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CULPRIT

The white Schengen list is within our hand's reach – members of the European Union will most probably decide to give Montenegrin authorities until the end of July to make additional efforts to fulfil the remaining requirements from the roadmap.

If we are lucky, the Council of Ministers for Justice and Home Affairs could perhaps even decide to give the green light for the establishment of visa-free travel regime, which means that by the end of this or the beginning of next year we could travel to 22 EU member states, Norway and Iceland with only a Montenegrin passport in our pockets.

In case Montenegro does not make it to the white list, the inevitable question will be – whose fault that is?

Fingers should be pointed at the Parliament which took until the end of 2008 to adopt the Law on Foreigners whose implementation is a requirement for the abolishment of visas. One should also seek culprits in the Government, which is still procrastinating with the draft law on anti-discrimination, institutions responsible for fighting corruption and money laundering, few verdicts and many inadequate investigations, and so on...

European Commission noted that until the end of May Montenegro issued 100 952 new passports, many of which will remain an ornament in their owners' folders, given the desire and financial ability of Montenegrins to work or travel in the EU.

If such Montenegro received the same assessment from the European Commission as Serbia, which is creating a major regional problem by issuing passports to Kosovo Albanians, and was graded the same on security issues as Macedonia, in case the White Schengen List escapes us, one should not wonder if Montenegrin citizens decide to blame both their own Government as well as EU member states.

V.Ž.

On Montenegro in Berlin (4 May) – International conference "Montenegro on the road to EU – challenges and perspectives" was held in the headquarters of Friedrich Ebert Stiftung in Berlin. Montenegrin representatives at the conference were deputy prime minister **Gordana Đurović**, presidents of the Socialist Peoples Party and Movement for Changes **Srdan Milić** and **Nebojša Medojević**, director of the daily **Vijesti** **Željko Ivanović** and executive director of Centre for Civic Education **Daliborka Uljarević**. During their stay in Germany Montenegrin representatives also spoke to the MPs of Bundestag as well as other German officials.

12 000 visas to be issued (8 May) – Slovenian ambassador in Podgorica **Jernej Videtič** informed Montenegrin deputy prime minister Gordana Đurović that the Embassy of Slovenia is now issuing visas for 12 countries of the Schengen agreement, and that around 12 000 visas are to be issued this year, three thousand more than in 2008.

Day of Europe in Žabljak (9 May) – Montenegrin government, European Commission Delegation and Radio Television Montenegro (RTCG) organised celebrations for the 9 May – Day of Europe in Žabljak.

Optimistic forecasts (12 May) – Economic crisis will not have a significant impact on European integration of Montenegro and other countries of the region, was the conclusion of a meeting dedicated to the effects of the crisis on the process of integrations, organised by the weekly *Monitor* and Embassy of the Republic of Germany in Montenegro. German ambassador **Peter Plate** said that "the EU will not forget about the countries of the region" and will help all the countries that are in the process of implementing necessary reforms.

Deputy prime minister and Minister of Finance **Igor Lukšić** said that the economic crisis and the measures taken by the government to alleviate its consequences "will not interfere with Montenegro's efforts to join the European family".

Germany ratified SAA (16 May) – Federal council of the German Bundestag adopted the Law on ratification of Stabilisation and Association Agreement (SAA) between Montenegro and EU.

Will Montenegro get the white Schengen? (23 May) – Macedonia fulfilled all the conditions from the roadmap, and is expected to be put on the white Schengen list, while Serbia and Montenegro "largely" or "mostly" met the benchmarks, said European Stability Initiative (ESI). According to ESI, there are three possible scenarios for Montenegro and Serbia – visa-free regime will not be introduced with these countries until they fulfill all the requirements; the EU will close an eye and let them have it together with Macedonia, or the EU will give them some more time to fulfill the remaining conditions. Albania and BiH did not meet the benchmarks set in their Roadmaps.

The questionnaire by 1 August (28 May) – Questionnaire for Montenegro could be completed by 1 August, announced **Pierre Mirel**, Director of Relations with Western Balkans in EC Enlargement Directorate after the last meeting of the temporary Committee for the Monitoring of Agreement on Trade and Related Issues and the plenary session of the Enhanced Permanent Dialogue between Montenegro and EC.



photo VIJESTI

Peter Plate

A VIEW FROM EU

How to overcome the burden of the past

The process of EU enlargement rests on the same values that motivated the European ideal in the first place some fifty



by Pierre Mirel

years ago – peace, tolerance and democracy. As France and Germany did, the countries of former Yugoslavia need to overcome the scars of the past and the wounds of the wars to be able to take their rightful place in Europe and fully engage in the European project.

Bringing war crimes trials to completion is part of this process. It is an indicator

The Western Balkan countries progress towards European integration and EU membership depends also on the success of transitional justice, starting with how they deal with the war crime issue

of the capacity of a country – of a society – to show maturity in the prosecuting and in the handling of, often, heinous crimes, and dealing openly with the legacy of the past. It is also a key element of a country's readiness to join the EU, and something which we have been monitoring closely through the Stabilisation and Association Process which was established in 2000.

That we have come this far in the process of transitional justice is a testament to the courage of the people of the region – victims but also to a number of prosecutors and judges and to civil society organisations who have defied death threats and other forms of intimidation in the pursuit of justice for all, irrespective of creed, nationality or ethnicity.

We cannot however be complacent. The process of transitional justice in the Western Balkans – the process of addressing past wrongs – has been fraught with difficulties. And the twin challenges of transition to democracy and of confronting the horrors of the past have not been easy and continue to face difficulties.

Throughout this period there has been people intent on derailing this process. It is

thanks in large part to the audience assembled here today that this has not happened. It is also due to the influence that European integration has had in keeping the delicate process of transition in check.

The Western Balkan countries progress towards European integration and EU membership depends also on the success of transitional justice, starting with how they deal with the war crime issue.

The conditions are related to the cooperation with ICTY as regards the persons who are suspected of the most serious war crimes. They are well known. But this is only part of the story.

The other part, possibly even more challenging for all countries of the region, consists of bringing all other war crime suspects before justice. And this is not an easy task since, as we all know, the vast majority of the war crimes are or will have to be domestically prosecuted.

The EU is bringing influence to bear

through the Stabilisation and Association Process, which constitutes clear and tangible sign of our political will and commitment to the region. It is unique in that it is all-encompassing.

ICTY is only one piece in the jigsaw. I do not remember any single bilateral political dialogue meeting where the European Commission did not press and push for the

Truth, accountability and reconciliation must come from the region itself, if it is to have a lasting effect

process at national level to be speeded up. And to achieve this, our political will is reflected in our continuous financial and technical support to build up capacities and facilitate regional cooperation.

We should not just focus on the treatment of war crimes in the narrow sense. Judicial systems need to be modernised to ensure that they regain or earn the trust of the citizens. Well functioning judiciaries are an integral part of society, and trust in the judicial system is a key part of achieving transitional justice.

If there is greater trust in the judicial systems in the region, this should also

enable greater cooperation, and I hope, in turn, greater prospects of extradition of war crimes suspects within the region. If there are guarantees of a fair trial, irrespective of where that trial takes place, this should be possible.

Transitional justice has also to be about rule of law, in the broadest sense, about building up a culture of democratic governance and protection of basic human rights, about ensuring that the process of transition and change is all inclusive. And this is why civil society plays such an important role.

Commissioner Rehn recently warned: "It is better that we export stability into the Balkans than import instability from there." The Western Balkan countries should as future Member States contribute to the spirit of loyalty and solidarity and work together with the other Member States, including their neighbours in the region, towards common goals and shared values.

But, for all that the EU can do and is doing, it cannot take ownership of the process. Truth, accountability and reconciliation must come from the region itself, if it is to have a lasting effect. It is for your countries, with our support, to overcome the legacy of the past. These efforts must be made at all levels – government, judiciary and the civil society.

This is why I warmly commend the initiative of NGOs, your own initiative, to establish the Assembly coalition for a Regional Commission for the determination of facts related to war crimes and other severe human rights violations in the former

Yugoslavia (RECOM). With initiatives like this, and with continuous support and pressure from the EU, I hope that countries in the region will slowly be able to come to terms with their past and to be able, thereafter, to construct their future. A future that I hope will be anchored in the EU.

From the speech delivered by Pierre Mirel at the Fifth regional forum on transitional justice in post-yugoslav countries, held in Bečići from 29–30 May, 2009. Author is the Director of Relations with Western Balkans, DG Enlargement, European Commission

MONTENEGRO PREPARES FOR EUROPEAN COMMISSION'S QUESTIONNAIRE

Practice makes perfect

It appears that Montenegro is preparing a "welcome party" to Brussels' Questionnaire



by Danilo Mihajlović

— state officials are getting trained with international experts, there is a solid base of translators, a guide-book for the translation of legal acts is being finalised and a lot of work is going into securing extensive IT support in order to return answers to the European Commission within "reasonable" deadline.

According to unofficial sources, European Union should send over four thousand questions to Podgorica by the end of July. After the Council of Ministers gave a green light to Montenegro's membership application this April, the country is expected to answer questions regarding every aspect of its functioning.

Answering EC's questions and translating them to English is a comprehensive and demanding task, which requires timely and wide-ranging preparations. It is also in a certain way a test of administrative capacities of the state and of its political commitment to integrations.

Head of the Secretariat for European Integrations (SEI) Ana Vukadinović explained that SEI developed a comprehensive edu-

cational programme for civil servants and that since Montenegro submitted its application, on 18 December 2008, a large number of seminars was organised, preparing administration for the Questionnaire.

"We had plenty of seminars lasting several days, meetings, trainings and other educational programmes for a large number of civil servants who will be participating in the answering process. SEI conducted this complex process of preparations for the Questionnaire in cooperation with assistance projects such as Twinning Programmes, programmes of the European Movement in

Montenegro (EMiM), and with support of FES and Capacity Development Programme, said Vukadinović for the *European Pulse*.

Croatia and Macedonia, which already went through a similar process, answered their questionnaires within approximately four months. Croatia answered its 4 500 questions in more than 7 000 pages, while Macedonia sent Brussels some 14 000 pages in response to a similar number of questions.

Towards the end of last year Secretariat for European Integrations secured translations of Macedonian and Croatian Quest-



Ana Vukadinović

photo: VIJESTI

EMPLOYEES SERIOUS ABOUT THEIR MISSION

Secretary general of the EMiM Momčilo Radulović announced that this organisation will continue to train civil servants as soon as the new Government is sworn in, so that another 150 people could be fully prepared for EC's questions.

Asked whether this means that procrastinations with the appointment of the new government are slowing down the process, Radulović says no, and adds that the European Parliament was positively surprised by the attitude of employees towards seminars, and explaining that "they are much more serious now" than in the beginning of the training.

"Not everybody was eager to learn, but most understood the importance of this issue. This is by far the largest project of the Montenegrin government so far, and it requires absolute dedication of all persons involved. This is quite an effort, but its results will determine the attitude of Brussels towards Montenegro and its future progress towards Europe. A lot of work remains to be done, but what really matters is that we started", Radulović said.

He added that EMiM believed that training employees for the Questionnaire was a good way to involve the civil sector in a professional, efficient manner and strengthen its contribution to the overall integration process.

More than 150 public employees were trained in the last six months to respond to the Questionnaire effectively within their domain of expertise.

"Thus we contributed directly to raise administrative capacities for the challenges posed by the European integration process", Radulović said.



Momčilo Radulović

ionnaires and sent it to all ministries and public institutions so that they could familiarise themselves with the format. In January this year the Government urged administration to study these materials carefully, assuming that 70 to 80% of the questions sent to Montenegro will be identical to those received by Zagreb and Skopje.

Vukadinović said that SEI has good relations with public institu-

tions of the neighbouring countries which work on European integrations and that during preparations

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for the Questionnaire they maintained active cooperation with experts from those countries that

"successfully completed the preparation phase, answered the Questionnaire and thus acquired the status of candidates for EU membership".

"These are high officials in the Croatian, Macedonian and Slovenian state administration who played a key role in coordinating and conducting the process of answering and translating answers to the Questionnaire. These visiting experts told us about their experiences, which was of substantial help to their Montenegrin colleagues who used these inputs to plan the process of answering the Questionnaire and prepare all the necessary accompanying documents", Vukadinović said.

Questionnaire is divided into three basic parts – political criteria, economic criteria and ability to implement European legislation, and adopt European standards in implementing various sectoral policies.

The third part of the Questionnaire, ability to implement European law, is divided into negotiating chapters. In the case of Croatia and Macedonia there were 29 such chapters but in the meantime the number was increased to 33.

Vukadinović said that the complex work on preparations for European Commission's questions will be impossible to do without

adequate IT support, especially if one has in mind the "extremely compressed timeframe for deliver-

ing answers".

"This is why IT support has been one of SEI's priorities. The system is supposed to enhance coordination and facilitate monitoring of the pace at which the Questionnaire is being answered, as well as to provide simpler and better organised exchange of information among public institutions, more efficient use of the available resources and timely warnings about possible delays or failures to complete allocated tasks. Bearing in mind the Strategy for Development of Information System for Public Administration in Montenegro, as well as experiences of other countries and current trends in the IT world, we opted for WEB PORTAL as the right tool for IT support to the process. By the time we receive the questionnaire the Portal will be entirely in place, and all users properly trained, and we expect this side of the process to function smoothly", Vukadinović said.

Deputy Prime Minister **Gordana Đurović** also said recently that



Montenegrin administration, in spite of the electoral cycle and financial crisis, is in a very good position to meet its European commitments, including preparations for the Questionnaire. She added that Montenegro is prepar-

ing very seriously for the Questionnaire, and that she hopes that all answers will be of high quality and delivered on time.

Head of the Enlargement Directorate office for Western Balkans **Pierre Mirel** who recently visited Podgorica said the Questionnaire for Montenegro could be ready by 1 August.

"We are working hard on preparing the Questionnaire and I hope we will finish it before the holidays start. Summer holidays in the European Commission usually begin around 1 August", Mirel said.

He added that the work on Questionnaire can be demanding, as it involves many different issues, and recommended:

"It is very important not to be repetitive in answering the Questionnaire, just direct us to the document where the right answer can be found".

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

200 TRANSLATORS APPLIED

According to Vukadinović, within SEI there is a Department for Coordination of Translation whose task in the upcoming period will be to coordinate translation of questions and answers from the EC Questionnaire.

Since the task is rather extensive and demanding, possibly around 10 000 pages for the Questionnaire but also later with translations of European laws, SEI opened a public call for all interested translators to become involved in this process.

"More than 200 translators applied for the job, and after the initial tests we now have a fairly strong base of translators, with specific data on the level and area of expertise", Vukadinović explained.

She added that translations of answers to the Questionnaire, or any other official document, must be uniform, which is why SEI also developed a handbook for the translation of legal and other documents.

"The handbook was prepared by renowned Montenegrin experts in cooperation with SEI. We are about to complete the final version of the booklet, which consists of two parts: translations of legal acts of European Union to Montenegrin language and translation of Montenegrin legal acts to English. This will become a standard reference book for all translators involved in the process of European integrations", Vukadinović said.

WHAT IS IT LIKE WHEN A PRIME MINISTER WHO WANTS TO JOIN EU FORGETS ABOUT THE BASIC POSTULATES OF DEMOCRACY

With Shinawatra to Europe?



While in the UK the Speaker of the Parliament resigns because of some MP's frivolous spending of pub-



by Neđeljko Rudović

lic money and while **Gordon Brown** anxiously reads the most influential British papers every morning, wondering whether he will have to call early elections, president of the Montenegrin Government **Milo Đukanović** laconically told Montenegrin public to stay out of business and leave ministers in peace.

The cause was the famous "Shinawatra case", and the decision of Đukanović's Government to issue Montenegrin passport to the former prime minister of Thailand **Taksin Shinawatra** who is currently sought by Interpol. Just when the news got to the public, after Shinawatra was identified on the Liberian border as a Montenegrin citizen, European Commission was in the process of writing a report on Montenegro's readiness to become part of the White Schengen list, which would enable its citizens to travel freely, without visas, to most European countries.

The public was wondering whether this will impact Montenegro's chances to liberalise visa regime with 22 EU countries, Iceland and Norway, but the government's immediate response was that the biggest damage will be made precisely if the media continues to insist on this story and the uncomfortable question – who is responsible for this? As this did not help to subside the excitement around "Shinawatra case", which topped Montenegrin headlines for several weeks, Prime Minister himself responded in his recognisably insolent manner.

"You got the answer from the Home Affairs Minister **Jusuf Kalamperović**. He already said that on several occasions he decided to give Montenegrin citizenship to a number of persons because this was in the interest of the country. Now I'm seeing all sorts of media and non-governmental organisations discussing whether he should or should not have done it. As long as Kalamperović is minister, he has the right to decide. And I believe that he decided in full consideration of Montenegro's best interests", Đukanović said.

He added that those who are so eager to do the minister's job and "would want to decide whether they give the passports and to whom, should run for the elections, win them, and then they can have the right to revise decisions which, given the current distribution of democratic forces, are ours to make".

Upon careful reading, what Đukanović said was "we won the elections and now we can do as we please". Another interesting message of his statement is: "We don't have to account for our decisions to anyone".

In other words, upon careful reading, what Đukanović said was "we won the elections and now we can do as we please".

Another interesting message of his statement is: "We don't have to account for our decisions to anyone".

Thus the president of Montenegro's Government once again caused doubts as to where his allegiances lie, where he is heading and whether he is truly committed those goals he boasts about to the journalists and European officials whenever he is in a good mood, telling them that EU membership is the priority of this government. Can someone who believes himself to be a candidate for EU membership afford to criticise the public because of their desire to know what is going on? Such things would be ridiculous even to think, let alone to proclaim, in any EU country.

Đukanović's attitude is worrying,

because these are the words of an autocrat, who has no regard for European values and basic postulates of democracy. The gist of these is that the prime minister and his minister aren't elected to do as they please, but to govern the country to the best interest of all citizens. And the best interest of Montenegro's citizens at the moment is to be able to travel freely. Also, those who won the elections have four years to prove that they are able to lead the country, but in the meantime they are accountable to the voters, because it's the voters who got them there in the first place. In order to be able to decide whom to give the office in the next elections, the public must know how the current prime minister is doing the job and, among other, what made him give Shinawatra the passport if he knew that this could have

negative consequences. Since the voters have the right to know, Đukanović has the duty to give them a sensible explanation because he is but a "servant" to his people and wouldn't be there if they didn't entrust him with the office.

These are the basic postulates that are disregarded by someone who is supposed to lead this country to Europe. Or maybe he doesn't really know about them, since he is in power for 20 years. The latter is more probable, given his audacity to try and silence those who speak up in the name of curious citizens. Đukanović's faux pas should not remain unnoticed by those sitting in European capitals who will decide in the next few months whether they agree to have Montenegrins visit them without visas, with only their modern biometric passports to show, even if some of them may be owned by people who are sought by Interpol.

PRESIDENT OF THE NATIONAL COUNCIL FOR EUROPEAN INTEGRATIONS OF
MACEDONIA RADMILA SEKERINSKA

Preparations key for the Questionnaire

President of the Macedonian National Council for European Integrations **Radmila Sekerinska** says that the role of this body which, in both Macedonia and Montenegro, has advisory functions, will grow in importance with the beginning of negotiations with European Union.

In the interview for *European Pulse* Sekerinska said that the Macedonian NCEI was established by an agreement between the government and opposition in 2005.

"We believed that the opposition ought to be part of the European agenda because the European Union negotiates with the state, not with the government", Sekerinska explained.

She added that the NCEI brings together MPs, deputy prime minister for European integrations, representatives of the non-governmental sector, media, academy of arts and sciences, religious communities, trade unions...

This broad representation of different institutions and organisations testifies to the existence of a broad consensus in Macedonia in favour of EU.

Macedonia was successful in answering the Questionnaire, mainly because we spent a year preparing for this process. Around 1 000 people from administration were involved in specific tasks

● How does the Council work?

Fortunately for the Government, and unfortunately for us, NCEI has no executive powers. Still, I believe that's logical. You cannot have two executives in one country working on the same issue.

The council works on the principle of consensus, which slows down its work to some extent, but its role lies first of all in its political weight, in the suggestions it gives to the Government.



Radmila Sekerinska

NCEI's role will gain in importance during negotiations with the EU which I hope will begin soon. Once the negotiations start, all of the negotiating positions must pass through the Parliament and be debated by the Council.

● How good is cooperation between the government and the opposition when it comes to European integrations?

We are lucky because we never had a serious anti-European party.

All bigger parties have declared their support for European Integrations, but the reality is a bit different.

The opposition often criticises the Government, as we believe that they have not done enough and that this is exactly why Macedonia cannot begin membership negotiations with EU.

We have had the candidate status for the last three-four years, but

the date of the start of negotiations is still unknown.

According to the plans we made between 2003 and 2005, Macedonia ought to be ready for membership in 2010.

We expected to become an EU member by 2011 or 2012.

In the meantime, we have wasted some precious time. I believe the current government has not made use of the fact that we have such a strong consensus on European integrations, and they spent more time on other issues than on this, to my mind, main strategic goal.

● As deputy prime minister in the Government of Macedonia at the time, you were in charge of the process of answering the Questionnaire of the European Commission. What did Macedonia do to complete this task?

We were successful in answering the Questionnaire, first of all, because we prepared this process for a year.

One thousand people from administration were working on spe-

cific issues.

We knew at all times who was responsible for what, whether there are some differences in opinion and we knew the date we set as the schedule for our answers.

We planned to have all answers done within three months and we finished a few days ahead of the deadline – precisely because the biggest part of the work, the preparations, was done before we even received the Questionnaire from the European Commission.

● **Did Macedonia receive any additional questions, like Croatia?**

Yes. We received the Questionnaire on 14 February, sent the answers back and in late July we got additional questions. These were mostly not about things missing from the previous answers, rather they concerned the new political events and problems in Macedonia that occurred in the meantime.

In a way, these additional questions were a proof that we did the first part of the job well.

● **Is it true that the European Commission doesn't like the questions and the answers to get to the**



public during this process?

It is true.

We were told so by the European Commission and we even asked them to reconsider the policy – to perhaps give us the chance to keep the public informed. When you are hiding something, the public always thinks the worst.

However, the Commission was clear – nobody can have the answers before them.

We published the answers on

our website two days or a few hours – I don't quite remember – after we submitted them to the European Commission.

One of the greatest compliments to our work were the comments of the Macedonian citizens on the Internet forum who read the questions and answers and told us they were surprised that the Macedonian administration finally decided to speak clearly, directly and precisely.

● **What would be your advice to the Montenegrin administration and authorities regarding the answers to the Questionnaire?**

First of all, congratulations on your decision to apply even if the messages from the EU were not always encouraging. It was the same with us – they are testing our decisiveness to implement our strategic goals.

As for the Questionnaire, these two–three months you really have to work and live only for that. The administration will do its part of the work, but without positive political pressures, without extreme work discipline, it is not easy to do it well.

I believe that Montenegro is a country which is ready to tackle its own problems and this is what you have to explain in the Questionnaire.

V. ŽUGIĆ

QUESTIONNAIRE STRENGTHENS ADMINISTRATION

● **The Commission pointed out that Montenegro has problems with administrative capacities. What was the assessment of the Macedonian administrative capacities before you got the Questionnaire?**

Many people in Brussels, especially those in the European Commission Directorates, were surprised by the quality and precision of our answers.

However, both before the Questionnaire and even today the biggest criticism to Macedonia regarding its European road concerns the lack of adequate administrative capacities. European Commission has repeatedly pointed out problems with competitiveness, professionalism and independence of our administration.

I believe this is the fate of small countries such as Macedonia and even more so Montenegro.

We can never have enough good people in the administration. This is why for us it is very important to work on improving the capacities.

We managed to strengthen administration in the course of answering the questionnaire. Many people in the administration who worked on these answers, and who before that had only a very general idea about the meaning of EU had to learn that European Union means changes in their everyday life and work practices.

WESTERN BALKANS 1989–2009: KOSOVO QUESTION IN LIGHT OF EUROPEAN INTEGRATIONS OF THE REGION

Serbia should be led by reason

Socialist
Yugoslavia's
European
perspective

Fall of the
Berlin wall in
1989 marked the



by Vladimir Pavićević

beginning of transformation of Central and East European countries and their economic, legal and political systems into modern communities based on market economy, rule of law and political pluralism. This aspiration towards new values was clearly defined and inspired by the idea of membership in the European Community, which was supposed to finally reunite the two sides of the continent, separated for half a century by an impermeable wall.

Of all the communist countries in Europe, Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (SFRY) was in 1989 the closest to a clear European perspective.

Yugoslavia maintained economic relations with the EC, and had signed a number of agreements to that end, establishing closer economic ties with EC members. Between 1970 and 1990 the officials of former SFRY signed two trade agreements with the representatives of European Economic Community – one

cooperation agreement, trade protocol and two financial protocols, and held nine meetings of the Council for Cooperation between EEC and SFRY on the ministerial level.

As reason retreated from politics during late 1980s and early 1990s, the European perspective of socialist Yugoslavia vanished into thin air.

Western Balkans:
twenty years later

Among the countries formed on the ruins of former SFRY only Slovenia became a full EU member in 2004, while the others are still lingering in the European waiting rooms. The process of Europeanisation of the region, and especially of Serbia, has slowed down after the Parliament of Kosovo decided to proclaim independence on 17 February 2008. This pushed the discussion on the European perspective of Serbia into the background, with the question of Serbia's reaction to Kosovo's proclamation of independence took centre stage, casting a shade of doubt on the pace of integrations of both Serbia and its neighbours into EU.

The question of the status of Kosovo came into focus after the conflict between Kosovo Albanians and Serbs flared up in 1997. The boycott of state institutions and creation of a parallel institutional system in Kosovo testified to the refusal of Albanian population to accept even the minimum authority of

Serbia in Kosovo. In March 1997 Albanians announced that due to long term discrimination against Albanian national minority, during which the Albanian population lost all rights, their goal became the establishment of an independent state of Kosovo. The same year Kosovo Albanians radicalised their struggle for independence, culminating in armed rebellion by the Kosovo Liberation Army against Serbian police. The conflict grew in proportion and caused the international community to intervene anew. Efforts to find a peaceful solution to the conflict failed in February 1999 after the conference in Rambouillet, where the Serbian delegation, led by **Milan Milutinović**, refused to accept the terms of preliminary agreement.

Justifying its action by the crimes against Albanians which in the beginning of 1999 resulted in a great number of civilian deaths the North American Treaty Organisation (NATO) initiated a campaign against Federal Republic of Yugoslavia on 24 March 1999. The result of the ten-week intervention was withdrawal of the police and army forces of FRY and Serbia on terms of the Kumanovo Agreement and redefinition of the status of Kosovo by Resolution 1244 of the United Nations. Hundreds of thousands of Albanians who before the campaign were forced out of their homes returned to Kosovo, while the administrative competences on the territory of Kosovo were handed over by Serbia to the United Nations Interim Administration Mission in Kosovo (UNMIK).

After the democratic changes in 2000 Serbia still faced the difficult question of defining Kosovo's status. Negotiations about the future status of Kosovo started in February 2006 in Vienna. Serbian delegation insisted that Kosovo ought to remain part of the legal, political and economic system of Serbia. The main three arguments used by the Serbian representatives were:

1. Respect for international law, according to which Serbia is an internationally recognised state and member of



the UN, and therefore its borders, according to the articles of the Helsinki Final Act should not be questioned. Supporting this argument was the content of the UN Resolution no. 1244, which linked the resolution of the status of Kosovo to the maintenance of territorial integrity and sovereignty of FRY and Serbia as its legal heir.

2. Constructive participation in the negotiations process, demonstrated by Serbia throughout these negotiations. Serbia offered the representatives of Kosovo Albanians first a programme of de facto autonomy and later application of the Hong Kong model in Kosovo, which satisfies all standards in the area of the protection of human rights and is the highest level of independent authority attainable in practice by an entity existing within the borders of a sovereign state.
3. Sense of justice, which links the suffering of Albanian population to actions perpetrated by **Slobodan Milošević** and not by the Serbian state as such. In addition to his repressive policies in Kosovo, Milošević overruled the state, concentrating all power in his own hands and preventing the normal functioning of political institutions and development of a civil society in Serbia. He thus became the biggest obstacle to a democratic transformation of Serbia. The political elite which won the 2000 elections directed Serbia towards EU and towards cooperation with the international community, while at the same time arguing that it would be unjust to make new Serbia pay a high price for Milošević's policies. This sense of justice was most painfully violated by the attitude of Kosovo's elites and a number of most influential members of the international community that Kosovo ought to become independent.

Members of the delegation of Kosovo Albanians argued that Kosovo must be independent, based on the following three arguments:

1. Majority of the population in Kosovo are Albanians, i.e. more than 90% of people living in Kosovo are of Albanian nationality, and all agree that establishment of an independent state is the only acceptable solution. The attempt to preserve Kosovo as a part of Serbia, in spite of the wishes of its population would lead to a large,

homogenous group of Serbia's citizens having no loyalty to the state. This would create conditions for permanent political instability and undermine the premises for democratic consolidation of Serbia;

2. Long history of conflict in Kosovo during which the Albanian population was denied fundamental rights, testifying to long-term discrimination against Albanian national minority;
3. Crimes against Albanians in Kosovo committed during 1999 – in the actions before and during the NATO campaign a great number of civilians were killed and several hundred thousands banished from their homes. The impossibility of Kosovo's survival within Serbia has its strongest base in this argument.

The negotiations did not bring resolution to the Kosovo problem, so Kosovo Albanians decided to declare the independent state of Kosovo, which they did on 17 February 2008. And while this event was accompanied with fireworks in Priština, but in Belgrade it brought violence in the streets and several foreign embassies were set on fire. The Government of Serbia said it will never accept unilaterally declared independence of Kosovo, and announced deterioration in diplomatic relations with those countries which recognise Kosovo's independence.

In the meantime, the process of European integrations was substantially slowed down, not only in the case of Serbia, but in the entire region. In 2006, Serbia got a new Constitution. The adopted text was prepared very quickly – a group of party leaders and experts negotiated the document within just two weeks, and the compromised please almost all parties. The new Constitution makes a number of references to Kosovo, while some of its articles make its declared pro-European orientation dubious.

Proposal for the solution to the Kosovo issue

EU association process shouldn't be just the priority foreign policy goal for the West Balkan countries, but also the most important matter of internal policy, which entails substantial reforms of the political, economic and judicial system as well as creation of democratic institutions in line with European standards.

Serbia found itself at the very tail of the European integration train among its

West Balkan neighbours, lagging behind Croatia, Macedonia, Montenegro, Albania and Bosnia and Herzegovina.

In spite of declaring independence, Kosovo is still not in the position to conduct its European integrations independently, and the process is currently in the hands of UNMIK. The biggest obstacle to Kosovo's successful integration is its unresolved relationship with Serbia. It is therefore logical to relate these two burning issues in the Western Balkans today – the question of Kosovo's status and the issue of the European future of Serbia and the region in general.

Any policy proposal that would bring the relevant actors in Serbia and Kosovo closer to a solution of these problems has to involve several steps. First of all, Serbia should take in the objective state of international policies, and send a clear signal to the EU that it is willing to negotiate a solution accepting the factual situation of Kosovo, provided it receives in exchange a clear plan for its future. Since Serbia cannot prevent the EU members from recognising Kosovo's independence, it is only rational to use this situation to open, instead of closing, its European perspective.

Serbia should initiate an agreement with the EU and representatives of Kosovo Albanians regulating the status of Kosovo Serbs, their citizenship, free access to cultural monuments and free movement of people between Kosovo and Serbia. It should also request a clear guarantee from the EU that it will receive the status of a candidate for membership in the EU as well as the starting date of membership negotiations. In the framework of regional cooperation, once it receives the candidate status, Serbia should establish diplomatic relations with Kosovo, which will be its precondition for joining EU.

The proposed solution to the Serbian quagmire over the status of Kosovo would accelerate Serbia's integration after twenty years of war and conflict and provide for a different set of relations among the countries of the region. In the long run, it would be the most advantageous path for Serbia, and for the rest of the Balkans it would set the foundations for durable stability and strengthening of mutual trust.

The author is a lecturer at the Faculty of Political Sciences, University of Belgrade

Holiday postcard

by Brano Mandić

The biggest two disgraces that I carry under my left breast to gnaw at me in long sleepless nights are the two misdeeds, two obligations I failed to meet, although I still don't know how I managed.

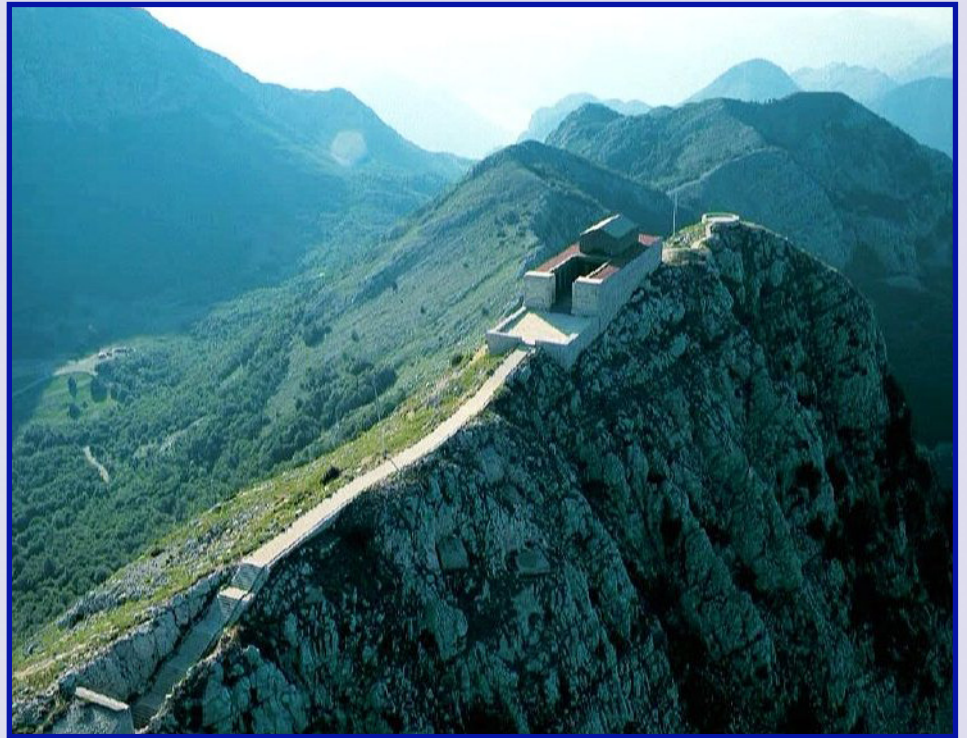
I consider myself fortunate: it takes great courage to admit to such foolishness. I'm risking the honour of my family and I can expect that tomorrow somebody will spit into my face in a bar, or that the waiter will spit into my coffee, or something worse from both, to quote Bishop Rade, to whom Ranko Krivokapić, president of the Parliament, responded with flowers and a sportsman's greeting: Keep the freedom!

Krivokapić can teach you a few things about how to overcome shame and I believe this is our supreme duty. That's also the subtle message of the folk tales' immortal verses "Timid

To whom should I raise my toast of middle finger on this occasion of public holiday – to Brussels or to Podgorica? We said, to all those who on the 21 May dined on state's money

shamefacedness compelled her to stay". *"The Faithful Wife of Hasanaga"* is an excellent demonstration that all Balkan tragedies, be them in verses, turn into a slaughterhouse because of some idiotic custom. Thus I hereby come out with my blush-faced confession: I have never climbed the holy mount Lovćen and I never read Charles Bukovsky's Ham on Rye. I confessed and saved my soul.

An equilibrist by choice, I chose precisely this holiday to empty my soul, hoping people would forgive me as a good Montenegrin and an offspring of two guerrilla tigers shot under the recently inaugurated obelisk, another token of our great history which placed Europe forever in our debt. I just don't know why everything



has to be so serious. Maybe it's an understandable trait of small peoples and freshly made states, but I can't keep to myself the feeling that we're playing history while the economy is crumbling together with our chances to catch up with the above mentioned continent.

I spent the state holiday in the company of family Adams. I mostly

hang out with the hand that comes out of the box and shows the middle finger to everyone who in the last couple of days winned and dined on the state's account.

From my window I can see the flag on the roof of Podgorica's Town Hall, pondering ways to escape to European Union for a month and write reportages, all the while craving to come back here where people know about courage and dignity and haven't forgotten the moral customs of their forefathers – they just stopped shooting at weddings, which annoys the hell out of me and that's why I'm not going to marry young.

In the meantime, I developed a belly at the age of thirty, a sack of fat, flabby belt, the Grandiose Beer Pouch

(GBP), particularly prominent when mounted on a skeleton of a failed midfield striker. It's a great affliction, my dear patriots, when you get fat pockets sticking on your hips, you look like a pregnant woman, your spine is crying out for rebalance like the Montenegrin budget, your ego is digging out pictures from high school graduation when you were still thin as a stick and proudly rose two fingers. Today you're just a fat ass who finds it ever more difficult to even raise one. To whom should I raise my toast of the middle finger on this occasion of public holiday – to Brussels or to Podgorica?

We said it, to all those who on the 21 May dined while the state picked up the bill. Stretch your arm upwards, like you're picking grapes. Remember with melancholy the ox roast on Cetinje three years ago. It was a good ox, a symbol of wealth, and it wasn't nice to see it dead, marinated in beer, on the front cover of "Vijesti". I protested with the editors. A roasted ox as the state symbol?!

First they slaughtered the ox, turned it towards Lovćen, then they skinned it and fixed it on an oiled spit. When it started to turn, the terrible merry-go-round of flesh revved up the folklore of the ancestors. The hungry

plebs sang to King **Nicolas** and told fortune of the weather to come. Nobody mentioned the crisis. Nor the workers, nor the peasants, except as a vanguard of the new times and progress.

The progress is evident and everyone can see it, especially our European friends. It's progress that there's no war. Excellent. It's a little complicated when you have to talk about progress while everyday you see another region or a city being systematically neglected, doctors treating only the patients who pay, politicians hand in hand with tycoons and everything else which essentially worries you less than your swollen belly. It's only human that personal problems always come before the social ones.

Especially in Montenegro, where you can't even find an orienteering club that was founded without someone's fervent participation inspired by the rear part of the body and an animal desire to profit under the table.

Right now my concern is to find the traces of this same primitivism in Europe – and I'll feel better. To see drunken broads pissing into open sewers on Friday nights on Camden City, or to see insatiable Bavarian families stuffing themselves dumb, or to marvel at the cold Alsations. To understand how this fragile human nature, on all meridians, in some corners still managed to fit into a system without devouring it from inside. That's my mission for the next European tour, I'm looking for a sponsor – if anybody is reading this, feel free!

I didn't start off with confessions for no reason. I believe we ought to admit to something important: we don't really care how the system functions. We watch our TV and never wonder how the machine turned on. We heard about **Tesla** and **Milo** and that's enough for us to have an opinion about politics and electricity. That's why our rebellions are always superficial and local critics of the system utterly inconsequential. They don't want to descend from their Parnassus of the 1990s when the inflammatory slogans about the totalitarian state



supposedly drew world's attention. But the world only stepped in because of the war, as always. To speak about ceaseless struggle for every atom of democracy today, when every half-literate activist can live well enough on the royalties dripping from all sides is, to put it bluntly, not fair. First show me your personal interest, than speak

process, Brussels is still a phantasmagoria which we'll hopefully get to know better soon. Some citizens are probably still hoping for supreme policemen to make some order in our institutions, but judging by the experiences so far this is total nonsense, fit only to lull in credulous opposition leaders.

Progress is evident and everyone can see it, especially our European friends. It's a little complicated when you have to talk about progress while every day you see another region or a city being systematically neglected, doctors treating only the patients who pay, politicians hand in hand with tycoons...

about the general good. If you want them to believe you, that's the way to go, patriots.

The only way left to go about this government is perhaps to laugh at them or take them on with rifles. Since our rifles and hand grenades perished in the MONDEM project of the Partnership for Peace (and Company), all that's left is to crack a few friendly jokes, not so much at the government as at its loyal chimney sweepers, an entire army of unenlightened good-natured chaps who had the bad luck to be born in an economically and culturally backward region of the former country. It will take a while to shed our habits of old and it's about time we accept that this is not a job for one single generation. In this

Holidays in Montenegro are time to sit down and think about future, and the state decided to use these historical happenings to fortify itself in the daily news. And again we had demonstrations of patriotism which are always ridiculous, but in the Balkans, somehow, more than elsewhere. I didn't laugh this time, because I'm seriously thinking of entering politics. I just don't know if it's better to join the government or the opposition. Both sides look so comfortable that it's hard to tell who's behind is more pampered. The behind is the bastion of human organism while it sits and talks about democracy.

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

ACCOUNTABILITY OF MONTENEGRIN GOVERNMENT

Tough job for civil society

In expectation of the European Commission's decision on liberalisation of the visa regime with the West Balkan



by Stevo Muk

countries, international media reported that the Montenegrin ministry of internal affairs and public policy issued a passport to the former prime minister of Thailand **Taksin Shinawatra**, who had been sentenced to two years in prison for corruption by his own country and is currently sought by Interpol.

Democratic, pro-European public in Montenegro expected the head of the Government of Montenegro, **Milo Đukanović**, or deputy prime minister for European Integrations **Gordana Đurović**

Thus in a perverse manner we learned that the Law on Protection of Private Data was not adopted to protect privacy of Montenegrin citizens but to cover up for the lack of responsibility on the part of their politicians and civil servants

to say "The case of the passport issued to the former Thai prime minister will be urgently and thoroughly investigated and those responsible will have to bear the consequences". Instead, deputy PM Đurović said that too much criticism on the part of some media, non-governmental organisations and representatives of the opposition is directed to cause damage to the citizens of our country and added "to my mind, this is destructive. They don't seem to understand the basics: the report on visa liberalisation is just being written, and their incessant repeating of such accusations will only bring harm to them and their colleagues who are waiting for hours and days in front of European embassies for their visas – not to the Government of Montenegro".

At the beginning of this affair the Minister of Internal Affairs and Public

Administration said he could not give more information on this case because of the Law on Protection of Personal Data, and later categorically refused to "give any further statements in relation to Shinawatra".

Thus in a perverse manner we learned that the Law on Protection of Private Data was not adopted to protect privacy of Montenegrin citizens but to cover up for the lack of responsibility on the part of their politicians and civil servants. Unfortunately for the minister of internal affairs and public policy, the said law, which was adopted late last year did not even come into force yet, and is scheduled for implementation starting with 1 July 2009.

Aleksandar Saša Zeković, researcher into violations of human rights supported the motion to make Minister of Internal Affairs and Public Administration **Jusuf Kalamperović** clarify his decision to grant Montenegrin citizenship to the former prime minister of Thailand and thus accept his responsibility for this act.

"Such concrete instances repeatedly confirm that in Montenegro the civil society is the only professionally and democratically fit entity that will insist on opening and closing of public questions and issues. Minister Kalamperović and Government as a whole are professionally and morally responsible to explain to the citizens of Montenegro which scientific, economic, cultural, national or sports interests of Montenegro did they take into account when they decided to give Montenegrin citizenship to the former Thai PM, currently sentenced and sought in his country. Public insistence to receive full information on this process should be understood as well intended and in the best interest of Montenegro. They especially owe a timely and adequate explanation to those few thousands living in Montenegro, sometimes for decades, who

are not able to acquire the citizenship under the terms of the new Law on Montenegrin Citizenship and were thus put in a very unenviable position. One should also allow for the possibility that some ministers or the whole government were simply cheated by self-interested individuals who failed to provide them with objective information. Either way, this issue deserves a more serious, more responsible treatment. In the interest of Montenegro's credibility and maintenance of the rule of law it is essential that the State Prosecutor should investigate whether there are elements of corruption and abuse of office behind this case of granting Montenegrin citizenship, especially by those persons who may have proposed the motion and are in a position to do so by virtue of their office, as specified by the Law. If the prosecution establishes that the interests of Montenegro and its citizens were damaged, the Government should offer a public apology, start the procedure for the withdrawal of citizenship and apply relevant sanctions to those responsible. That would be a clear confirmation of Montenegro's democratic capacities".

NGO "MANS" took up charges before the Administrative Court against the Ministry of Internal Affairs and Public Administration for violating the Law on Free Access to Information, after all legal deadlines expired within which the Ministry was supposed to respond to their request for information about the manner in which Shinawatra acquired Montenegrin citizenship and when and where was his passport issued. Ministry did not even bother to refuse the request and simply ignored them. According to MANS "Shinawatra received the new Montenegrin passport with biometric specifications, and according to the current procedure in order to do that he had to come to Montenegro and supply the data in a prescribed manner at a prescribed place. This suggests that the case is either a case of corruption on a very high level, which allowed circumvention of the entire procedure and all security mechanisms, or of an enormous, systemic

failure on the part of the Ministry.

In the midst of the "Shinawatra affair", prime minister Milo Đukanović first said "Now I see the media and non-governmental organisations discussing whether the decision (to issue the passport) was right or not. My answer is that they should first become ministers of interior affairs and then decide on such issues. As long as Kalamperović is the minister he is the one to decide and, in my opinion, he decided bearing in mind the best interests of Montenegro", Đukanović added.

He also said that those who are so eager to play minister "and would want to decide whether or not to give passports, should run for the elections, win, and then have the right to revise those decisions which, according to the current distribution of democratic forces on the political scene, belong to us".

Đukanović does not seem to understand that the decision about the existence of free media and non-governmental

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In an interview to the daily "Pobjeda" (still state-owned), on the occasion of Independence Day Đukanović called his critics "a filthy basin", "unfulfilled people", "chronically unsatisfied", "frustrated", explaining that such people "do not consider it in the least immoral to slander their own country which gave them everything they ever had in life, including such freedom of public expression", and that "they disguise their activities against the state as defence of human and media rights". He warned the public "not to trust the people who are capable of such slander of their homeland" and that he understands that these are "politically ambitious but unsuccessful, frustrated people, some of whom will, as time goes by, be ever less fit to govern and ever more in need of intensive care by their family in order to keep their aggressive behaviour in personal and professional surroundings at bearable levels".

This kind of discourse against the critics simply continues some earlier statements by Government and party officials who called such people "shameful" and "traitors". We just found out that the



law of silence among the top dogs and solidarity with the culprits; that nothing at all has changed in the Governments' atti-

tude towards arguments and criticism of non-governmental organizations and that we are still classified as patriots or traitors. Finally, we learned that Taksin Shinawatra is interested in buying St Nicholas island in Montenegro, in the vicinity of Budva. The island was put on sale by the "First

answers and accepts the role granted to it by party officials. Anything else is betrayal of national interests to those who believe themselves to be the state. And we all know how to deal with traitors. Such vocabulary thus comes dangerously close to an open call for disciplining of disobedient critics.

In a country where the editor of one daily was murdered and the perpetrators never found, where the director of another daily was beaten up on the street, the leading researcher of human rights violations threatened with death, followed, recorded and photographed without

Civil society is only welcome when it supports the Government, does not ask questions, does not look for answers and accepts the role granted to it by party officials. Anything else is a betrayal of national interests to those who believe themselves to be the state. And we all know how to deal with traitors. Such vocabulary comes dangerously close to an open call for disciplining of disobedient critics

Bank", which is in majority ownership of prime minister's brother, while Đukanović also owns a number of shares.

All these statements by prime minister Đukanović, deputy PM Đurović, Minister of interior affairs and public administration Kalamperović and others throughout the Shinawatra affair question the very rationale for the existence of civil society, non governmental organisations and the media. Civil society is only welcome when it supports the Government, does not ask questions, does not look for

authorization, and the perpetrators never found, two journalists who spoke and wrote about organised crime beaten up in the last two years – the perpetrators and commissioners, you guessed, were never found, and where the prime ministers speaks in this manner about those who think differently, chances are that something similar will happen again.

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

Like a carrot on a stick



I see the association process and membership in the European Union not as an end in itself but first of all as a chance for a more dynamic so-

by Ana Vujošević

cial, political and economic development, which does not stop on the day Montenegro joins the EU. On the contrary, this is just when the opportunities start to arise. It depends on our capacities and capabilities to what extent and under what circumstances and conditions we manage to exploit these opportunities, and, most importantly – on the kind of leadership that will lead Montenegro to EU.

Wondering why I want to be a citizen of EU, since we are geographically already part of Europe, my first association is the system of values. The EU somehow becomes an embodiment of the system of values we are trying to achieve, but also of the dream of a life worth living, effectively based on the principles which are the core of EU – freedom, democracy, rule of law and respect for human rights and freedoms. Right now, such a European family seems very far to me...

Why? The basic postulate of democracy is the possibility of the change of government through elections. At least that's what we learn at the university. What kind of democratic, European country are we talking about if I, a citizen of Montenegro which is supposedly on the threshold of EU, have seen the same crew ruling the country in which I live for a full 18 years?!

Democracy? Freedom? Rule of law? Better living standards? It seems naive to me to expect this ruling structures to accept such value categories, for at least two reasons: they are not in their tradition, and moreover they are in direct conflict with their private interests.

One has to wonder whether the story of EU is, metaphorically, just our local carrot on a long stick which is sometimes brought closer to us so that we can see it, smell it and want it badly enough to hope that sometimes we can also have it, provided we make ourselves as small, quiet and obedient as possible. In the meantime, we hear that we are getting closer and closer, just a little more, we're

almost there, a little more patience and then congratulations to all those who made it through...

I admire those who believe in fairytales. I am, however, a little more sceptical and I refuse to put on the pink glasses just to make my life a little more bearable.

I am not a Euro-sceptic, but I cannot accept that for the sake of some proclaimed better life, with almost religious fervour and blindness on the part of the elite, I should swallow up the illusion that under this conditions Montenegro can be a European success story. These are the same people who have been leading this country up and down, left and right for more than a decade, until most of us became completely stunned, like after a roller coaster, and we cannot see anything clearly because our heads are swimming from the crazy "ride" and we're just happy to be still alive and to have a solid piece of land under

the Balkans, for only this way can its citizens really get to feel the benefits of EU.

Is this dream unrealistic? Under the current circumstances, maybe. Is it worth the effort? Definitely yes.

On the other hand, I am aware that in this moment Montenegro could go on without EU only in case it becomes a champion of reforms. If it conducts a swift, profound, consistent and comprehensive reforms of its social, economic and political spheres and attain a politically comfortable, economically efficient order. This is what I think should anyway be the goal of a small country like ours, this is the country I want to live in, be it in or out of EU, and this is the only path that could give Montenegro a brighter perspective.

It is true that the association process as well as membership in the EU will bring many benefits: participation in the creation of EU policies and decisions, economic and techno-

New people with fresh ideas, with good intentions, expertise, courage and diligence, are what Montenegro needs most of all. These are the foundations we should start with – you don't build a house from the roof down

our feet.

It is indicative that the above metaphor of stick and carrot is the best lens through which we can observe the absurd pattern of rushing under the European carrot by fulfilling the formal conditions, without any substantial changes in the society. Outside all glaze, inside all rot.

Well, then – I, a citizen of Montenegro want my country to first deserve to be a part of Europe in the sense dictated by EU principles, to first become a truly bright example of

logical integration into the single market, access to development funds, support for agriculture, possibilities for greater private investment, substantial scientific and university cooperation, a chance to modernise the country, its economy and society. All of this, however, depends on political and economic capacities that a state can develop in the course of accession, and nothing is guaranteed.

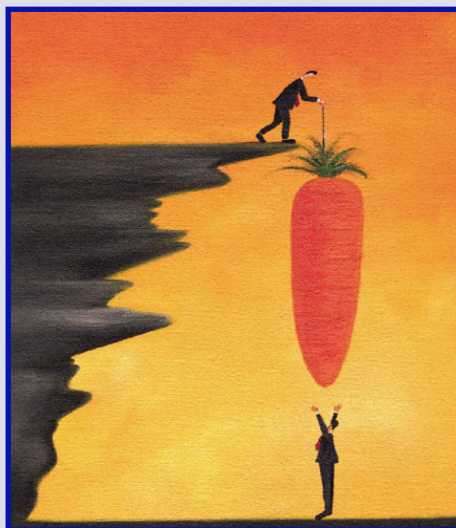
New people with fresh ideas, with good intentions, expertise, courage and diligence, are what Montenegro needs most of all. These are the foundations we should start with – you don't build a house from the roof down.

Do I want to be a citizen of EU?

If all the above conditions are met, and Montenegro finally starts on the road of comprehensive reforms, if we succeed in being invited to the EU as a civilised, democratic and economically developed, stable country, I would be the most proud citizen of that Union.

Right now, although I still hope that our institutions will pass the test (read: Questionnaire), I am sceptical about any change for the better for us, ordinary Montenegrin citizens.

The author is an associate of Centre for Civic Education. She attended VI generation of European Integrations School



EP says no to Le Pen

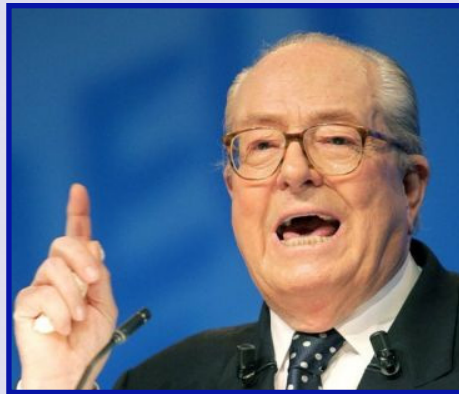
Members of the European Parliament have voted earlier this month in Strasbourg to change the rules of procedure in the EP, thus preventing the leader of the French extreme right **Jean Marie Le Pen** from presiding over the constitutive session of the European Parliament after the elections in June, in his capacity as the oldest MEP.

Until the election of the new Speaker, the constitutive session will be presided over by the former Speaker of EP or one of the 14 deputies, instead of the oldest MEP, which was the case so far.

President of the parliamentary club of Socialists **Martin Schulz** and vice-president of the Greens **Daniel Cohn-Bendit** initiated the motion in March expressing their concern over Jean Marie Le Pen, who is 80, presiding over the constitutive session.

The rules of procedure in the European Parliament have already been

changed once in 1989, when the MP from the list of Le Pen's National Front, **Claude Autant-Lara** presided over the constitutive session and held the opening speech which led a great number of MPs to abandon the session. After this, president of the constitutive session is forbidden to hold speeches.



TH!NK on EU roads

Norwegian automobile TH!NK is the first electric vehicle which acquired permission to be on the European Union roads, said the Dutch ministry of transport. The permission was issued by the Dutch minister of transport, Camiel



Eurlings, after the completed the symbolic test drive.

Dutch importer Elmonet, located in the city of Eelde in the north of the country, announced that the car, whose maximum speed is 100 kilometers per hour, is particularly well suited for city driving. The battery is recharged every 13 hours.

TH!NK City costs around 40 000 euros. The current model, owned by the Norwegian investors since 2006, is the fifth generation of a prototype developed already in 1991.

Serial production of the car started in 1999 with support of the main shareholder of the American giant Ford which in 2003 withdrew from the production of electric cars.

Cheaper with European health insurance

More than 180 million European citizens have a European health insurance card which was introduced on 1 June five years ago.

European health insurance cards were introduced in 31 countries – 27 EU members, Iceland, Lichtenstein, Norway and Switzerland.

This insurance card allows the holder easier access to health services when travel-

ling in other member states. As for the price, having a European card ensures the patient is charged according to the rules of the health system of the country in question. This is quite important in a number of countries such as Switzerland where a patient without this document pays private charges, which are much higher and not refundable.

European Capitals of Culture

European Commission announced that the Portuguese city Guimarães and Slovenian Maribor were elected European Capitals of Culture for 2012.

Marseille in France and Košice in Slovakia will be the culture capitals in 2013. This year the Euro-capitals are Austrian Linz and Vilnius in Lithuania. Next year the title will be shared by Essen in Germany, Pécs in Hungary and Istanbul in Turkey.

Still without decision on EU accession

Prime Minister of Iceland Jóhanna Sigurðardóttir said that majority in the Icelandic parliament is in favour of entering accession negotiations with EU, but that the two ruling coalition parties have still not agreed whether it is really necessary for Iceland to join EU.

The question of EU membership is the key bone of contention between the pro-European Social Democrats led by the PM Sigurðardóttir and the Euro-sceptic left-green party ever since these two parties won the elections together last month.

Mediterranean harvest

French agriculture is the single biggest recipient of finances from EU agricultural funds. Individually, however, the greatest number of "millionaires" – companies that receive millions in assistance from the Common Agricultural Policy are situated in Italy and Spain.

European Commission asked its member states to publish the names of beneficiaries of European agricultural funds, in order to revive discussion on the future of European agricultural policy, which accounts for 40% of European budget. Only Germany failed to fulfil the requirement, justifying it by the need to protect personal data under the existing national regulations.

In the course of the last year the highest subventions went to two Italian companies in sugar industry: Italia Zuccheri – 139.8 million euro, and its main competitor Eridania Sada – 125.3 million.

EC'S GENERAL ASSESSMENT: HOW CLOSE ARE MONTENEGRIN INSTITUTIONS TO FULFILLING THE BENCHMARKS OF THE ROADMAP

Could be better

It appears that Montenegro fulfilled all requirements of the Roadmap in the Block 1 – Document Security, and "meets a large majority of the benchmarks" set under Blocks 2 and 4 – illegal migration, including readmission and fundamental rights. As for Block 3 – Public order and Security, which includes prevention and fight against organised and financial crime, terrorism and corruption, it appears the country made "substantial progress" towards fulfilment of the benchmarks.

These are the conclusions of the European Commission document, based on which the EU member states are to decide whether to put Montenegro on the white Schengen list.

According to the May 2009

and courts, and assigned with presenting comparable crime data, is expected to contribute to this end. It is important to further develop data collection methods, providing analyses and interpretation of available statistics", recommends the Commission.

In the section dedicated to the prevention and fighting of financial crimes (money laundering, financing of terrorism and confiscation of criminal assets) the Reports states that the legislation on money laundering ought to be "strengthened" and implemented, and indicates the need to ensure "necessary financial and human resources on a sustainable basis".

The Report finds that the Montenegrin Financial Intelligence Unit

Implementation of the laws on money laundering and financial terrorism ought to be continued, and strengthened through adoption and implementation of supporting legislation... The record of final successful convictions for money-laundering (one case in April 2009) remains very limited. Better application of appropriate investigative methods and improved cooperation among the relevant law-enforcement authorities are necessary, warns European Commission

updated assessment by EC experts in charge of the Block 3 of the Roadmap, Montenegro "made a very good progress in establishing the legal framework for the fight against organised crime and corruption".

"The adoption of the new Criminal Procedure Code (CPC), which is currently in parliamentary procedure is expected to significantly enhance the investigative capacities of the competent national authorities", states the Report

It adds that "statistics should be improved in order to allow for tracking of trends in organised crime and corruption".

"The work of the tripartite body, attached to the National Commission, bringing together police, prosecutors

is well-staffed and provided with sufficient budget and adequate legal framework for its operation, but that "the number of suspicious transactions has been decreasing".

"The record of final successful convictions for money-laundering (one case in April 2009) remains very limited. Better application of appropriate investigative methods and improved cooperation among the relevant law-enforcement authorities are necessary", EC said.

It adds that proper implementation of the new Law on confiscated criminal assets of August 2008 will be in practice made possible by the adoption of the new Criminal Procedure Code, the new Law on the State Property Agency and the neces-



sary changes to the Criminal Code.

"The establishment of the State Property Agency which will be responsible for the managing of confiscated goods should now be ensured", warns EC.

The report says that the adoption of the Law on the Prevention of Conflicts of Interest in December 2008 "has been a positive step".

"The implementation of the innovations incorporated in the legislation should be pursued, including by reinforcing the Commission for the Prevention of Conflicts of Interest. The process of implementing GRECO recommendations and international conventions continued", said EC experts.

In terms of investigation and prosecution, the report finds that close working relations have been established amongst the different authorities responsible for fighting corruption, but that "final convictions for corruption are still limited, compared to the number of opened investigations and also to the public perception of the phenomenon".

The latest update of the Report conducted by the EC experts in May in the area of border management (Block 2) says that the new draft Law on State Border Control is currently being finalised and will be adopted by the end of the second quarter of

2009.

"This will further harmonise the country's legislation in this field with the Schengen Border Code. The necessary implementing measures should be adopted as a matter of priority".

The reports finds that the Montenegrin Border Police is "centralised and clearly structured", and that the available human resources are "sufficient, and the staffing level is 96%". The border police is able to allocate the necessary staff and technical resources to strategic locations to meet increased pressure caused by seasonal inflows of travellers. Border police staff is highly motivated, professional and generally well-informed of their tasks", states the EC report.

On the other hand, it points out that the training curricula at the Police Academy for border police officers are currently "inadequate".

"The basic training for border police officers is too general and does not focus sufficiently on key basic competences such as profiling and detection of fake documents. In addition, there is a need to organise more specialised and advanced training on risk analysis, detection of persons hiding in vehicles etc on the basis of a strategic training programme", EC said.

Regarding anti-corruption measures, significant steps have been taken.

"The code of conduct is well-known by border police officers and copies of it are available at all border crossing points. Hidden cameras exist at BCPs in order to detect cases of corruption", EC said.



In the May update assessment on migrations, EC experts explained that at the moment it is still too early for the assessment of the implementation of the new Law on Foreigners.

"Efficient implementation of will require the provision of necessary human resources and training on their new competences. Efficient inter-agency cooperation is very important to this end too, in particular between the Employment Bureau and Ministry of Interior and Public Administration", states the report.

It emphasises that "further efforts are required to improve the data collection and migration monitoring systems".

"Registers on foreigners currently remain paper-based and separated between different authorities. A centralised register for foreigners is currently missing but will be in operation from November 2009, under the man-

agement of the MoIPA. It should be ensured that functional, electronic access to this database is available to all relevant central authorities and local offices of the Police and administration", states the report.

It adds that MONSTAT currently lacks the human resources required to efficiently process and analyse migration statistics.

"Regarding integration policy, a more proactive approach is required both towards legally residing third country nationals and returnees to ensure they benefit from financial and social support to which they are entitled by relevant laws", said EC experts.

They emphasised that cross-border cooperation occurs with neighbouring countries on an ad hoc basis and that statistics suggest that existing capacity is not being efficiently used, as there is a decrease of the number of investigated cases of organised illegal migration (from 10 cases in 2007 to 4 in 2008).

The report finds that the Readmission Agreement between the EC and Montenegro is being implemented efficiently.

As for the Block 4 of the Roadmap, EC found that Montenegro has broadly put into place the strategic, legislative and institutional frameworks with regard to the areas of freedom of movement and identity documents, and citizens' rights including anti-discrimination and protection of minorities.

It adds that the "Montenegro has put in place a broadly adequate legal framework prohibiting discrimination", although the draft Anti-discrimination law has not yet been finalised.

"The legal and institutional framework for the protection of minorities is already largely in place and there have been increased efforts for its implementation through actions for the improvement of the situation of minorities. However, progress is rather slow, in particular, regarding the RAE population", says the Commission.

V.Ž.-V.Š.

FEW SNIFFER DOGS

Regarding border surveillance, EC experts found that the tactics employed are "adequate, but there is an overall need for improved and modern equipment such as alarm systems, vehicles, helicopters or fixed-wing aircraft, as well as trained sniffer dogs".

"Premises at some of the smallest Border Crossing Points require modernisation, and it should be ensured that all BCPs are properly fenced off. Regarding equipment, the number and selection of devices used in border checks are inadequate. Availability of integrated passport readers at BCPs is limited and no devices exist for taking fingerprints. Sniffer dogs should be trained and used for inspection of vehicles".

WHY ARE SMALL AND MEDIUM ENTERPRISES RELUCTANT TO EXPAND THEIR BUSINESSES TO OTHER EU MEMBERS

Taxes thicken the borders

The internal European market offers companies access to a market of 500 million people, yet a strikingly low number of small and medium-sized enterprises are making best use of the opportunities available.

Based on Article 43 of the Treaty establishing the European Communities, the freedom of establishment principle allows entrepreneurs to set up a company in any EU country.

In practice, more than 99% of EU companies are small and medium-sized enterprises with no more than 250 employees and a maximum turnover of €50 million. However, only 8% of them engage in cross-border trade and just 5% have subsidiaries or joint ventures abroad, according to the European Commission.

High costs and various administrative requirements regarding

end of 2009, is seen as the key tool to remove these hurdles for cross-border business.

Its directive is to achieve a genuine internal market for services by removing legal and administrative barriers to the development of service activities between member states in a number of areas: most regulated professions (e.g. legal and fiscal advisers, architects, engineers, accountants, surveyors), construction services, business-related services (e.g. office maintenance, management consultancy, the organisation of events, advertising), distributive trades, tourism, information services, training and education, all the way to household support services (e.g. cleaning, taking care of children or gardening).

The observers claim that the biggest obstacle to development of intra-EU trade of goods and serv-

In practice, more than 99% of EU companies are small and medium-sized enterprises with no more than 250 employees and a maximum turnover of €50 million. However, according to the European Commission, only 8% of them engage in cross-border trade and just 5% have subsidiaries or joint ventures abroad

taxation, invoicing or registration are preventing many SMEs from doing business across EU borders. The EU has taken various steps to address this issue – first and foremost, the adoption of the Services Directive – but at the moment, the EU's large internal market is still far from becoming a reality for the vast majority of SMEs.

The Services Directive, which was adopted end of 2006 and has to be fully implemented by the

ices are the prevailing large differences in tax systems, which trigger high compliance costs.

European Commission figures from 2008 showed that cross-border taxation costs can make up to 2.5% of turnover for SMEs, as opposed to a mere 0.02% for larger businesses.

"As far SMEs are concerned, the EU is indeed one single market, but it is burdened by 27 diverse and inconsistent tax sys-



tems" stressed **Andrea Benassi**, secretary-general of SME federation UEAPME.

On company taxation, EU member states have lacked enthusiasm so far for "home state taxation", which would allow companies operating across borders to calculate their taxable profits on the basis of their home country's taxation system. The Commission's now plans to introduce a Common Consolidated Corporate Tax Base (CCCTB) which would provide at least minimum harmonisation between European tax systems.

Entrepreneurs and business lobbies often complain that busy SME owners have little time to research markets outside their local area, and that the variety of legal and taxation systems makes it expensive and time-consuming to expand across borders. The Enterprise Europe Network was thus established to help firms find information on developing their businesses and finding partners in other countries.

But the biggest step in that direction is precisely the Services

directive which makes it possible for companies and individuals providing services to complete all necessary formalities, such as authorisations, notifications, environmental licences, through points of single contact.

In line with the 'freedom to provide services' principle, Services Directive obliges EU countries to abolish unnecessary or disproportionate authorisation schemes, remove discriminatory requirements based on nationality or residence, and eliminate particularly restrictive requirements, such as "economic needs" tests, which require businesses to carry out market studies to prove to the authorities that there is a demand for their services.

Certain requirements can still be imposed under very limited circumstances if they are deemed necessary for public policy, public security and protection of public health or environment.

Furthermore, there are certain general derogations to the 'freedom to provide services' clause, including the posting of workers abroad and the recognition of professional qualifications. The directive also



enhances the rights of service recipients: consumers and businesses should be able to use the services of providers based in other EU countries without the need to

High costs and various administrative requirements regarding taxation, invoicing or registration are preventing many SMEs from doing business across EU borders

obtain prior authorisation, and national authorities are required to provide general information and assistance on consumer rights and redress procedures regardless of the origin of the firm.

Despite the overall support for the Services Directive, almost one third of member states – Belgium, the Czech Republic, Estonia, Finland, France, Greece, Slovenia and Spain – are expected to fail to transpose it into national law by the end of 2009.

EU finance ministers recently approved of similar one-stop-shop schemes, but limited their use only to services provided electronically. UEAPME called for extending the application of one-stop shops to "as many sectors as possible".

Another step into this direction is the Commission proposal for creating a European Private Company Statute (EPC). The EPC would simplify the legal framework and allow businesses to be established and run across borders under the same rules and principles

in all member states. The minimum amount of capital required to set up a European private company has been set at a symbolic €1.

In February, the European Parliament gave its green light to the EPC, but some member states still have their reservations about it for fear that it could threaten national company statutes.

The European Commission also launched Erasmus for Young Entrepreneurs to encourage young business people to spend time shadowing an experienced entrepreneur in another EU member state. Under the pilot scheme, the Commission will pay up to €1,100 per month to 870 aspiring business start-ups to learn from an established SME for between one and six months.

IN CRISIS TIMES, THREE DAYS TO OPEN A BUSINESS

European Commission's efforts to facilitate access to the single market to small and medium enterprises have received an additional push from the ongoing financial crisis, which has hit SMEs extremely hard, due to the lack of financing options.

Against this background, the Commission's European Economic Recovery Plan, which EU leaders approved at their summit on 12 December 2008, called for a further lowering of restrictions on starting up a company. The new targets are:

- Costs for starting up a company must be reduced to zero
- Time for starting up a company must be reduced to three days
- Countries must have a one-stop-shop for new businesses, so entrepreneurs can carry out all the required procedures (e.g. registration, tax, VAT and social security) via a single administrative contact point, either physical (an office), virtual (web), or both.

V.Š.–V.Ž.

Regional Democracy School

Between 18 and 22 May 2009 Friedrich Ebert Stiftung organised VII Regional Democracy School in Banja Luka, in cooperation with Centre for International Relations from Banja Luka and Centre for International Studies from Zagreb. The school brought together 24 students from three countries and four cities – Banja Luka, Tuzla, Zagreb and Podgorica, who had a chance to hear renowned lecturers in various fields. After the lectures, participants visited the Croatian Consulate in the Republic of Srpska, as well as Banski Dvori, where they met with the Croatian vice president of the Republic of Srpska Davor Čordaš and received their diplomas for successfully completed programme.

Like in the previous years, the School was a major success, as it brought together young people from the region in a very special way and motivated them to think together about paths to democracy and Europeanisation. They all agreed that it is essential that all countries progress along their common road to EU. Ideas about democracy, justice, equality, freedom, as well as tolerance and culture of dialogue ought to be their means for reaching this goal.

Montenegrin participants in the School were **Mirela Rebronja** and **Ivana Tatar**, programme associates of Centre for Civic Education (CCE). CCE has a long standing cooperation with organisers of this programme.

I have an idea

The grand final of the first high-school competition in rhetoric "I have an idea" took place on the 8 May 2009 in Centre for Civic Education. The competition was organised by CCE, A-SMYLE alumni group and Debate Club of Gymnasium "Slobodan Škerović". Twelve high-school students from all parts of Montenegro participated in the final, and the win-

ner was **Nikola Zeljak** from Bijelo Polje, who presented the jury and the public with his idea to organise a theatre performance for children with special needs. Nikola Zeljak will receive 300 euros as well as technical and logistical assistance to realise his idea. The second and the third place went to **Merima Dževeradžović** and **Ognjen Kovačević** from Podgorica. The first three places will also have a chance to participate in the popular series on Atlas television *Choose the leader*.

A European angle on Montenegro

On 4 May 2009 in Berlin, at a panel titled "Montenegro and its road to EU – challenges and perspectives" **Gordana Đurović**, deputy prime minister; **Nebojša Medojević**, president of the Movement for Changes; **Daliborka Uljarević**, executive director of Centre for Civic Education; **Srdan Milić**, president of the Socialist People's Party and **Željko Ivanović**, director of the daily *Vijesti*, offered their views on the current developments in Montenegro.

The participants focused on the developments since independence,

state of reforms, and gave their interpretation of the last parliamentary elections, expected impact of the world economic crisis, as well as of expectations of European Union and the extent to which Montenegro is ready for EU.

The audience was also interested in numerous other aspects, and the discussion was long and dynamic.

The panel was organised by Friedrich Ebert Foundation. The participants also had a chance to attend several meetings with a number of German decision-makers.

NON-GOVERNMENTAL ORGANISATIONS IN EUROPEAN UNION



EUROPEAN FEDERATION FOR TRANSPORT AND ENVIRONMENT

European Federation for Transport and Environment is an independent, non-profit, pan-European association with scientific and educational aims, founded to promote and develop EU policies in the field of sustainable development, especially with regard to transport and environment. Established in 1990, T&E has grown to become the principal environmental organisation campaigning on sustainable transport at the EU level.

T&E's mission is to promote a policy of transport based on the principles of sustainable development, which minimises negative impacts on the environment and health, irrational use of energy and land and reduces all economic and social costs caused by transport-related pollution.

T&E's work is supported by 49 member organisations working in 23 countries to promote an environmentally sound approach to transport and improve environmental and transport policies in the EU in line with the principles of sustainable development.

Their main work areas at the moment relate to the problems caused by CO2 emissions, transport-induced noise, problems with lorries, aviation and shipping, air and water pollution caused by larger cargoes carried by such means of transportation and effective implementation of road charges.

T&E is an NGO in Special Consultative Status with the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations and coordinates the International Coalition for Sustainable Aviation (ICSA) which has observer status at the International Civil Aviation Organisation (ICAO). T&E is also a member of the Green 10 group of environmental NGOs active on EU policy.

T&E rich publishing activity includes, among other, a monthly report on discussions, research and trends in the development of European environmental and transportation policy.

More information can be found at www.transportenvironment.org

Prepared by: **Petar ĐUKANOVIĆ**

Fifth regional forum on transitional justice



Teršalič, van Dartel, Krivokapić, Uljarević, Mirel, Kandić

The fifth regional forum on transitional justice in post-Yugoslav countries took place on 29 and 30 May in Bečići, near Budva. The Forum was preceded by the Assembly of Members, held on the 28 May, which adopted the Statute of RECOM coalition and elected Coordination Council.

The event was organised by Centre for Civic Education and Human Rights Action from Podgorica on behalf of a coalition of more than 300 organisations and individuals from the region, and represented a continuation of consultations on the establishment of a Regional Commission for the establishment of facts regarding war crimes and other violations of human rights (RECOM) on the territory of former SFRY.

Introductory session was moderated by **Daliborka Uljarević** on behalf of the organisers and hosted **Ranko Krivokapić**, president of the Parliament of Montenegro, **Pierre Mirel**, head of the office for Western Balkans in DG Enlargement, European Commission, and **Ron J.P.M. van Dartel**, ambassador of the Kingdom of Netherlands to Montenegro and Serbia.

Their speeches were followed by reports on the consultations on the establishment of RECOM by **Nataša Kandić**, Humanitarian Law Centre, Serbia; **Shukrije Gashi**, Partners Kosova, Kosovo; **Vesna Teršalič**, Documenta, Croatia; **Vehid Šehić**, Forum of Citizens of Tuzla, Bosnia and Herzegovina; and **Tea Gorjanc Prelević**, Human Rights Action, Montenegro.

Forum gathered more than 380 participants from all countries on the territory of former SFRY, individuals and representatives of non-governmental organisations, associations of victims and families of victims, as well as prosecutors, judges, artists, representatives of youth organisations, political parties, media and institutions.

On the first day of the Forum former member of the Commission for Equality and Reconciliation from Morocco, **Abdelhay Moudden**, and former advisor in the Commission for Acceptance, Truth and Reconciliation from East Timor, **Patrick Burgess**, presented the experiences of other communities and regions in their efforts to reach truth, reconciliation and prevention of future conflicts through dialogue and objective research into facts. The afternoon session consisted of four parallel workshops: Why RECOM, Structure of RECOM, Mandate of RECOM, and Public Hearing.

The accompanying programme featured documentary *War for Peace* authored by **Koča Pavlović** from Montenegro, followed by a discussion of the film between the author, journalists **Luko Brailo**, **Šeki Radončić** and **Vesna Teršalič**, one of the founding members of RECOM initiative.

The second day of the Forum started with a public hearing of victims and witnesses of war crimes, who offered their personal tragedies to the public in order to save them from oblivion, but also to assist in establishing the truth about past events. Among those who agreed to share their

Never forget, never again

On 28.05.2009 in Podgorica Centre for Civic Education and Human Rights Action organised a media conference commemorating 17 years since the war crime of deportation of refugees from Bosnia and Herzegovina from Montenegro, titled "Never forget, never again".

Guest speakers were **Šeki Radončić**, author of the book "Fatal Freedom" and scenarist of the film "Carneval" about deportation; **Jasenska Perović**, sister of the late **Alenko Titorić** and representative of the Association of Families of Refugees Deported from Montenegro in 1992; **Nataša Kandić**, director of the Humanitarian Law Centre from Belgrade; **Esad Kočan**, chief editor of the weekly Monitor and **Daliborka Uljarević**, executive director of Centre for Civic Education on behalf of the organizers.

experiences were **Šekeret Krasniqi**, who survived a firing squad, **Mario Lučić**, former inmate of the camp in Morinj, **Andelko Kvesić**, prisoner from Zenica, **Nikola Šašo**, whose parents were killed during operation Oluja in Croatia, **Cvetko Ristić**, who was twelve when his parents, sister and brother were killed, **Husnija Avdagić**, who was kept in several camps in BiH and **Nenad Mihajlović**, whose two sons were taken by KLA in Kosovo and never found again.

The goal of RECOM is to compile a precise, public and objective record on war crimes and other violations of human rights committed on the territory of former SFRY, including recognition for the victims and their suffering, and ensuring that the crimes are never repeated. RECOM would be a regional body founded by the successor states of former SFRY, independent of its founders and focused on the experiences of the victims.

The RECOM is expected to compile a list of victims and human losses, and thus finally end manipulations with the numbers of murdered. The commission would be of great assistance to prosecutors dealing with war crimes and existing Commissions for missing persons, and its work could create preconditions for understanding and tolerance and return dignity to the victims and their families.

FOR THIS ISSUE WE RECOMMEND:

FULL MTEC SCHOLARSHIP

The Dutch government will be refunding the costs as part of the MATRA Training for European Cooperation (MTEC) programme.

The scholarships are intended primarily for recent college graduates and young officials from new EU member states and pre-accession states. In this way the Netherlands wishes to contribute to the enhancement of strategic cooperation and partnerships on the basis of the core values which are shared by the EU. In addition to attending the master's programme, students will take part in a social programme – which includes an introduction to the Netherlands – and will follow a personal development programme. Deadline for applications is 1 July 2009.

An MTEC scholarship covers tuition fee, study materials, housing, subsistence, insurance, visa costs, travel to and from the home country, a personal development programme (including effective leadership, change management, project planning) and a social programme (Introduction programme, excursions, and access to the unique campus facilities of the University of Twente).

Applicants who want to be considered for an MTEC Scholarship have to go through the regular admission procedure of the University of Twente starting at <http://pa.graduate.utwente.nl>.

Prospective students need to have completed a bachelor degree in Public Administration or strongly related social sciences, live in the relevant states at the time of application, have an IELTS subscore of 6.0 minimum on all four aspects of the IELTS test, and may not be older than 35 years.

More information about the scholarship are available on the website: www.unimaas.nl

CALL FOR PAPERS POLITICAL SCIENCE RESEARCH CENTRE (PSRC) FORUM 10TH INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE

Organised by: Political Science Research Centre, Zagreb, Croatia and Scientific Forum, Zagreb, Croatia

Information Society and Globalisation: Transformation of Politics

Date: October 22–23, 2010

Place: University of Dubrovnik, Dubrovnik, Croatia
Supported by: REGIMEN (Research Network on International Governance Globalization and the Transformations of the State)

Deadline for submitting application and paper proposals: June 30th 2010

More details about the PSRC Forum may be found on: <http://www.cpi.hr/index.php?menu=8>

The main objective of the 10th International

Conference of PSRC Forum Information Society and Globalisation: Transformation of Politics is to provide insights into global changes brought by the development of information and communication technologies, with a particular focus on their impact on the political sphere. By enabling a multidisciplinary discussion, this conference aims at a broad scientific insight of these phenomena.

List of specific topics as a guideline for paper theses and discussions

I. Technology, Society and History

II. ICT and Media

III. Information Society and Politics

All proposals and papers should be written in English.

There is a limited fund for covering travel and accommodation costs for participants, so we encourage you to apply as soon as possible.

The Conference Papers will be published as a print version, as well as an electronic version on the web site www.cpi.hr.

For any further information please contact: Lana Kosovac, Political Science Research Centre Scientific Forum, Zagreb, Croatia, Tel/Fax: +385 1 3863 113, E-mail: ana.kosovac@cpi.hr

Web site: www.cpi.hr

POLICY FELLOWSHIP 2009/2010

The Local Government and Public Service Reform Initiative (LGI) of the Open Society Institute is pleased to announce 3 topics for its 9th Annual Policy Fellowship Program.

Topic 1: Managing Local Public Service Provision in a Period of Global Economic Crisis

Topic 2: Improving Local Government-Third Sector Cooperation in the Delivery of Local Services

Topic 3: Improving Quality, Efficiency and Access to Education through Finance and Management Reforms

LGI is accepting proposals for all 3 topics from our predominant geographic area of activity, i.e. the transition regions of South Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union. In addition to this, applications for Topic 1 are open to nationals of the European Union, and for Topic 2 to nationals of the new European Union member states of Central Eastern Europe, Indonesia and Peru.

The deadline for submitting online applications is June 21, 2009.

Detailed information about the topics, the application procedures, the target fellows and regional focuses can be found in the attached document and on the LGI website by clicking on http://lgi.osi.hu/documents.php?id=2675&m_id=19 In order to submit your application please go to http://lgi.osi.hu/documents.php?id=2675&m_id=19&bid=1

For more information on the LGI Fellowship Program contact the Program Manager Masha Djordjevic at mdjordjevic@osi.hu



EUROPEAN STUDIES: BORDERS AND IDENTITIES IN EUROPE ORGANISER: THE UNIVERSITY OF HELSINKI, NETWORK FOR EUROPEAN STUDIES

Dates: 4–20 August 2009

COORDINATOR: Ms. Laura Tuominen, laura.e.tuominen@helsinki.fi

The course examines shifting borders and identities in Europe in current and historical perspectives. The first part of the course focuses on the recent trends in the political system of the EU with a special attention paid on the dimensions of contestation and rival identities. The second part discusses the dynamic interrelationship between borders and collective identity constructions in Europe in a longer historical perspective. Emphasis will be on the shifting understandings of Europe, its regions and states, especially as seen through the histories of two 20th century "border states", Finland and Austria.

The topics covered during the lectures include:

- Public opinion on European integration
- The party politics of European integration
- Lines of conflict in EU decision-making (European Parliament, Council)
- Supranational democracy or intergovernmental policy coordination?
- Democratic deficit?
- Definitions of Europe and European identities
- European borderlands: The cases of Austria and Finland
- Small states in European politics in the 20th century
- Europe of regions, Central Europe and northern Europe, in particular

The grading will be based on the lecture diary (50%) – a written report based on the lectures – and the workshop performance (50%). The lecture diary must be handed in by Wednesday August 19. Please direct any questions concerning the content of this course to the Coordinator, Ms. Laura Tuominen, laura.e.tuominen@helsinki.fi Any questions concerning the general arrangements (accommodation, scholarship, etc.) should be addressed to the Summer School's office at summer-school@helsinki.fi.

More details are available at the website: www.helsinki summerschool.fi

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Technical Editor: Blažo Crvenica; Language Editor: Milena Milunović;

English Language Editor: Maja Mugoša; Translation: Vera Šćepanović

Njegoševa 36/I; Tel/fax: +382 20 665-112, 665-327; E-mail: ep@cgo-cce.org, info@cgo-cce.org

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