementation of legislation related to money laundering, with adequate monitoring of all financial transactions, including those related to real estate and inward investment, and strengthen the Directorate for the Prevention of Money Laundering.

In addition to this, the country should implement the national strategy and action plan for drug prevention, made available information on the amounts of confiscated drugs and per-

sons involved in these activities that are accessible at border crossings, further develop cooperation and information exchange with the relevant international bodies dealing with drug trafficking, adopt and implement legislation on the prevention and eradication of corruption in line with the Action plan for the fight against corruption, implement the relevant UN and CoE conventions as well as recommendations of GRECO and other international standards in above areas, as well as those regarding fight against terrorism.

Compared to the European Commission report on the progress of Montenegro, the commitments related to the adoption of *acquis communautaire* will not be an obstacle for Montenegro for reaching the white Schengen list.

According to this document that the European Commission is sure to use when deciding on Montenegro's preparedness, the problems are likely to arise when Brussels arrives at the word "implement" which is often mentioned in the Roadmap.

In some key areas, such as money laundering, corruption and crime, fight against terrorism, European Commission noted progress, but also the lack of will to implement the existing laws and mechanisms.

With regard to organised crime, EC reminds that all relevant action plans have been adopted, international cooperation improved, but that administrative and judicial capacities to deal with these issue "remain limited".

"A multi-institutional centre for the exchange of information between different institutions, in order to establish an integrated database is still lacking", reminds EC.

Although it was supposed to be adopted in 2008, there is still no sign of a strategy for the fight against terrorism, and the representatives of the Ministry of

Interior Affairs and Public Administration, Police Authority and Agency for National Security who are jointly responsible for it shift the blame from one to the other.

As for drugs, the Government still hasn't established a national office for drugs prevention, nor has it adopted a relevant strategy for dealing with this issue.

It has, however, compiled and delivered to the Commission information on the amount of confiscated narcotics and persons involved in drug smuggling available at the border crossings, as well as information on international cooperation in this field.

"Transit and smuggling of drugs, especially when conducted by organised crime, remains a reason for concern", warns the EC.

The Government reports submitted to the Commission last December emphasises that prosecution has been intensifying cooperation with EUROJUST, which is another obligation from the Roadmap. Basic court prosecutor from Kotor, **Boris Savić**, is the contact person for cooperation with this institution.

In its report to Brussels in late 2008 the Government states that much has been done about money laundering, but the European Commission warns that

Montenegro's efforts are still insufficient and must be improved.

"The legal framework must be completed with necessary secondary acts", said EC in the Progress Report.

In this document, dated November 2008, the EC deems the capacities of the police and prosecution for investigating cases of money laundering insufficient, and warns that few such cases have been submitted to the prosecutor by the police.

In the Progress Report the EC says that the government has adopted important international strategies related to the fight against corruption and augmented resources of the Anti-Corruption Agency. However, they insist that strong and independent monitoring and auditing bodies are still lacking that would evaluate statements on property and financing of political parties and monitor privatisation, public procurement and state budget.

Montenegro should have no problems with the fourth block of the Roadmap dealing with relations to the neighbours, but the part on basic rights and minorities may cause some concern.

The report to European Commission the Government reminds that in the course of last year it has adopted Strategy of minority policy for the period 2008–2018.

Representatives of the national councils of minorities have recently accused the government of violating Constitutional norms related to their representation in the Parliament. They warned that the upcoming parliamentary elections scheduled for 29 March will be unconstitutional if they take place according to the existing regulations.

The Government has still not adopted the law prohibiting discrimination, which is another obligation from the Roadmap.

Should the European Commission suggest lifting the visa requirement for Montenegro in the next two to three months, it will be one of the best things that happened to us in years. It will also mean that they're turning a blind eye.

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

UNPOPULAR MEASURES STILL UNIMPLEMENTED

According to the Roadmap, Podgorica is obliged to adopt and implement relevant legislation on confiscation of the property of criminals (including regulations on cross-border crime)

Montenegrin officials have repeatedly emphasised that such confiscation has been defined by the Criminal Codex.

There is no public information on whether the authorities have to date confiscated any luxury houses or automobiles of people who have been found to be on the other side of the law.

Based on what Montenegro achieved so far in implementing the requirements from the Roadmap the Commission will present its own evaluation, bearing in mind the inter-alia criteria – the percentage of visa applications refused and the percentage of refused entries to Montenegrin citizens on the common Schengen borders. There should be a diminishing tendency in the number of refused visa application. The indicative reference will be 3% of visa applications refused, with a maximum of 1 000 refused entries to the Schengen zone per year. Montenegro should also undertake the necessary measures to ensure efficient implementation of common objectives regarding prohibition of travel. As has been mentioned before, the Commission will use these indicators to suggest to the Council of EU to lift the visa requirement for Montenegrin citizens travelling to EU, by amending the Council Regulation 539/2001 and following the procedure from the EC2 Agreement for these matters. Upon the Commission's proposal, and after consulting the European Parliament, the Council will decide on the matter based on qualified majority vote. Such an amendment could soon encompass all bearers of travel documents that comply with the ICAO and EC requirements.

In its first report, in the block related to public order and security, EC warns against insufficient cooperation between the relevant institutions as well as the lack of investigative and operative capacities which represent a serious obstacle to efficient implementation of the laws.

"Further efforts are needed to develop legislative framework...Also, there should be greater efforts to ensure adequate functioning of the system", states the chapter on the free movement of citizens, as well as to guarantee access to ID and travel documents for all citizens, displaced persons and refugees, laws preventing discrimination and minority protection.

THE BLOCKADE OF MONTENEGRO'S APPLICATION IN THE COUNCIL OF EU
SPELLS TROUBLE FOR THE MONTENEGRIN GOVERNMENT

Battle on two fronts

For the next month, the Montenegrin Government will be fighting two battles simultaneously – at home



by Neđeljko Rudović

and in the EU. Afterwards, it can focus all of its efforts on the EU, with dubious chances to convince every EU member state to accept further processing of Montenegro's bid to become a candidate for EU membership.

And while it is currently facing the refusal of four EU members to accept application and forward it to the European Commission to create a Questionnaire, and lobbying Germany, Netherlands, Belgium and Spain to change their minds, at home the Government is trying to convince the public that there is no blockade. Those were the categorical words of the head of Montenegrin diplomacy **Milan Roćen** and the deputy head of the Government **Dr Gordana Đurović**, who maintained that everything was going as planned, but refrained from prognoses as to the exact date when Montenegro will get the green light to proceed. In expectance of the 29 March parliamentary elections, such moves on the part of the government representatives can be understood as a part of the campaign, intended to create the image of a Government that controls every lever of its European agenda.

On the other hand, the head of the Montenegro's Mission to Brussels **Slavica Milačić** practically confirms that the application is currently blocked.

"A number of countries believe that at the moment discussing Montenegro's application would be a political issue. So far, it was only a technical matter of the Council of EU asking the Commission to prepare the Questionnaire and give an opinion. Only after the EC produces a positive opinion the Council of EU would

have a substantial debate on whether the country is really ready to acquire candidate status", Said Milačić.

Given the current situation, it is disputable whether everything will go as usual, with the Council of EU asking the Commission for the Questionnaire within a few months after the submission of application.

It was already clear that the things may not be as smooth as that when, at the meeting of EU foreign affairs ministers on 27 January the Council refused the Czech presidency's proposal to put Montenegro's application on the agenda.

Most vociferous were the Germans, who suggested that this could also encourage Serbia and Albania to submit their own

EU countries, for all decisions in the Council of Foreign Affairs Ministers of EU are adopted unanimously.

France's position has changed strikingly in the last few months. Once the most reserved country in the matters regarding Montenegro, it has turned, according to unofficial sources, into an active advocate for processing Montenegro's application in the Council of Ministers.

The reasons for such a move on the part of Paris can again be found in the broader context – if it goes through Montenegro's application now, the EU will not see the applications of Albania and Serbia, expected some time in mid-2009 piling up on its table as well. If it waits to discuss all three applications at the same

The attempt of Đukanović's cabinet to "unfreeze" application is not likely to be successful if they continue wasting energy on persuading the domestic public that everything is all right. Instead, just like they did with Paris in December last year, they should now focus their efforts to convince Berlin, Hague, Brussels and Madrid

applications. They feared that this might strengthen the opposition vote to further enlargement in their national constituencies, and thus undermine the position of their own government. The situation is all the more precarious in Berlin in light of the upcoming September elections.

The next most committed opponent to placing Montenegro's application on the agenda of this meeting was the Netherlands. The Hague has already firmly opposed the signing of the Stabilisation and Association Agreement (SAA) between EU and Serbia, arguing that the most important reforms are still lacking, which is why Serbia has been unable to arrest **Ratko Mladić** and deliver him to the war crimes tribunal. They would not want to be accused for any double standards in the Western Balkans and thus they maintain the same unyielding stance towards Montenegro, judging that Podgorica did not do enough to combat crime and corruption.

Their position is supported by Spain and Belgium, and if Montenegro wants to get its application procedure moving, it will have to focus its efforts on these four

time, it may run a greater risk of negative responses across the European public to what they might perceive to be another wave of EU enlargement.

It seems that such "waves" of new members are not something the EU can digest any more. Ever since May 2004 when ten new members from East Central Europe joined its ranks, the EU has had to weather the internal difficulties. Angry that nobody asked them about the enlargement, the citizens of "old" EU vented their discontent at referendums on the internal transformation of EU (France, Netherlands 2005), feeling that their voice is not listened to properly. This at least a part of explanation for the failure of the first EU constitution.

The attempt of **Đukanović's** cabinet to "unfreeze" application is not likely to be successful if he continues wasting energy on trying to convince the domestic public that everything is all right. Instead, just like they did with Paris in December last year, they should now turn their efforts to convincing Berlin, Hague, Brussels and Madrid.

DR TANJA MIŠČEVIĆ, PROFESSOR AT THE FACULTY OF POLITICAL SCIENCE IN BELGRADE

We should not wait until EU solves its problems

Prof Dr Tanja Mišćević, former head of the Office of EU integration in the Government of Serbia and one of the most acclaimed experts on the European integration process in the Western Balkans said there was no reason to be put off by the delay of Montenegro's application.

"This is nothing unusual. I don't know many applications that were considered within a month or two after they were submitted, especially since Montenegro submitted its application just before the change of EU presidency. There is always disagreement among the members whether to begin the procedure or leave it for later", says Mišćević in the interview for the *European Pulse*.

According to her, the Czech presidency is willing to put the Montenegrin application on the



Tanja Mišćević

agenda of the Council of Ministers, and also to discuss speeding up the process of integration of the West

Balkan countries.

"Such decisions in the EU require a consensus between 27 member states. At the moment, there is no such consensus and no indication that it will be achieved soon, but I do not believe we should be put off by it. In my opinion, everything is going as usual at the moment. We will have to wait and see how it develops further", Mišćević said.

● **What consequences could the blockade of Montenegro's application have for Montenegro and for the Western Balkans?**

I would say that becoming a candidate country is the most important step for a country. This is the beginning of serious reforms,

CRISES HAVE MADE EU STRONGER

● When will EU turn to the Western Balkans again?

As soon as the Treaty of Lisbon is ratified. We will receive what they call the "renewed approval" that will set integrations into motion.

At least this was the practice throughout EU's history. Every crisis was followed by deeper and closer cooperation between the member states.

I expect this moment to come in the second half of this year. That would be the best case scenario. There is also the worst case scenario, which is that the Irish might say "no" again. I don't think this will be the case, however. Latest opinion polls show that a majority of Irish citizens will vote in favour of the Treaty.

● **Do you agree that the worst possible scenario for the Western Balkans would be to remain stuck between an EU which is tired of enlargements and the regional political elites which are not ready for profound reforms?**

This is indeed the biggest danger.

opening the questions that have remained close so far, this is when we reach the point of no return. For our region, every day, indeed every year, lost in this process is a problem.

● **Opposition in Montenegro believes that one of the reasons for blocking the application is that the government, ever since it submitted the application, did show a single sign of readiness to engage in key reforms. What is your opinion?**

I think there's a bit of everything to it.

The question of enlargement is at the moment not the most welcome one in the EU. There is still some fatigue left over from the previous enlargement and before the EU could recover it ran into a major financial crisis, and we still don't know whether the worst

is over.

There is a serious fear of unemployment in the EU, and it breeds opposition to the accession of new countries.



photo VIJESTI

We should not however, and here I mean the entire region, wait for the EU to get back on its feet.

A region or a country that aspires to become a part of the EU must understand that only by acting responsibly, i.e. by fulfilling its obligations it can become a serious partner for EU.

● **With the elections for the European Parliament coming up in June, in case the application is not considered by the Council of Ministers in the next two months, will Montenegro have to wait for the Swedish presidency?**

We will be running into a trap if we try to justify this with the elections and the global economic crisis. One should look at these things in technical terms.

In this phase of the accession the role of the European Parliament is perfectly marginal. Everything depends on the Council of Ministers and the European Commission.

● **But the elections for the European Parliament mean the new composition of the Commission?**

This will not prevent the Commission, in case it receives the request from the Council of Ministers, to start working on the Questionnaire for Montenegro.

The recomposition of the Commission will not take very long.

I repeat again, however, we just have to impose ourselves on EU's agenda.

V. ŽUGIĆ

THE YEAR OF VISA LIBERALISATION

● **Could a slowdown in EU integration of the Western Balkan be compensated by moving some of these countries to the white Schengen list even before they fulfil the requirements from the Roadmap?**

I don't think that is possible.

The question of moving to the white Schengen list is absolutely a technical question. You will get as much as you have earned.

● **Do you know whether the Commission has been satisfied with the progress of some of the West Balkan countries towards liberalisation of the visa regime?**

As far as I know, they are quite satisfied. Much has been done.

What is still left to evaluate is the implementation of the laws, many of which have been adopted precisely because of the white Schengen list, and to prove that institutions can perform well.

With the current trends in Macedonia, Serbia and Montenegro, I believe we have quite a good chance to achieve full or probationary liberalisation of the visa regime with EU.

I believe that this year will, first of all, bring visa-free travel to our citizens, and then we can talk about candidacies in the years to come.

From the Idea of Europe to a Constitution for Europe

In December 2001 in Laeken the Summit of the heads of states and governments of European Union, decided to establish a European



by Vladimir Pavićević

Convention as from the February 2002. The Convention consisted of 105 members and was chaired by the former French president **Valéry Giscard d'Estaing**. The mandate of the Convention was clear and narrowly defined: prepare the draft of a Constitution for EU that would replace numerous Treaties that have founded the norms and principles of EU's functioning.

The Convention was also responsible for regaining legitimacy for the overall process of European integrations. The text of the Constitutional Treaty was supposed to make EU more democratic, transparent and efficient. Establishment of the Convention was the most important element of institution building in the European Union since the first direct elections for the European Parliament in 1979 and the Maastricht Treaty in 1992.

Creation of the Convention – the Laeken Summit

In December 2001, towards the end of Belgian presidency over EU a regular summit of the heads of states and governments of EU members took place in Laeken, in the outskirts of Brussels. The most important outcome of the meeting was the adoption of the Declaration on the Future of European Union, which contained a discussion on challenges facing the EU both in relation to the outside world and in relation to its future

Although the leaders of the EU member states agreed on and signed the text of the Treaty Establishing a Constitution for Europe in October 2004 in Rome, this document did not replace the founding treaties that still regulate the functioning of EU

enlargement and internal institutional reform.

The Summit in Laeken was organised at the moment when numerous important changes were taking place both within EU and outside of its borders. One of the crucial results of the summit was that, for the first time, the EU spelled out clearly the

names of the ten countries that were to become its new members in May 2004, joining the family that had so far consisted only of the privileged few West European countries. Terrorist actions of 11 September 2001 imposed the imperative of a common immigration and asylum policy and directed EU's attention towards the issues of European security related to taking greater responsibility in securing peace and stability in the European backyards – both in the Balkans and in the Middle East.

A separate chapter of the Declaration was dedicated to the establishment of the European Convention and key actors to be involved in the debates on the future of EU. Declaration states that the reason for creating the Convention was the desire to establish a single body that would discuss all issues of importance for the development of EU and articulate possible responses to the current challenges.

The final outcome of the work of the Convention was to be a document containing interpretations of various ideas regarding the common future of European nations or a single harmonised opinion that would be adopted as a recommendation at the following inter-governmental conference of EU

Discussion about democracy in the EU sheds special light on the opportunities for increasing the democratic legitimacy of the existing institutions

member states, whose task would be to establish clear guidelines for further development of European Union. Among its tasks was also to prepare a document that could replace the founding treaties of EU and define the character of this community that for half a century has been in a state of perpetual change.

The structure of the Convention

European Council appointed the former French President Giscard d'Estaing the

The time d'Estaing spent at the helm of the French state (1974–1981) was a particularly fertile period in terms of strengthening the idea of closer integration of European countries, supported by an even stronger French–German alliance, which is often considered the engine of European integrations. Together with his close friend, German chancellor **Helmut Schmidt** (1972–1982), d'Estaing succeeded in promoting a number of important initiatives that furthered European unity.

The 1974 Summit in Paris, for instance, yielded the idea of regular meetings of the heads of states and governments of EU, and was later institutionalised as the European Council which today is one of the most important bodies in the EU, in charge of formulating general political guidelines for EU policies.

In the same year, the member states agreed to hold first direct popular elections for the European Parliament (the elections took place in 1979), and in 1978 d'Estaing and Schmidt formulated a joint proposal for the establishment of European Monetary Union (EMU). In the same period the second enlargement in the history of the Community took place, with Greece joining as its tenth

member.

The appointment of d'Estaing as the Chairman of the Convention embodied the desire of the European Council to entrust the making of the EU Constitution to someone whose political engagement contributed greatly to the integration of the Western part of the European continent and bringing the idea of a united Europe as a common interest of all states closer to the hearts of its citizens.

In addition to its Chairman and two Vice-Chairmen, the Convention was composed of:

- 15 representatives of the Heads of State or Government of the Member States (one from each Member State),
- 13 representatives of the Heads of State or Government of the candidate States (1 per candidate State),
- 30 representatives of the national parliaments of the Member States (two from each Member State),
- 26 representatives of the national parliaments of the candidate States (two from

- each candidate State),
- 16 members of the European Parliament,
- 2 representatives of the European Commission.

Work of the Convention

The work of the Convention on drafting EU constitution comprised three phases:

- **Identifying expectations** – consists of broad discussions on the expectations and needs of the Member States, their Governments and Parliaments, and those of European society. In addition to the institutions existing in the framework of EU member states and candidate countries, as well as EU institutions, this phase saw active involvement of numerous organisations whose task is to promote European values and create a European society. This phase ended at the Summit in Seville, on 21 June 2002.
- **Deliberation phase** – an attempt to compare various opinions put forward on European integrations, trying to make these diverse approaches more coherent and assessment of their implications and consequences for the common future of European peoples. This phase lasted from the meeting in Seville until the last plenary session of the Convention which took place in autumn 2002.
- **A proposing phase** – the participants in the work of the Convention tried to forge a consensus on the proposals to be submitted to the European Council for deliberation once the Convention has completed its work. This phase included analysis of cost and benefits of different formulae based on which the process of European integrations could be directed further, choosing the right one and formulating the proposal of the Constitution accordingly. The proposing phase was completed in the spring of 2003 at the summit of heads of states and governments of EU members in Thessaloniki.

Constitutional Treaty: What could have been different?

The decisions introduced in the Declaration during the Laeken summit of EU leaders were an attempt to simplify the legislative apparatus of the EU and bring it closer to the citizens, and to strike a harmonious balance between different visions of the future development of the Union. The Convention was supposed to, most importantly, distribute and define responsibilities clearly and try to answer as precisely as possible the question who does what?

This means, first of all, clearer division of competences between the EU and its member states, reorganising responsibilities in the domain of foreign and security policy, and introducing mechanism that would regulate the competition between the EU, states



and regions within the states regarding their respective roles in decision-making.

Parallel with this process the creators of the Constitution had to worry about simplifying the instruments the EU employs in the implementation of its policies and adopting legislative acts. This means clearer definitions of the basic categories used by the EU – regulations, directives and decisions, or, as the draft Constitution finally suggested, defining a new legal framework with new instruments.

The Laeken Declaration stressed the issues of democracy, transparency and efficiency of the entire process of European integrations, and found this was the biggest shortcoming of the EU, especially when bearing in mind the citizens' perceptions of it. Discussion about democracy in the EU shed

The European Constitution was supposed to create the framework within which belonging to different entities will be perfectly natural for all those who understand that living in Europe today means living in a politically and culturally vibrant and diverse environment

special light on the opportunities for increasing the democratic legitimacy of the existing institutions. The greatest criticism towards the Brussels administration was that they were too distant from the European citizens who did not have the slightest access to these bodies whose decisions directly affect their behaviour in many areas of life.

The draft of the Constitutional Treaty from 2003 envisaged abolition of the division of EU into three pillars, as was defined by the Maastricht Treaty and established European Union, instead of European Communities, as the relevant international and legal subject. This would have meant a significant step further in the deepening of the process of European integrations. In addition to these

changes, the Convention proposed establishment of the institution of President of the European Union, as well as Foreign Affairs Minister.

Although the leaders of the EU member states agreed on and signed the text of the Treaty Establishing a Constitution for Europe in October 2004 in Rome, this document did not replace the founding treaties that still regulate the functioning of EU. Changing the content of the founding treaties or adopting a new treaty requires ratification of the new document by the legislatures of each member state. In some countries, this act was preceded by a plebiscite on the issue, in order to secure the acquiescence of the citizens. After a majority of citizens of the Netherlands and France voted against the new treaty, the process of ratification was frozen and the EU continued to function based on the existing foundational treaties.

European identity

An EU constitution was also supposed to foster the development of European identity, which is a topic that inspired many scientific works at universities across the EU and the US.

A Constitution would facilitate citizens' perception that it is possible to relate to multiple identities at the same time. This means that if someone feels deep belonging to his or her region he or she can also at the same time identify with the whole nation. Whether the person identifies with one or the other will thus vary with circumstances on the circumstances.

As observed by **Thomas Risse**, individuals possess multiple identities. Inhabitants of the Westfalen region in Germany can at the same time feel that they belong to their city,

region or the state of which they are the citizens – in this case, Germany. Which identity will the person consider most important depends on the context. When a person from Westfalen travels to France he or she is most likely to feel German, whereas the prevailing identity on a trip to South America will probably be – European.

The European Constitution was supposed to create the framework within which belonging to different entities will be perfectly natural for all those who understand that living in Europe today means living in a politically and culturally vibrant and diverse environment.

The author is teaching at the Faculty of Political Sciences of the University of Belgrade

From application to goat cheese

by Brano Mandić

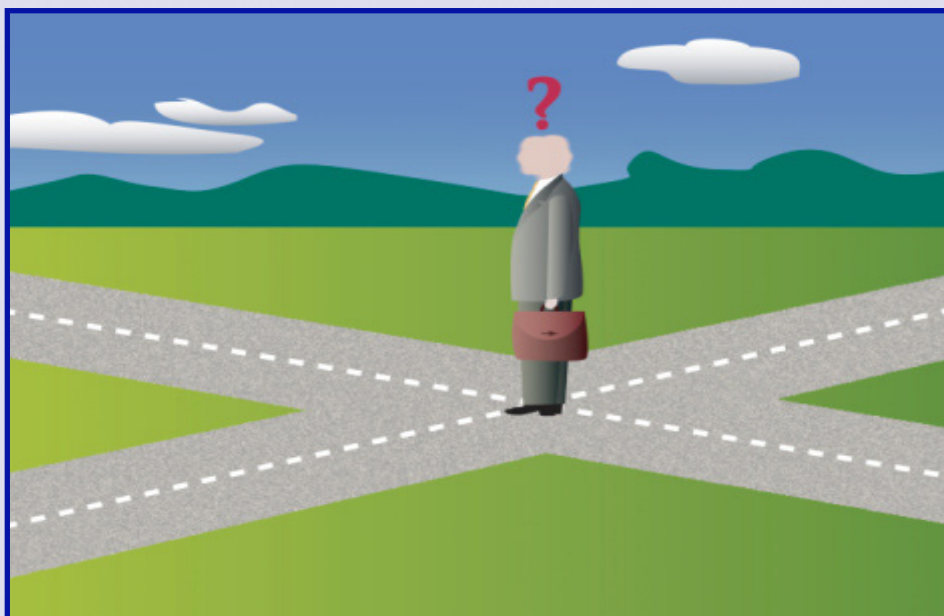
Crisis

Crisis is a joker card.

Nobody is yet taking it very seriously, which is why they will be trying hard to explain to us all the far-reaching horrors it will bring. One great thing is that at least we changed the keyword. Once upon a time integrations, recently application and nowadays – crisis.

That's the culprit and explanation why our application is not breaking into full gallop but rather proceeding at that subtle trot that some malicious souls would even call a blockade. Blockade or not, all of us who actually wanted to find out what happened with the historical piece of rolled parchment that we handed over to **Sarkozy Nicholas** suffered terribly in the last few days.

The whole of the state fleet grabbed the rows and set out on a cruise across all media branches to deny an announcement of one European news agency. The application



guarantees that the crisis will not affect the enlargement. It's the Czech Presidency, after all, and the Czechs are known to have a thing for our seaside. The situation is just getting too complicated since the game moved to the foreign terrain and our media don't have correspondents in Brussels.

It will be, by the way, a historical moment when the first Montenegrin

day. The opposition multiplies through simple division, without much eroticism. From the darkness of the nineties the forgotten faces of one time aces of idiotic ideologies are rejoining the ranks. The only question left is how much money will be spent on the financing of these farcical party splinters and reappearances of political Methuselahs that will together make this campaign unworthy of participation. Never was activism in Montenegro so meaningless, and the good old custom of abstinence more justified. In any case, the economic programmes and political visions are out. The winner is known in advance because one of the competitors decided to commit suicide before the fateful battle. On the other hand, the government is polishing up the make-up and cutting wages of the pudgy directors of state-owned companies, which is a pre-election sweetener like we've never seen before. There, some progress is obvious. Not too long ago it was enough to open a bridge somewhere, but this, after all is a systemic parade of the alleged concern for public resources. Or what remains of them.

Our European prime minister instead of taking a study trip to Berlin,

The whole of the state fleet is cruising very media branch to deny the announcement of one European news agency. The application is not blocked. That's a harsh word. This is simply not true, it just needs the agreement of all 27 countries. And all these countries, you're guessing, are in the midst of an economic crisis and couldn't care less for the enlargement

is not blocked. That's a harsh word. This is simply not true, it just needs the agreement of all 27 countries. And all these countries, you're guessing, are in the midst of an economic crisis and couldn't care less for the enlargement. Their politicians are interested in satisfying their voters so that they will extend their mandates in order for the politicians to extend their noble visions. Then comes the message from gentlemanly **Olli Rehn**, the man who never giggles schizophrenically like some of his other colleagues from Brussels. He

journalist lands in some tiny apartment in Brussels on the expense of the company and begins reporting from the spot. Until then, we will have to rely on dodgy European agencies which the state owned media can't trust, because they're financed from the budget. And the budget's on trial. Because of the crisis.

There's no crisis

For Montenegrin authorities, times have never been better.

They get a new opponent every

Paris or Oslo, decided for Qatar and the United Arab Emirates. Nobody has a clue how much money is involved or takes seriously the fact that the Arab business cut down its investments by 60%. Because of the crisis. For our prime minister, however, there is no crisis, and he's going to negotiate with sultans and sheiks.

Interestingly enough, the prime minister didn't bring the public service along to his haiduk gatherings. RTCG journalists have every right to feel bitter. They've travelled the whole of Europe, and just when they get a chance to visit the cradle of civilisations – zilch. Arabs don't like cameras, that's the only way I can solve this aporim.

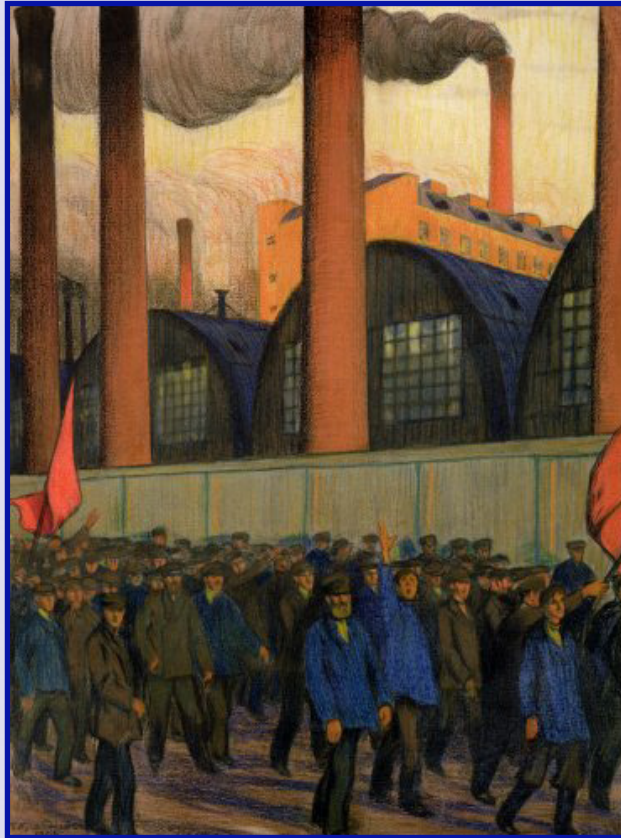
Workers

The workers striking in front of the Government are so boring. They come in small groups and cause no incidents and they bring idiotic slogans like "Bread, bread, master!" instead of coming in batches of a few thousand, each with an egg or a tomato to throw at the Government and then back home. Return the next day with water melons, and so on. Simply, they have to try out different combat tactics. Like this, without a strategy, without a cent in their pockets, it's awful to see these people nobody cares about. The least the opposition which now has better things to do. The government knows it well and isn't going to pick up the workers' trail. The trail could lead journalists to some interesting discoveries, but nobody has time for petty thefts in state-owned companies, that immortal genre.

Idlers

Loafers are set to profit these days, like they do ahead of every elections.

Publish analysis, expound on syntheses. Organise the propaganda underground in order to swell better



political results. Special analysts' units will hover on the relation bar-university-bar in order to explain to the plebs and the professors the winning political programme.

As we said before, there are no

For Montenegrin authorities, times have never been better. They get a new opponent every day. The opposition multiplies through simple division, so there's little eroticism to speak of

programmes, and no programmatic policy either. Everything comes down to a few formulas forged overnight by party ideologues. The market will only open up after the elections when perhaps we will even get some historical coalition for national reconciliation. All in all, the progress is obvious, this time all the masks are down. Nobody in this country has any clue about the most burning economic problems and we behave and observe the situation in KAP accordingly. Until yesterday, we had a flexible system. Now we are part of a big system and we'll have a recession. When your minister of finance tells you two such stories in two months, the public opinion must be so

underestimated and dead that the government deserves every admiration.

It's great to live in a country like that. Nobody is expected to ask any concrete questions or give concrete answers. Instead, we are dumbly following political shows where idiots ask other idiots questions. Only a firm system of accountability could make these into useful people, but as we don't have such a system neither in the media nor in the parties nor in our own workplaces, mostly... everybody is entitled to being the smartest. And if he or she has a bit of talent for marketing, there we have a weekend messiah or a fierce dissident.

That's why I like to dream of a house in a village, long beard, a herd of goats and a bunch of healthy children with rosy cheeks. If possible, the ministry of agriculture could easily arrange for one sharp pen and a great threat to the government to disappear forever at a minimum cost somewhere on the stretch Muževica–Gornja Trepča, on

the road to Trubjela, twenty kilometers or so from Nikšić and its mayor.

The answer to the question: would you prefer to have an influence on the Montenegrin public opinion or to produce goat cheese – is clear. The noble, neglected stone houses in Montenegro's neverlands are waiting for us and they're a prefect way to escape forever... But they're not the only way. You can also start working in politics. Carefully study the acquis communautaire or the proceedings of Montenegro's secret police.

The life is full of opportunities.

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

STATE OWNED ENTERPRISES IN MONTENEGRO – PUBLIC MONEY FOR PERSONAL AND PARTY NEEDS

Severance pays or party decorations



Thanks primarily to the writing of the daily *Vijesti*, the public learned about a series of facts related to the policy and practice of rewarding public



by Stevo Muk

officials from the ruling parties who happen to be directors, presidents and members of the boards of managers of public enterprises and enterprises in which the Government has majority ownership.

First the State Audit institutions found, in its "Audit Report on the Financial Statements of the Railways of Montenegro for 2007", that the Assembly of shareholders approved in 2005 payment of 18 gross wages to the president of the Board of Directors after the expiry of his or her term.

Railways of Montenegro is a company that at the end of 2007 fiscal year had 104.5 million euro losses. The management that came to the helm of the company two years ago "finished" its mandate in mid-summer last year, by distributing severance pays. President of the Board of Directors received 120 000 euros, and other members got 25 000 each. The next President of the Board of Directors after only half a year of working for the Railways got 180 000 euros, while the old-new members of the Board received each 45 000.

In another company controlled by the Government – Coal Mine "Pljevlja" – a former president of the Board of Directors and MP of the Democratic Party of Socialists (DPS) received around 58 000 euros, and another MP and port-parole of DPS 40 000.

In December 2008, net average wage in Montenegro was 443 euros. The basic, officially reported net salary of a minister in the Government of Montenegro is between 700 and 1 100 euros. President of Montenegro earns over 1000 euros per month. Severance pays for some 8 000 workers, so-called "victims of transition" in the period 2000–2008 distributed by the government in late 2008 and early 2009

amount to 1 926 euros per person.

Directors, presidents and members of the management boards (boards of directors) of public enterprises owned by the Republic of Montenegro are also entitled to numerous privileges – salaries, per diem travel expenses, covered expenses of their official mobile phones, use of the company vehicles (with covered gas expenses), severance pays, costs of representation (restaurants etc.), business credit cards with a certain limit and others. According to the publicly available information, salaries of the presidents and members of the boards of directors in public enterprises range from 800 to 3 000 euros. Salaries of the directors of public enterprises can be up to 4 000 euros. Nearly all members of the management of these companies are also members of the main boards of the ruling parties – DPS and SDP.

In spite of the leagues of experts available to it in the country, and even within the ruling parties, the Government insists on appointing appoint to the management of its

employment contract, is entitled to a severance pay from his or her current employer amounting to a minimum of six average wages in Montenegro".

Secretary general of the Association of Free Trade Unions **Srđa Keković** correctly observes that "the purpose of the severance pay is to provide the employee with some income in the period until he or she is able to secure another job. In other words, in order to be entitled to the severance pay the directors must first be declared redundant, i.e. his or her employment must be terminated". This is obviously not the case, and the motives for distributing severance pays are very different.

The intention of the Government and the ruling parties was, among other, to assist their loyal cadre in "improving" their living standards by allocating them to the leading positions in important public companies. MP **Džavid Šabović** (SDP) confirms this conclusion when he claims that "if MPs in the Parliament had decent wages, they would

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enterprises only a handful of the highest party officials, for several mandates on the same boards, and until recently even in several companies at the same time. After they complete one mandate in an enterprise they go to replace other members of the boards of another enterprise, which often operates in an entirely different branch of business.

What is really a "severance pay" and is it possible for someone to legally receive such a huge amount of money?

The labour code prescribes that "an employee that has been declared redundant and is not being transferred to other tasks with the same employer in line with his or her qualifications, full or part time; and is not being transferred to another employer in line with his or her qualifications, full or part time; and is not subject to further training or retraining for another job with the same or other employer or other measures in accordance with the collective agreement or the

not have to seek additional jobs". Minister of Interior and Public Administration **Jusuf Kalamperović** (member of SDP presidency) said for TV *Vijesti* that "while he was a member of the management of Montenegro Airlines, he gave one third of his salary to his party (SDP), since this was the internal party regulation". Director of DPS also admitted to the media that their cadres are obliged to transfer 10% of their incomes to the party coffers.

Once this topic raised some dust in the media, the Government of Montenegro first studied the "Information on severance pays in the Railways of Montenegro" and concluded that all members of the Board of Directors should return severance payments they received on the basis of the decision of the assembly of shareholders of this company. However, the Government also found that it had no means of forcing anybody to return the money, and while some yielded under

public pressure and returned the payments, others simply ignored Governments' recommendation and some even categorically refused to do so. Soon after, the Government also established a working group whose task was to reevaluate the policy of severance payments and compensations in public enterprises.

It is evident that the practice of exorbitantly high salaries and other compensations for directors and managers of state owned enterprises dates back for decades in Montenegro. In June 1996 the media reported that "in unregulated environments, like it is the case with Montenegro in the process of transformations, management positions in public companies become very attractive. One should not, however, disregard the material aspects. Membership in the management boards became, for those who can get hold of it, a very solid source of income. There is no law or regulation that would clearly prescribe compensation rates for the management, except for the general recommendation of the Government of Montenegro that such work should be remunerated".

Causes of such perennial tendencies lie in the lack of clear legal procedures and regulations that would limit the policy and practice of exorbitant incomes and in the lack of sanctions for such decisions; in the absence

What is really a "severance pay" and is it possible that someone can legally receive such an enormous amount of money?

of a responsible, rational and ethical handling of public resources, and in the lack of political accountability for such behavior.

The Government behaves as if it were a few isolated cases and recent practices and proclaims its intent to quickly eradicate it. Its report also deals with establishing more realistic maximum salaries for directors and management.

However, instead of commissions, working groups and reports, there are clear indications that this may be a matter for courts and that a series of criminal acts and violations of different laws have occurred. It should be the task of the Police Authority and State Prosecutor to establish whether the decisions and actions taken in these cases amount to criminal acts.

In addition to this, labour inspectors should conduct necessary investigations in order to establish whether such decisions on the part of the shareholders' assemblies, boards of managers and boards of directors have violated the Labour Code and undertake certain measures accordingly.

Overall, the state ought to take a more radical stance towards public enterprises and



enterprises where it has majority ownership. The new policy would include not only a new law on public enterprises but also a clear ethical codex for the government representatives in all bodies and organisations where they represent and guarantee implementation of the Government's policies.

As for the transparency of their work, annual reports of all economic subjects, their statutes and other general acts of the companies in majority state ownership ought to be available via Internet, as well as the policy of remunerating directors, members of

public interest is paramount. There may be other ways to professionalise management of public companies, either through amendments to the Law on the Prevention of Conflict of Interests, which unfortunately supports the option of an MP's membership in one board, or by adopting a moral codex for MPs or via government decree that would define the criteria for persons who may be appointed to the managing boards of public companies on behalf of the state.

State Audit Institution (SAI) should continue with regular audit of public companies and companies with majority or substantial ownership by the state. To date, such financial audits have been an exception. The companies should be obliged to provide a timely response to SAI's recommendations and make the reports on the implementation of these recommendations public.

Commission for the Conflict of Interests will have to answer why there is no information on income and property of a number of presidents or members of managing boards appointed by the Government of Montenegro on its website, and take adequate measures to ensure respect of the law.

Instead of commissions, working groups and reports, there are clear indications that this may be a matter for courts and that a series of criminal acts and violations of different laws have occurred. It should be the task of the Police Authority and State Prosecutor to establish whether the decisions and actions taken in these cases amount to criminal acts

the market competition.

Unfortunately, Montenegro's Constitution fails to define the office of an MP as professional employment and thus incompatible with other public jobs, i.e. positions, especially such demanding jobs as should be creating business policy for the companies where the state is a majority owner and pub-

Until then, the protection of public interest will remain obscured by party and personal interests, which is never a guarantee of societal progress, in spite of all attempts to find excuses.

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

WHY DO I WANT TO BE A CITIZEN OF EUROPEAN UNION

Civic and environmental



In order not to repeat the motives listed here by my esteemed colleagues in the previous issues,



by Aleksandar Perović

because I believe them to be entirely worthwhile, I will focus on one different reason for which I want to be a citizen of EU.

I say "one", which means that I, like so many of us from the civic sector who work hard and learn continuously, in spite of unstable and often insufficient income, chronic lack of any leisure time and sleep, lack of privacy and excess of responsibility, have certain broader expectations from EU accession.

I have also learned, however, and from personal experience, that great expectations can cause even greater disappointments, and such causal relation is not something that should be practiced often, for the sake of one's own health.

Now back to the topic I introduced.

The motive I want to talk about is the achievement of a high degree of civic, as well as environmental awareness in individuals.

Whether it's because of daily exposure at work, which with time, no matter how hard I try to avoid it, lowers my tolerance and produces temporary saturation, or because of my meetings with colleagues from the EU who bring the opportunity of cultural dialogue and advance of my own knowledge, I reel more and more

the need to run away from the "living truths" of corridor rumours, conspiracy theories and petty interests, the phenomena that in my mind are directly connected to the lack of civic courage and culture in the environment where I live and work.

I cannot but notice that as long as we're better acquainted with party programmes than with human rights, know more politicians than scientists and our families watch more of the TV Duga and live broadcasts of the Parliament sessions than National Geographic or Discovery, as long as garbage bags are treated as a potential precipitation and betting is the most widespread hobby, as long as drug addiction is on the rise and corruption is a widely accepted and acceptable phenomenon etc. we can hardly speak of civic awareness and expect it to flourish.

Distance from the goal, at least in my case, is correlated with the extent of desire, and since dealing with environmental issues taught me the spirit of a marathon runner, I will try to present a little more cheerfully all the reasons for which every one of us should think of activities that could positively influence the development

of civic and environmental awareness in our country.

If we're creative enough, maybe we can come up with a National Strategy of Development of Civic and Environmental Conscience for the period 2009–2020 (!?). The money will come, naturally, exclusively from foreign donations. An example that local intelligence can replace foreign consultants. And the capital would stay in Montenegro. Anything is possible.

Well, **Don Quixote** fought with the windmills, which are nowadays used to produce energy from renewable sources. Finally, perhaps the experiences of the ruling parties in "dealing" and "figuring out", which often smell of corruption, if a favourable opportunity arises, will serve to reverse the situation and accelerate the rest of the EU accession process, without extra payment to various lobbying firms.

Then we will certainly have plenty of reasons to develop a civic conscious.

In the EU, that's the cheaper option.

If we are aiming to accomplish an important goal, which civic awareness certainly is, visa liberalisation, opportunities for travel and hopefully the rise of living standards will not be the only benefits from joining the EU.

I hope that our European vision and Sisyphus' mission will one day be successfully accomplished and that the fulfilment of this dream will bring us all personal and professional satisfaction.

And sustainable development as a genuine societal choice.

The author is the director of civic association "OZON" from Nikšić. He attended VIII generation of European Integration School



Euronews the most popular

European TV channel Euronews, based in Lyon, France, is the most popular news channel in 17 EU countries as well as in Norway, Russia and Switzerland.

According to the European Media and Marketing Survey, in the last winter season Euronews' market share was 17.5%, or eight million viewers.

Next on the ranking of most popular news channels are CNN with 15.8%, SkyNews with 14.6% and BBC with 12.4%. The least watched are Al Jazeera with 2.4% and the French information channel France 24 – 2.2%.

While the share of European television networks remains unchanged, CNN's popularity dropped by 400 000 viewers, ranking Euronews ahead of the CNN for the first time in history.

Euronews was founded in 1993, and

it broadcasts news 24 hours a day in French, English, German, Spanish, Italian, Portuguese and Arabic.

Its program is currently available via cable and satellite to 200 million households in 130 states.



Europeans don't believe in God

The Czechs just lost the primacy they were very proud of in the past – of being the biggest atheists in Europe.

The latest Gallup poll shows that in Europe the biggest non-believers are Estonians. Among the nations where the religion holds an important place the champions are Romanians (78%) together with Italians, Portuguese and Greeks, closely followed by Poles where 72% of respondents stated religion was important in their

everyday life.

The Gallup pollsters asked citizens in 143 countries of the world to rank the importance of religious beliefs for their everyday life. Among the 10 countries where God is least important for people, 7 are European.

The biggest atheists are Estonians, where the importance of God and religion is recognised by only 14% of the respondents, followed by Swedes (17%), Danes (18%) and Czechs (21%).

Video games for creativity

Video games can be good for children and stimulate their creativity, concludes the report of the European Parliament



Committee for Single Market and Consumer Protection. The reports states that there is no direct connection between video games and violent behaviour, but admits that violence in some of the games may "stimulate" such behaviour in children.

The report did not impose any bans, but it called on the EU member states to strengthen the voluntary codex of rating the games according to their content (PEGI).

The total revenue of the video games industry last year was more than 7 billion euros. The report contradicts the common belief that video games are directed mainly at children, with statistics showing that the average wage of the players is 33.

Millions of workers to lose jobs

Up to 3.5 million EU citizens could lose their jobs in 2009 because of the economic downturn, warns European Commission.

The first EC monthly report on the labour market states that unemployment in EU-27 may jump from 7% in 2008 to almost 10% in late 2010.

The crisis will have the greatest impact on metalworking, automobile, financial and logistic sectors in which some 100 000 workers were already laid off only in the last quarter of 2008.

Turkey ready for EU by 2013

Turkey will be ready to join EU by 2013, announced Ali Babacan, Turkish foreign affairs minister at his recent visit to Riga.

"Turkey will be ready by 2013 but we still do not know whether the EU will be ready as well", Babacan said.

Ankara began its accession negotiations with EU in October 2005. So far it has opened ten chapters, and preliminarily closed one.

Since December 2006 eight of these chapters are suspended until Turkey modifies its position on Cyprus.

Slovenians don't want Croatia in the EU

If the citizens of Slovenia were to decide on Croatia's accession to EU in a referendum, the result would be defeating. According to the poll published by Delo from Ljubljana, 49.7% would vote against it.

Croatia's accession to EU would be supported by 32.7% of Slovenians.

Stop to piracy

Polish police announced it had cut the biggest chain for the production of pirated CDs and DVDs in the EU and closed down two factories in Warsaw and Rybnik (south of Poland) where the newest films were printed only a day after their European premiere.

The speaker of the Warsaw police Marin Szyndler said they had confiscated 54 000 fakes worth 5 million zloty, or more than a million euros.

SHOULD ENERGY PRICES BE REGULATED BY THE STATES OR LEFT TO THE MARKET

Electricity as a political issue

As electricity and gas markets slowly open up to competition, EU countries with fixed pricing policies are coming under growing pressure to let market forces decide prices. But opponents point to the potentially high social consequences of the measure.

By liberalising energy markets, EU countries have started to introduce policies aimed at encouraging new operators to enter the market and compete to offer gas and electricity to customers at the best price.

However, these markets remain far from perfect markets from economics textbooks, mainly because the liberalisation process is incomplete. Moreover, pricing remains a highly sensitive issue, as it affects both households and industrial consumers.

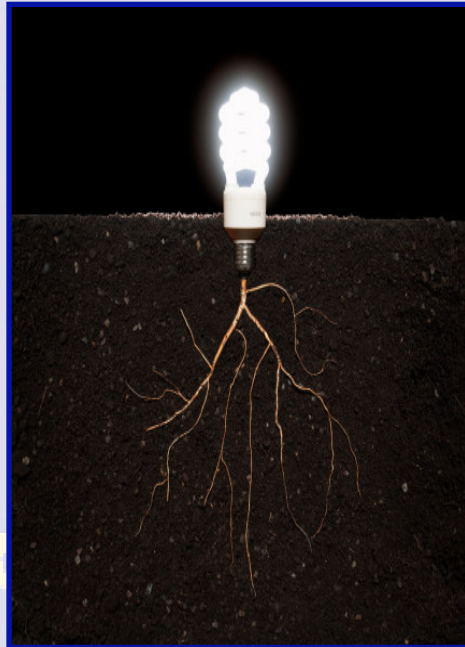
At the same time, climate change policy is crawling to the top of the EU agenda, making 'decarbonisation' of the energy sector a top political priority. Low-carbon technologies, however, come at a higher price than conventional fuels such as coal or gas.

Moreover, as energy consumers also happen to be citizens and voters, the issue of energy pricing is making a comeback at the forefront of the political stage.

As energy consumers are not only buyers but also citizens and voters, the issue of energy pricing is making a comeback at the forefront of the political stage. In many EU countries, the state retains control over electricity and gas prices. Currently 17 EU members are applying regulated tariffs for electricity and 9 are doing the same for gas

In many EU countries, the state retains control over electricity and gas prices charged to end-users. In most cases, these policies were decided upon to shield households and industries from violent price swings and keep energy affordable.

But with liberalisation, regulated



prices and market prices still co-exist in many countries, creating confusion for customers and uncertainty for businesses wishing to break into

Europeans spend an average of 5.7% of their household budgets on energy, with electricity accounting for the largest part of this expenditure

national energy markets.

According to one European Commission communication, price controls "may be needed to protect

consumers in certain specific circumstances, for instance in the transition period towards effective competition" on the liberalised gas and electricity markets. However, it adds that they "must be balanced so as not to prevent market opening, create discriminations among EU energy suppliers,

reinforce distortions of competition or restrict resale".

According to a survey by the European Group of Energy Regulators (ERGEG), which acts as an advisory body to the European Commission, 17 EU member states are currently applying regulated tariffs for electricity and nine are doing the same for gas. Depending on the countries, fixed prices may cover such things as transport and distribution cost, taxes and levies, and supply costs.

The regulated tariff does not necessarily apply to all customers. In the Netherlands and Denmark, for instance, the state regulation only covers households and small businesses, for example, leaving large industrial customers to buy their energy on the open market. However, according to the ERGEG study, where both systems co-exist, 80% of end-users chose the regulated price, making genuine com-

petition on retail markets an elusive objective for now.

Advocates of liberalisation argue that price setting is "one of the factors which hinder equal access of all suppliers to customers".

"New entrants who do not have power generation capacities or long term contracts buy energy on wholesale markets," ERGEG points out. As a consequence, "wholesale price levels must be lower" than the regulated price if they are to compete on the open market.

However, market players are often unable to make competitive offers. In France, Spain, and to a lesser extent Italy, "the regulated tariffs are (...) set at a level so low compared with market prices that they fully prevent mar-

ket opening," according to the Commission.

In the EU executive's view, electricity and gas prices in those countries "do not reflect costs," leading to "under-investment" in new supply capacity. Moreover, it says artificially low tariffs "impede real competition," effectively blocking new suppliers' access to the market.

EFET, the European Federation of Energy Traders, is unambiguous: "The regulated tariffs cannot anticipate volatile wholesale prices" and therefore tend to "eradicate the only natural link between the wholesale and retail markets".

On the other side are those who believe that a "free market for energy prices" is itself a nonsense, since the market itself is based on oligopolies. France offered distributing companies a scheme allowing those that opted for

into some national markets because industrial consumers tend to buy their electricity on a long-term, exclusive basis from their incumbent operator.

Supporters of long-term supply contracts argue that they fulfil a useful role. For large industrial consumers, they offer more predictable prices than the open electricity market. In turn, long-term contracts reduce uncertainty for energy firms, allowing them to plan ahead and propose set tariffs for their clients.

But, according to the Commission, long-term contracts essentially hamper competition and prevent necessary price signals from being passed on to consumers. When gas or electricity prices rise, consumers should be encouraged to reduce their consumption, the argument goes.

A number of antitrust investigations have also been launched in this

In the Netherlands and Denmark the state regulation only covers households and small businesses leaving large industrial customers to buy their energy on the open market

a market-based electricity tariff to switch back to the regulated tariff for a period of two years. This provision was introduced because some companies were nearing collapse in the course of the last rapid price hike of oil, experiencing price rises of up to 70% above the regulated tariff.

This is the main argument of those defending regulated tariffs – that they act as a cushion against wild price swings when energy markets are affected by external factors, such as political instability in oil-producing regions.

The French authorities have also pointed out that the price of electricity is naturally low in France because the costs of investment, notably in nuclear power stations, have already been covered.

In addition to state regulations, the long-term contracts passed between industrial consumers of electricity and large utility groups have increasingly attracted the attention of the European Commission. Electricity suppliers often have difficulty breaking

context.

However, even the most ardent supporters of liberalisation recognise that competition should be matched by measures to protect consumers.

In the UK, all the major energy utilities have introduced "social tariffs" to protect households from fuel poverty. A Winter Fuel Allowance scheme was also introduced by the

In the UK, all the major energy utilities have introduced "social tariffs" to protect households from fuel poverty

government for the most vulnerable sectors of the British population, such as the elderly. But these have been criticised for failing to keep up with rising energy bills.

Moreover, clients who were not on the social scheme were sometimes offered better deals when closing contracts over the Internet, causing the UK energy regulator to intervene and issue guidelines requiring energy companies to offer a social tariff which must equal the supplier's cheapest deal.



With households still nervous about changing electricity supplier, the European Commission has decided to focus another dimension of its policies on encouraging competition in the retail electricity sector.

In February 2009, it announced the launch of an investigation into the "malfunctioning" EU electricity market, following the publication of a survey which revealed that the energy sector was "underperforming" for consumers. The probe will focus on "unfair" conditions for electricity consumers regarding billing, comparability of offers and unreasonable commercial practices, after the Commission found that "less than two

thirds of consumers are satisfied with their energy supplier".

In spite of that, the report reveals that consumers are extremely unlikely to switch gas or electricity supplier, with just seven and eight percent respectively indicating their willingness to do so.

According to the European Commission, this is a clear indicator that Europeans have a "limited" awareness of their rights as consumers.

V.Š.-V.Ž.

WHAT IS WRITTEN IN THE GOVERNMENT'S BRIEF ON THE PREPARATIONS FOR ANSWERING THE QUESTIONNAIRE

Be precise, clear, quick

Compiling answers to the European Commission questions and translating them is a rather extensive and demanding task for Montenegro, and especially for its public administration. It requires timely and comprehensive preparations in order to ensure that the entire public administration can be ready for the Questionnaire, and supply precise, clear and concise answers within the due deadlines.

So goes the text of the Brief on the preparations for answering the Questionnaire adopted by the Government in late January upon the proposal of the Secretariat for European Integrations (SEI).

The document emphasises that the preparations should begin well in advance in order to ensure smooth division of tasks and coordination across the ministries, and stresses the amount of the translation needed as well as the importance of information technologies (IT) in the sense of centralising the collection and processing of information. Secretariat provided the ministries and public institutions with the examples of questions and answers from the Questionnaires of Macedonia and Croatia.

SEI is eager to stress the importance of "timely preparation" for the Questionnaire, pointing out that the answers will be considered "a decisive step in preparing for the negotiations for full membership in the EU".

10 000 PAGES OF ANSWERS, 160 000 EUROS FOR TRANSLATION

It is necessary to allocate the resources for translations and proofreading as soon as possible, since it is reasonable to expect around 10 000 pages of translation which, with the current costs of translation, will require some 160 000 euros, states the Government's document.

On SEI's proposal, the government also approved the establishment of a translation centre, judging that around 50 translators will be needed for the Questionnaire.

The government recently created a draft Handbook for translating legal and other documents related to European integrations in order to avoid the diversity of translations among the government institutions.

"Quality and correctness of the response will form the basis for all future negotiations and starting positions of both sides", warns SEI.

The Government suggested that employees in the ministries and bodies should already start reading the Croatian and Macedonian Questionnaire and preparing the answers.

"The Questionnaire is prepared separately for every country, but some of the questions are similar or the same for every candidate country and some are country-specific. Comparing the experiences so far, we can notice that with every wave of enlargement the Questionnaires became more extensive and more probing. Those for Macedonia and Croatia were by far more detailed

and demanding than those for the previous 12 applicants. If we compare the Questionnaires for Croatia and Macedonia, which were received more or less shortly one after the other, one can see that almost 90% of the questions were either the same or very similar. Bearing previous trends in mind, as well as the time passed since the latest Questionnaire, Montenegro can expect at least 80% of the questions to be very similar to those received by Croatia and Macedonia", Government said.

It is also emphasised that in the case of Croatia the translations of answers and annexes submitted in response to the Questionnaire amounted to 7 000 pages in Croatia, and as many as 14 000 pages in the case of Macedonia.

"In the preparation period, and especially later, in the period between receiving the Questionnaire until all answers are approved and adopted by the Government and submitted to EC, this issue ought to be treated as the key national priority", states the Brief.

Government already defined coordination structures that will be responsible for the preparation of answers to the Questionnaire. It is noted that part of the existing coordination arrangements for the European integrations process ought to be "updated, and linked to additional structures and teams with precisely defined responsibilities and competencies".

HIDING QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

The government "recommended" public institutions not to give access to the EC Questionnaire and their answers to the media.

"The Questionnaire is the property of EC, which does not welcome their appearance in public. We therefore recommend that this should be explained to the national public and that all questions and answers should be made available only once the process is completed, i.e. once the EC announces its opinion. Until that date, all information for the public should be focused on explaining the process, monitoring different phases of the process (translation of questions, number/percentage of completed answers per week, translation of answers), on the preparedness of public administration, available equipment and structural arrangements, general data (number of questions in total and per area, the basic drift of questions, without citing them) etc.", states the Brief.

THE STRUCTURE OF THE QUESTIONNAIRE AND COORDINATORS OF CHAPTERS

	Title	Coordinator
I	POLITICAL CRITERIA	
1.	Democracy and the rule of law,	Deputy PM for EI – SEI
2.	Human rights and protection of minorities	Ministry of Justice
3.	Regional issues and International Commitments	Ministry of Human and Minority Rights Protection
		Ministry of Foreign Affairs
II	ECONOMIC CRITERIA	
1.	Existence of a functioning market economy	Ministry of Finance (with Deputy PMs for Economic Policy and Finance)
1.1.	Macroeconomic stability	
1.2.	Price liberalisation	
1.3.	Financial sector	
1.4.	Privatisation	
1.5.	Market entry and exit	
2.	Legal system and property rights-economic issues	
2.1.	Property rights	
2.2.	Legal system from the economic standpoint	
3.	Structural reforms	
4.	Capacity to cope with competitive pressures and market forces within the Union	
5.	Trade integration	
III	ABILITY TO TAKE ON THE OBLIGATIONS OF MEMBERSHIP – ACQUIS (33 CHAPTERS)	
01	Free movement of goods	Ministry for Economic Development
02	Freedom of movement for workers	Ministry of Health, Labour and Social Welfare
03	Right of establishment and freedom to provide services	Ministry for Economic Development
04	Free movement of capital	Ministry of Finance
05	Public procurement	Ministry of Finance
06	Company law	Ministry for Economic Development
07	Intellectual property law	Ministry for Economic Development
08	Competition policy	Ministry for Economic Development
09	Financial services	Ministry of Finance
10	Information society and media	Ministry for Information Society/Ministry of Culture, Sports and media
11	Agriculture and rural development	Ministry of Agriculture, Forestry and Water Management
12	Food safety, veterinary and phytosanitary policy	Ministry of Agriculture, Forestry and Water Management
13	Fisheries	Ministry of Agriculture, Forestry and Water Management
14	Transport policy	Ministry Maritime Affairs, Transportation and Telecommunication
15	Energy	Ministry for Economic Development
16	Taxation	Ministry of Finance
17	Economic and monetary policy	Ministry of Finance
18	Statistics	Ministry of Finance /Monstat
19	Social policy and employment	Ministry of Health, Labour and Social Welfare
20	Enterprise and industrial policy	Ministry for Economic Development
21	Trans-European Networks	Ministry Maritime Affairs, Transportation and Telecommunication
22	Regional policy and coordination of structural instruments	Secretariat for European Integrations
23	Judiciary and fundamental rights	Ministry of Justice
24	Justice, freedom and security	Ministry of Interior Affairs and Public Administration
25	Science and research	Ministry of Education and Science
26	Education and culture	Ministry of Education and Science
27	Environment	Ministry of Tourism and Environmental Protection
28	Consumer and health protection	Ministry for Economic Development
29	Customs union	Ministry of Finance /Customs Administration
30	External relations	Ministry for Economic Development / Ministry of Foreign Affairs
31	Foreign, security, defence policy	Ministry of Foreign Affairs
32	Financial control	Ministry of Finance
33	Financial + budgetary provisions	Ministry of Finance

According to this document, deputy prime minister for European integrations will be responsible for coordinating and leading the process of answering the Questionnaire, in cooperation with SEI and through the Commission for European Integrations.

"The ultimate responsibility for quality, precise and timely response to the Questionnaire, in line with the importance of this activity, lies with the Government, which is the carrier of the process of Montenegro's integration in the EU. The government ought to approve and adopt every answer to the Questionnaire before it can be submitted to the EC", states the document.

It adds that the "key (essential) responsibility and competence for answering the Questionnaire belongs to the ministries and other public administration bodies, who are in charge of answering every question and providing all necessary accompanying documents".

For the sake of greater efficiency the Government also decided to establish Commissions for verification of answers to the Questionnaire, as well as an inter-ministerial body to be presided by the deputy prime minister for European integrations and consisting of deputy prime ministers for economic policy and for finance, and ministers of foreign affairs, home affairs, justice, finance, economic development, agriculture, forestry and waters, tourism and environment as well as the SEI Secretary.

The Government appointed a responsible minister (i.e. ministry) to each of the 33 chapters of the Questionnaire that will, in the later phases of integrations, become negotiation chapters (see the table).

As for political criteria, the Government appointed SEI as a coordinator, with assistance from the deputy prime minister for European integrations, and the following ministries in charge of particular areas: Ministry of Justice for Democracy and Rule of Law, Ministry of Human and Minority Rights Protection – Human and Minority Rights and Foreign Affairs Ministry for Regional Issues and International Obligations.

As for the economic criteria, the coordinator will be the Ministry of Finance, with assistance of the deputy prime minister for economic policy and finance.

To the heads of states and governments of the EU countries and USA;
to European Union, United Nations, Council of Europe, OSCE;
to international organisations for the protection of human rights and
the general public we direct this

A P E A L

We urge all free citizens and the above institutions to support our appeal and expressions of protest in the case of Professor Milan Popović.

On the 25.02.2009, while he was lecturing at the University of Montenegro, Professor Popović received the summons by the Supreme State Prosecutor to appear before the Department for the Fight against Organised Crime, Corruption, Terrorism and War Crimes within 48 hours because of his article Revolutionaries, published in the daily Vijesti.

In this article, Popović reiterated his earlier claims that in the case of Montenegro there are serious indications not only that organised crime is closely related to some of the state authority structures, as noted in the reports by the European Commission, but that (quote) "organised crime is the state authority, led by the most powerful man in Montenegro, the oligarch, tycoon and prime minister Milo Đukanović and his clan" (end of quotation).

Popović was interrogated by the Supreme State Prosecutor although he is not part of any criminal organisation or an insider that might pose operative evidence on organised crime and corruption which, according to the latest reports by the European Commission and US State Department represent an obstacle to reforms and democratisation in Montenegro.

Professor Popović only repeated the well known evidence that suggests a certain link between Milo Đukanović and his close collaborators and some of the heaviest crimes in the recent Montenegrin history: from deportations of the Bosnian refugees and ethnic cleansing in Bukovica to the smuggling of cigarettes and unresolved murders, to shady privatisation deals and financial transactions. Prime Minister Đukanović was already interrogated before foreign and national judicial authorities on account of several above accusations. Many of these cases were never processed before Montenegrin courts.

Montenegro has been suffering for years from a crisis of the rule of law: while numerous criminal cases remain unsolved, critically oriented individuals are constantly tried and interrogated. The case of professor Popović, together with numerous processes against the journalists, media, NGO activists and other political dissidents, as well as shadowing and wiretapping, is only another attempt to pressure and frighten those who point out the fatal link between the government, crime and corruption that has seized the Montenegrin state.

We urge you to condemn this violation of the right to free public speech and thus, at least symbolically, contribute to the conquest of freedom in Montenegro.

1. Baša Brković, writer
2. Dr Vjera Radović Begović, professor, University of Montenegro
3. Vanja Čalović, executive director, NGO MANS
4. Ervina Dabižinović, peace and gender activist
5. Goran Đurović, executive director, NGO CDNGO
6. Željko Ivanović, executive director, daily Vijesti
7. Jelena Jauković, University of Montenegro
8. Dr Svetozar Jovičević, professor, University of Montenegro
9. Dr Jelisaveta Kalezić, professor, University of Montenegro
10. Dr Filip Kovačević, professor, University of Montenegro
11. Ljupka Kovačević, executive director, NGO ANIMA
12. Esad Kočan, editor in chief, weekly Monitor
13. Milka Tadić Mijović, executive director, weekly Monitor
14. Stevo Muk, president of the board of directors, Institute Alternative
15. Snežana Nikčević, journalist, RTCC
16. Dr Miodrag Perović, professor, University of Montenegro
17. Momčilo Radulović, secretary general, European Movement in Montenegro
18. Žarko Rakčević, entrepreneur
19. Radmila Stojanović, activist and journalist
20. Daliborka Uljarević, executive director, NGO CCE
21. Dr Ilija Vujošević, profesor, University of Montenegro
22. Dragoljub Duško Vuković, journalist
23. Aleksandar Saša Zeković, researcher of human rights' violations

NON – GOVERNMENTAL ORGANISATIONS IN EUROPEAN UNION



EUROPEAN VOLUNTEER CENTRE

The European Volunteer Centre is a European network of currently 65 mainly national and regional volunteer centres and volunteer development agencies across Europe.

Together with its members, the network works to support and promote voluntary activity by enhancing the social, economic and political foundations necessary for its further affirmation.

The Centre channels the collective priorities and concerns of its member organisations to the institutions of the European Union. It also acts as a central forum for the exchange of policy, practice and information regarding volunteering that may contribute to its affirmation in the countries in which its members are active.

The vision of the European Volunteer Centre is a Europe in which volunteering is central in building a cohesive and inclusive society based on solidarity and active citizenship. Its mission is to create an enabling political, social and economic environment in Europe for the full potential of volunteering to be realized.

Objectives of the European Volunteer Centre are:

- To promote and win recognition for volunteering as an expression of active citizenship in Europe to the general public, the media, businesses and policy-makers on all relevant levels of government
- To act as a bridge for communication between volunteer organisations and the work of the European institutions
- To develop policies and promote and support the role of volunteering infrastructure in advancing volunteering as an expression of active citizenship in Europe
- To serve as a knowledge and research resource for volunteering in Europe
- To promote innovation and good practice in the field of supporting and reinforcing volunteering, participation and active citizenship through exchange, structured dialogue and network-building
- To develop strategic partnerships and alliances with key stakeholders across all sectors
- To increase and diversify its membership
- To maintain efficient management of the organisation

Together with its members, European Volunteer Centre represents the voice of volunteers in Europe, strengthens volunteering infrastructure and promotes volunteering making it more effective.

More about this organisation can be found at: www.cev.be

Prepared by: Petar ĐUKANOVIĆ

To EU via reconciliation with the past

Centre for the Study of Global Governance – London School of Economics and Political Science and Belgrade based Foundation for Humanitarian Law organised on the 07.01.2009 a one-day seminar titled "European Integrations and Transitional Justice: From Retributive to Restorative Justice". The goal of the seminar was to provide a critical appraisal of the European Union conditionality policy in the Western Balkans.

This one-day conference also provided critical assessment of retributive strategies of transitional justice favored by the European Union, examined the need for restorative approaches, and analysed opportunities for support to civil society initiatives in the field of transitional jus-

tice in the context of European integrations and the recently founded Coalition for Regional Commission for Establishing the Facts about War Crimes and other Grave Human Rights Violations in former Yugoslavia (Coalition for RECOM).

The conference also aimed to discuss how restorative approaches to transitional justice can be integrated more closely with the process and aim of European integration of the Western Balkans, and identify possibilities for EU's institutional support for comprehensive transitional justice approach in the region. Centre for Civic Education was represented at the conference by its executive director, **Daliborka Uljarević**.

Democracy School continues

Centre for Civic Education, with support of Friedrich Ebert Foundation completed the admission procedure for the XIII generation of Democracy School. In the next four months, 25 new participants will have a chance to learn about the theories and practices of democracy.

Democracy School is dedicated to understanding the idea of democracy and ways in which this idea has

been implemented. It offers insights into theoretical background, comparative practices, as well as the arts and skills of implementing democratic principle in the everyday life, especially in the political sphere.

The School is the oldest programme of alternative education in this format in Montenegro, and in the last twelve generations 283 citizens of Montenegro have success-

fully completed the course. Most of the participants come from the ranks of NGO activists, political parties, journalists, local administrations and ministries, students and others who are interested in becoming politically active and contribute to the development of democracy in Montenegro.



Škola demokratije

www.cgo-cce.org

Corruption in education

In the framework of their joint project "Corruption in Education" Centre for Civic Education and Centre for Monitoring, with support of the Government of the Republic of Germany organised a training seminar for high-school professors in order to involve them more actively in the fight against corruption in higher education though their work with high-school students.

The participants were introduced to the findings of the project thus far and the CEE Project Associate **Violeta Marniku** spoke on behalf of the Centre about the campaign that was conducted within the project as well as the results of the study on the legal framework governing the work of universities in Montenegro.

British MPs meet NGO representatives

During their recent visit to Podgorica British MPs **Roger Berry** (head of the delegation), **Stephen Hepburn**, **David Chaytor**, **Lord Lea of Crondall** and **Nigel Evans** met with the representatives of the civic sector on 17.02.2009 in the British Embassy. On this occasion, Montenegro's civic sector was represented by **Daliborka Uljarević**, executive director of Centre for Civic Education, **Momčilo Radulović**, secretary general of the European Movement in Montenegro, **Vanja Čalović**, executive director of MANS and **Savo Kentera**, secretary general of the Atlantic Club of Montenegro. They presented their views on the processes of European and Atlantic integrations as well as the many challenges that Montenegro is facing in the process of democratisation.

FOR THIS ISSUE WE RECOMMEND:



XITH BERLIN ROUNDTABLES ON TRANSNATIONALITY MEMORY POLITICS: EDUCATION, MEMORIALS AND MASS MEDIA

organized by the Irmgard Coninx Foundation in cooperation with the Social Science Research Center Berlin (WZB) and the Humboldt–University Berlin.

50 successful applicants to the essay competition will be selected to participate in the Berlin Roundtables on Transnationality and to discuss their research with prominent scholars at two of Europe's leading research institutions. The Roundtables take place at the WZB from 21 – 26 October 2009. **Deadline for essay submission:** 30 June 2009.

An international jury will award a three-months fellowship to three participants to be used for research at the WZB, the Humboldt–University Berlin and the State library of Berlin. The Grant includes a monthly stipend of EUR 1,000 plus accommodation. The winners will be invited to join a follow-up workshop in Berlin in 2009/2010. Discussions will take place in three workshops chaired by Susanne

Buckley–Zistel, Ph.D. (Free University Berlin), Elizabeth Cole, Ph.D. (United States Institute of Peace, Washington D.C.) and Magdalena Zolkos, Ph.D. (University of Western Sydney). Renowned professionals and experts such as Daniel Libeskind (architect, New York) and Albie Sachs (judge, Constitutional Court, South Africa) will give accompanying evening lectures.

The Irmgard Coninx Foundation will cover travel and accommodation costs. For details, please visit our website:

www.irmgard-coninx-stiftung.de

For inquiries, please contact us:
info@irmgard-coninx-stiftung.de

PHD PROGRAMME IN INTERNATIONAL STUDIES

This highly structured multidisciplinary programme is composed of a minimum of 200 hours of coursework. Students follow a common curriculum in International studies, methodology, research design and history, and attend advanced seminars in their major and minor subjects, chosen from amongst the disciplines of Economics, Law, and Politics & Society. The coursework is concentrated in the first year, with the third semester being devoted to the completion of the research proposal. At least one semester must be spent abroad for research.

The school invites applications across the whole range of disciplines comprising international studies but particularly encourages students who intend to carry out research in the following areas: European and International Politics; European, Comparative and International Law; Open Economy Macroeconomics, International Trade and International Financial History. One scholarship will be reserved for appli-

cants with a research project in the area of the Politics of European and Regional Integration.

The programme is conducted entirely in English and will be taught by members of the university's multi-national faculty. No tuition fees are charged and a number of fully funded three-year scholarships will be awarded to the top-ranked applicants. Scholarships will be augmented by 50% for authorised research periods spent abroad. At least 50% of the admitted candidates will be offered scholarships.

Application deadline: March 31, 2009
For the application forms and further details concerning the PhD programme, please consult our website <http://portale.unitn.it/drsis/>, or write to: PhD Programme in International Studies, University of Trento, via Verdi 8/10, I-38100 Trento, Italy,
Email: phd@sis.unitn.it

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for junior and senior scholars

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- are citizens or permanently reside in one of the following countries: Albania, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Bulgaria, Croatia, Hungary, Kosovo, Macedonia, Montenegro, Romania, Serbia, Slovenia,
- or are affiliated to a university or research institution in the region,
- or who pursue research on South-Eastern-Europe

For further information go to:

www.iwm.at/fellowships.htm

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