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DEADLINES

A few days ago minister of European integrations **Gordana Đurović** said that Montenegro will probably get the membership candidate status in the second half of 2010, and begin accession negotiations in the first quarter of 2011.

Why shouldn't we believe this optimistic forecast?

We got ahead of Albania which started on the European road ahead of us, and we are right behind Macedonia, which has been waiting for the beginning of its negotiations for three and a half years.

Further, it is realistic to expect that by 15 November all EU members will have ratified Montenegro's Stabilisation and Association Agreement, in the record period of two years, unmatched by any country so far. Together with Skopje and Belgrade we are a hair's breadth from the White Schengen, and we know that EU closed an eye for Serbia.

Casting a superficial glance on the events in EU, we can go even further, and conclude that Montenegro is not only a success story in the Balkans, but a typical European country. We have a prime minister who, just like his Italian counterpart **Silvio Berlusconi**, controls a large part of the media and frequents parties organised and attended by billionaires.

We also have MPs like Britain who are content with their lap tops and travel allowances, instead of using the taxpayers' money to keep their cars and houses in good shape.

We even have strikes, just like Greece or France.

The difference is that in Britain the MPs can be held accountable, that Greece and France can force the employers to pay the workers and the state their dues, that Berlusconi will be just one of the many Italian PMs with a short mandate...

Which is why we should work towards EU and hope that the negotiations will begin when Đurović predicted. This is where the real changes begin. The first chapter to be negotiated is education, and that's where we start talking about nepotism, corruption, political influence...

V.Ž.

Sweden opens a consulate (4 June) – Sweden, which is supposed to take over EU's presidency on 1 July, opened a consulate in Podgorica. The priority areas for the upcoming Swedish presidency will be: economic crisis, climate change and change in personnel of EU institutions. Sweden is traditionally one of the most dedicated advocates of EU enlargement, and its presidency will continue to work towards integrating Montenegro, announced the Embassy of Sweden in Belgrade.

Barrot announces White Schengen (5 June) – Vice president of the European Commission **Jacques Barrot** announced the possibility that the EU will approve the abolishment of visas for Serbia, Montenegro and Macedonia by the end of 2009.

Elections for European Parliament (4–7 June) – Citizens of EU member states elected 736 MPs to the new assembly of European Parliament, with record low turnout of 42.85%. The biggest winners by a large margin are European centre-right parties united in the EP as European People's Party (EPP) who won 263 seats or 35.7%. European Socialists (PES) remain the second largest political group with 163 MEPs, followed by liberals (80 seats). The largest increase in the number of seats compared to the previous elections was recorded by Greens, who remain the fourth biggest force in EP. They won 52 seats.



Refugee status problem for visa-free travel (13 Jun) – Head of the EC Delegation in Montenegro **Leopold Maurer** emphasised that, with regard to the upcoming decision on Montenegro's inclusion in the White Schengen list, "there remains an area where Montenegro is still struggling with the past". "There are more than 20 000 refugees from parts of former Yugoslavia, 16 000 of them from Kosovo. Out of these 16 000, 4 000 are Roma, and there are problems with their legal status. This must be resolved", Maurer said.

Better coordination needed (16 June) – Deputy head of the unit for Montenegro and Albania in the Directorate General Enlargement **Vassilis Maragos** said Montenegro should dedicate greater attention to the issues of coordination between justice, freedom and security services, including those regarded by the Commission as "political criteria", such as organisation of the judiciary and fight against corruption. "On the other hand, there is the need for sustained dedication not only on the part of central institutions, but also of all sectoral and ministerial organs who are involved in this area", explained Maragos at the meeting of Enhanced Permanent Dialogue for Justice, Freedom and Security between Montenegro and EC.

Three quarters of graduates in favour of EU (18 June) – 72% of high-school graduates supports Montenegro's accession to EU, while 13.3% opposes it, shows the opinion poll conducted by students of the Faculty of Administrative and European Studies (FDES). The poll showed that students in the last years of high school know little about the relations between the state and the EU, and only 31.3% know that Montenegro does not have the status of candidate for EU membership.

Four countries to go (19 June) – France ratified Stabilisation and Association Agreement signed between Montenegro and EU on 15 October 2007. The agreement remains to be ratified by Great Britain, Belgium, Italy and Greece.

Response by November (26 June) – Head of EC Delegation to Montenegro Leopold Maurer said he expects Montenegrin Government and institutions to respond to the Questionnaire by November, which would allow the Commission to prepare its opinion quickly, based on which EU member states could decide on the candidate status for Montenegro already by autumn 2010.

A VIEW FROM EU

Visa-free travel a win-win situation

Over the past year, five countries in the region have carried out fundamental reforms that will help to protect



by Gerald Knaus and
Alexandra Stigmayer

them and the EU against organised crime and irregular migration. They have introduced biometric passports, modernised their border crossing points, built reception centres for asylum seekers, established closer cooperation with Europol, Eurojust, Frontex and Interpol, and strengthened the fight against corruption and organised crime.

Most of these countries have worked with remarkable speed and determination. They have had a reason to meet close to 50 conditions set out in "visa roadmaps" issued by the European Commission last year. The ultimate reward, attractive to both citizens and leaders of these countries, is freedom to travel to the Schengen area, without visas and queues.

The commission assessments last month noted that Macedonia has met the roadmap criteria; Montenegro and Serbia have met the majority of the conditions; and Albania and Bosnia and Herzegovina, meanwhile, will need to do more. Now the ball is in the EU's court. People across the region ask: will the EU really reward the progress made and lift the visa requirements?

The visa liberalisation process had been long in coming. Since the visa obligation was imposed on all the countries of the region except Croatia in the early 1990s, their governments had asked what they would have to do to get rid of it again.

In 2003, at the Balkan summit in Thessaloniki, they were promised discussions about the necessary reforms, but there was no serious follow-up for many years.

Thus, even though all Western Balkan countries were potential or official candi-

dates for EU membership, their citizens have continued to queue for visas – a time-consuming, stressful and often expensive affair with no certain positive outcome. In their minds, the visa requirement has cast serious doubts on the credibility of the European perspective of their countries.

The current process was finally launched when the European Commission and a critical number of EU member states realised that the situation was to the EU's disadvantage not only for political reasons, but also from a law enforcement perspective.

The union needs improved co-operation with competent law enforcement bodies in the western Balkans – surrounded on all sides by EU member states – in order to fight irregular migration and organised crime more effectively.

In 2006 the EU first offered the Western Balkan countries visa facilitation (easier visa application procedures) in

The roadmap process is a textbook example of conditionality. Conditionality works best as long as it is credible, strict and fair and as long as the link between reforms and rewards is clearly spelt out and acted upon

return for readmission agreements (which allow EU countries to return migrants found to have arrived illegally to their countries of origin or transit). This was followed in January 2008 by the current visa dialogues centred on the roadmaps.

Between January and March of this year, 15 missions comprising law enforcement experts sent by the member states, as well as commission officials, went to the western Balkans.

The experts scrutinised what had been done to advance document security, border control, migration management and public security. This was the most thorough analysis of the state-of-affairs in these areas ever undertaken. Based on the results the Commission could draw up detailed assessments. To the surprise of many sceptics, the conditionality had produced results across the whole region.

What are the next steps? Now the commission must make a proposal naming the countries which should no longer be subject to a visa requirement. Afterwards

the European Parliament will be consulted, and in the autumn the Council will vote on the proposal by qualified majority.

Macedonia should be granted visa-free travel since it has met the roadmap requirements.

The commission should also propose placing Serbia and Montenegro on the "Schengen White List" as they have proven their political will, meeting most requirements, and still have the time, before the Council actually votes, to show their continued determination.

Lastly, it would be advisable to symbolically move Albania and Bosnia and Herzegovina onto the White List, while clearly stipulating that visa-free travel will not begin for them until the commission confirms in another assessment that the two countries have met all the roadmap conditions.

The roadmap process has been a textbook example of conditionality. However,

conditionality not only requires an appropriate reward and clear, detailed conditions: the reward must also be delivered when the conditions are met.

In this way, the EU will strengthen its credibility in the region, create a fertile ground for wider reforms, and encourage cross-border co-operation between ever more competent institutions to fight common threats.

The EU talks a lot about conditionality in the Balkans. It is right to do so. Conditionality works best as long as it is credible, strict and fair and as long as the link between reforms and rewards is clearly spelt out and acted upon.

The visa roadmap story shows that there is still a lot of life in the notion of EU "soft power" in the Balkans. Taking the next logical step would benefit everyone, both in the EU and in the western Balkans. It is, for once, a true win-win situation.

The authors are founders and senior analysts of the European Stability Initiative

UNDER THE PRESSURE OF EUROPEAN COMMISSION MONTENEGRO WILL SOON HAVE A LAW FORBIDDING DISCRIMINATION

White Schengen against mobbing

European Union will "force" Montenegro to formally recognise all of its citizens



by Danilo Mihajlović

as equal in rights and before the law.

The Parliament, according to the plan, will adopt a law against discrimination by the end of the year. Various Government and NGO representatives have been working on this draft for almost a decade. The question is, however, whether this act which, according to the draft, cannot be limited or suspended under any circumstances, including war, would have ever made it to the agenda if it did not become one of the conditions for liberalisation of the visa regime.

One of the authors of this law and deputy minister for human and minority rights **Sabahudin Delić** said that the draft has been sent to the Venetian Commission for expert evaluation and that the response from this advisory body to the Council of Europe is expected to arrive soon.

"This is a very important law. We would be happy if the evaluation arrived as soon as possible", Delić said.

If the law manages to pass the Parliament vote, for the first time in history discrimination on the grounds of "sexual orientation" will be forbidden in Montenegro. The

law also introduces two entirely new concepts in Montenegrin legislation – mobbing (i.e. physical molestation at work) and segregation.

"The draft law is very well conceived and will bring genuine revolution in the area of protection against human rights violations", says the researcher of human rights violations **Aleksandar Saša Zeković**.

Law against discrimination is conceived as a systemic act, providing the basis and mechanisms for combating discrimination on any personal grounds – race, skin colour, ancestry, citizenship, nationality or ethnic origin, religious or political affiliation, gender, gender identity, sexual orientation, property status, birth, genetic characteristics, health, marriage and family status, prior

THE STATE UNWILLING TO PREVENT SEGREGATION

Zeković believes it is very important that the law explicitly forbids segregation which, according to him, is at the moment widespread in many areas of Montenegrin society.

Segregation is involuntary, systematic division of persons into groups and restriction of these groups' privileges based on racial, ethnic, national, religious or sexual affiliation, disability or other personal characteristics.

"Unfortunately, there are plenty of examples of segregated education in Montenegro. When this law comes into force, every form of segregation will qualify as discrimination", he explained.

He illustrates the problem with the example of Vrela Ribnička, an area of Podgorica where the Roma camp is situated. The area has a section of the elementary school "Božidar Vuković Podgoričanin", which only has Roma students. There is also a kindergarten, with the same function.

Zeković adds that this makes it very important that the state creates all necessary preconditions to ensure that the law does not remain only on paper, and secure its implementation.

"In spite of all changes brought by the law, it seems to me that the state is not quite ready for them yet. The best would be if the who society makes an effort to create a conducive environment for its implementation. The state must be ready for this", he said.

According to the draft, it is forbidden to prevent or make difficult enrolment into an educational institution, or participation in the work of such institutions, to limit or withhold opportunities for attending lectures and participation in other educational activities to persons or groups of persons based on their personal characteristics. It is also forbidden to divide students based on personal characteristics, mistreatment and other forms of unjustified differentiation and unequal treatment.

It is also forbidden to discriminate against educational institutions whose work is conducted in accordance with the laws and other regulations.

criminal record, age, looks, membership in political, trade union and other organisations...

The first working version of the law was written by Delić himself together with **Orhan Šahumović**, secretary to the Ministry for human and minority rights, **Nenad Koprivica**, executive director of CEDEM, **Ivana Jelić**, professor at the Law Faculty and **Mikosav Bošković**, advisor to the Constitutional Court of Montenegro.

"The key contribution of this law is to promote indivisibility of human rights and treat them together in a single context. This is a serious shortcoming in Montenegro so far, whether we speak of public institutions or subjects dealing directly with the monitoring of human rights implementation", Zeković said.

He added that the current draft emphasises clearly this indi-



visibility and that it will earn Montenegro recognition of a country with high quality policies in the area of human rights, ahead of many other countries.

However, Zeković warns that

this law should have been incorporated into the Montenegrin legislation long ago, and added that some of the responsibility for delays lies, among other, with the civil sectors.

"The weakness of our civil society is what caused this delay. Like in many other cases we should have all joined our voices before, demanding that this act be put on the agenda of decision-makers", he said.

The first addressee of all complaints regarding discrimination and torture will be the Ombudsman, and to this end the Government is planning to enlarge the competences of this office.

In this context, the ministry of human rights also sent the draft law amendments to the Law on Ombudsman to the Venetian Commission.

"We are trying to strengthen this institution", Delić said.

In the future, Ombudsman should have more deputies specialised for discrimination, torture, minority and children's rights.

Beside this, the law envisages

CAUSED TROUBLE IN THE NEIGHBOURHOOD

In Serbia, the law prohibiting discrimination caused an upheaval. Because of the protests of religious communities, the parliament sent the draft back to the Government for revision before the vote could take place.

A revised version was later adopted with more than 500 amendments submitted.

The main complaints of religious communities came with regard to the articles dealing with discrimination on the basis of religious rights and sexual orientation.

According to the Government of Serbia, after considering the complaints the government rejected the objections of religious communities, whose counter-proposals would entirely alter the character of the law, but kept several suggestions and made its terminology in some parts more precise.

Article 21, which caused the most debate, concerns freedom of sexual orientation and is identical to the one in the draft Montenegrin law.

Croatia also experienced a smaller shake-up after its Sabor adopted a Law on elimination of discrimination.

Croatian media protested that there was not a single public discussion about the law, that it entered the parliament through summary proceedings and was adopted "barely, through an interesting consensus of parties".

"Interestingly, after its adoption the Croatian public fell silent and the law was not mentioned again", says one of Zagreb based papers.

establishment of a new independent institution – Representative for protection against discrimination, who would not be instructed by the state bodies.

More serious forms of discrimination, according to the law, would include incitement and creation of inequality or intolerance based on national, racial, religious or political attributes, propagating or inflicting discrimination on the part of state organs, in procedures before state organs, in public media, as well as public display of contents and symbols of discriminatory character.

It also includes slavery, trafficking in human beings, apartheid, genocide, ethnic cleansing and their propagation.

An entire chapter of the draft law is dedicated to persons with disabilities, and stipulates that discrimination occurs whenever persons with disabilities are treated in ways contrary to the principle of equal rights and freedoms in the political, economic, cultural and other areas of their professional, private and family lives.

Ways of asserting and protecting the rights of persons with disabilities will, however, be regulated by a separate act.

The law also envisages sanctions: a public institution or a private firm which fails to ensure adequate access to persons with disabilities risks a fine of 15 000



Aleksandar Saša Zeković

euros, or 300 minimum wages.

Zeković says that the right to sexual freedom is not a fundamental element of the law, although it is likely to attract public attention.

The law defines gender identity and sexual orientation as private matters, and states that everybody has the right not to declare their gender identity or sexual orientation publicly.

"Everybody has the right to public expression of their gender identity and sexual orientation. Discrimination on grounds of presumed or publicly declared gender identity or sexual orientation is forbidden", states the draft.

Zeković added that with regard to sexual minorities the law only allows the minimum of rights.

"However, it does allow for additional regulations in this area, which could cause fierce debates and resistance in the society", Zeković said.

The ministry plans "at least a month long" public debate about the draft law, which will also be published on their website and printed as an addition to the daily "Pobjeda".

We intend to organise at least three public tribunals in the north, south, and central regions of Montenegro", Delić said.

Key international documents in this area are European Convention for the Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms from 1950 and Protocol no 12 of the Convention for the Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms from 2000.

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

VOTE WITHOUT PROBLEMS

Zeković believes there will be no upheaval or problems in the Montenegrin Parliament since, according to him, all political subjects support Montenegro's accession to European Union.

"It is well known that adoption of an anti-discrimination law is one of pre-conditions for further integration. I believe that the other countries of the region, some of which are even more traditionalist than Montenegro, managed to forge a consensus around this issue. Thus I don't see why the proposed solutions would bother any political subject in the Parliament", he said.

MONTENEGRO AND EUROPEAN ELECTIONS

Left, right



What would happen if the European Parliament elections were also to be held in



by Neđeljko Rudović

Montenegro earlier this month?

The answer is not hard to find, given the still fresh results of the 29 March national elections. Given the proportions, out of the potential six seats which is the maximum Montenegro will ever have in the EP, the ruling "socialist" coalition would win at least four.

The next question, which is not at all easy to answer is: would that mean victory for left or right in Montenegro, and which European Parliament group would be the likely ally for Montenegrin representatives – conservatives or socialists? Formally speaking, **Milo Đukanović's** Democratic Party of Socialists (DPS) and **Ranko Krivokapić's** Social-Democratic Party (SDP) would be with the minority in Brussels and Strasbourg, together with their fellow socialists from other EU countries. On the other hand, the **Nebojša Medojević's** Movement for Changes (Pokret za promjene – PzP) could end up on the winning side, with the European People's Party.

That would be another demonstration of the convolutions in Montenegrin politics and the utter nonchalance and lack of responsibility on the part of its politicians in their game of manipulation. One could also find a sign or an explanation here of why Montenegro is still an "emerging democracy", why is it that its citizens do not vote for parties

based on their programmes but rather calculating with the personality, charisma, power and perseverance of party infrastructures.

Electoral campaigns of all parties contain the same promises – more jobs, higher wages, improved health and education services... if that were the way to judge party programmes for the next four years, the whole of Montenegro would be socialist. **Ma-ndić's** New Serbian Democracy is slightly different, advocating respect for the church and family values, which could place them further towards the conservative wing.

And what happens when the elections are over?

Montenegro is one of the few countries where "socialists" are in power

Montenegro is ruled by the followers of conservative political thought who pose as left-wingers while protecting first and foremost the interests of big capital. On the other hand, oppositional PzP, whose rhetoric is markedly left-wing, is pressing for all its worth to join the family of European right-wing parties

but primary schools students have to buy their own books.

Montenegro adopted the Labour Code which makes it much easier for the employers to fire workers.

Quality health services are objectively available only to those who can pay for them, although on paper it is free for everyone.

What this means is that Montenegro is ruled by the followers of conservative political thought who pose as left-wingers while protecting first and foremost the interests of big capital.

On the other hand, oppositional PzP, whose rhetoric is markedly left-wing, is pressing for all its worth to join the family of European right-wing parties. Perhaps only because DPS and SDP are in such good relations with the Socialist international and Euro-

pean left.

What we get in the end is complete confusion and a shifting image of Montenegro where Montenegrin MPs in Europe join sides to which they do not belong. That could be dangerous, since the moderate conservatives won this round, while the socialists, greens and liberals are barely managing to hold their own. What would then be Montenegro's standing in the eyes of the old-new president of the European Commission and a prominent conservative **Jose Manuel Barroso**? Of course, we know that's not how the EU formulates its attitudes and policies towards individual members but still... In fact, all this could just turn out to be much ado about nothing which could force DPS to publicly and officially join European right.

It is still a good thing that Barroso, an important if not the key figure in the EU, is so benevolent towards Western Balkans and supportive of European Union enlargement, especially when

dealing with the countries who were promised as much. Now we can only expect such policies to continue, in line with the general policy of European Commission.

According to the analysts, European Parliament elections showed that most votes went to those with clear policies and pro-European orientation. It is also clear that priorities of the citizens of EU 27 lie with a stronger, more stable economy and financial system as well as greener Europe.

The mood in Montenegro is very similar to that in Europe, with one difference – advanced European countries have developed their social systems long ago, while Montenegro is yet to start working on its own.

Which is why Montenegro needs both strong left and right. But genuine.

DIRECTOR OF NDI OFFICE IN PODGORICA LISA MCLEAN

Greater inter-party trust needed

Director of the Podgorica office of National Democracy Institute (NDI) **Lisa McLean** says there are several key changes to be made in the workings of the Parliament of Montenegro, if it is to face readily the challenges coming with adoption and implementation of European legislation.

"The key changes that need to be made relate to: establishing workplans for the work of plenary and committees that are respected; establishing good working relations between ministries and parliamentary committees so that MPs begin to understand the priorities and the challenges of EU accession; and finally, providing Parliament with sufficient resources to ensure that the MPs are adequately informed" sad McLean in the interview for *European Pulse*.

According to her, political debates in the Parliament of Montenegro should be separated from practical work on legislation so that the political parties can use Parliament both for the promotion of their political positions and, importantly, for reviewing and passing legislation.

● NDI and UNDP recently presented their report "Trans-

State institutions need to understand that the information that they possess is public information and the public has the right to access that information

parency and Accountability in the Montenegrin Governance System". The Report suggests that it is necessary to improve the relations between the Government and the Parliament. How is this possible if the Government and the parliamentary majority are ignoring all



initiatives coming from the opposition?

I would note that the report makes this suggestion on a conditional basis. That is, if the parliament is going to be allowed to exercise its external governance function, then there needs to be improvements in the relations between Government and Parliament.

I believe that the first step is for the parliamentary majority (and the

opposition) to make a political commitment to allowing Parliament to exercise its constitutional role. Once this step is taken, then there are a number of suggestions that we have about how to improve relations between Government and Parliament.

Most of these suggestions relate to steps necessary for establishing inter-party trust by providing sufficient information to Parliament to enable it to exercise its external governance function.

● Should the members of the parliament trust the Government when it submits a new law proposal with the report stating the extent of its harmonisation with European legislation, or should the Parliament have its own agencies to assess it? One of the solutions suggested in Montenegro was to leave such work to a government's body, like it was the case in Slovenia, since doubling competences for EU legislation could be expensive.

It is a fact that Parliament should not duplicate the function of Government. It is up to Government to provide Parliament with sufficient information so that Parliament can understand the European standard

and check whether the proposed laws conform to that standard. Government needs to understand that, in order to have Parliament's support, Parliament needs to have confidence in the objectivity of the information provided to it. Without that, Parliament will always be tempted to scatter resources on duplicating Government's role.

● The Report states that appointment of persons who are expected to be independent ought to be based on professional achievements, and not on political loyalty or personal relations with the executive. Do you have concrete proposals for doing this?

The key recommendation in this regard is to define in greater detail through laws or regulations the process for choosing nominees and making appointments.

Also, we suggest in our report that the authorities consider including requirements for a public competition and a public hearing of candidates.

The goal is to adopt procedures that illuminate for the public the



Parliament of Montenegro

qualifications of candidates and assure the public of the ability of the nominated individual to act independently.

● Civil sector and the citizens are often unable to acquire access to data and information from the Government or public institutions, even when these concern important contracts, in spite of the Law on

free access to information. What is your opinion on this problem and how would you solve it?

First, the state institutions need to understand that the information that they possess is public information and the public has the right to access that information.

The Law on Free Access to Information is a way to guarantee that right, but it should not be the only way.

The Government should put in place procedures to determine what it is in the public interest and, therefore, what should be made public automatically.

A proactive information policy would seek to inform the public about policy objectives, processes by which decisions are made, and decisions taken.

Furthermore, the judicial system needs to be able to exercise its constitutional role of 'balance and mutual control' and to be able to compel information sharing in the event that the executive tries to obstruct the rights of citizens.

V. ŽUGIĆ

PARLIAMENT TO DISCUSS BUDGET IN DETAIL

● The Report states that the budget could be more detailed. However, it appears that the MPs are not particularly interested in this issue, nor that there is the awareness in Montenegro that the money in the budget is in fact the taxpayers' money. Do you think more work should be done to raise awareness of the importance of this matter?

First and foremost, Parliament needs to have more time to debate the budget, the final account, and reports from the State Audit Institute. Secondly, all parliamentary committees should review the sections of the budget, the final account, and the SAI reports within their jurisdiction. In reviewing the budget, the final account or audit reports, MPs should examine whether expenditures are sufficient and rational to realize the policy objectives of a ministry, agency or other body.

Parliament should always demand detailed information about staffing, capital investments, travel costs and other expenses and ask questions about how these planned expenditures will enable a state body to realize its goals, or how the realized expenditures help to advance policy goals.

EUROPEAN FUTURE OF WESTERN BALKANS AND MONTENEGRO

Which road to Brussels



In June 2003 European Union opened a new institutional and negotiations mechanism for the accession



by Vladimir Pavićević

process of West Balkan countries. Three years after it became independent Montenegro fulfilled the maximum level of technical requirements for integration into EU but its further path of integration will depend on the preparedness of political and social elites to work on the implementation of essential, quick reforms, modernization of the country and the society and to take up heavy political risks on this path.

This article identifies five issues which will determine the European future of Montenegro. Apart from pointing out these issues, the article contains recommendations for Montenegro's policies in each of these areas with hopefully strong influence and role for EU.

Cooperation with neighbours

During the 1990s Montenegro conducted largely irrational policies towards its neighbours, with consequences for its relations with some of the neighbouring countries. The Stabilisation and Association Agreement (SAA) emphasises Montenegro's commitment to develop good relations with its neighbours and in their reports the European Commission and European Parliament often reiterate the importance of regional cooperation as one of the most important indicators of the pro-European character of Montenegro. This is why all remaining open ques-

tions between Montenegro and its neighbours ought to be settled and the cooperation between them intensified in the areas of politics and economy.

In an unjustifiably sharp, emotional reaction to Montenegro's recognition of Kosovo's independence, Serbia banished Montenegrin ambassador, which undermined diplomatic relations between Montenegro and Serbia and caused concern among European institutions. Normalisation of relations with Serbia is a necessity on the road to full European integration of Montenegro, which is why it is extremely important that the government of Montenegro continues to organise official visits to Belgrade and quickly decide on a new ambassador to Serbia, offering a hand of cooperation to its northern neighbour.

Croatia can be the main partner of Montenegro on its road to EU and NATO, which requires resolution of difficult questions from the period of war conflicts in the early 90s. A clear statement from the Government on the involvement of Montenegro in the war in Croatia (which has been offered several times in the last few years), as well as investigation of individual responsibilities in the attack on Croatia will remove the last obstacles to development of full trust between the two neighbours.

In the case of Bosnia and Herzegovina, Montenegro should support the efforts of the international community to reform BiH through a constitutional reform, rendering it more efficient. Without such reform there will be no stability neither in BiH nor in the region, and the stability is necessary for swift European integration of all West Balkan countries.

Visa-free travel to the countries members of Schengen agreement

On 15 March 2001 the Council of EU adopted a Regulation establishing

the criteria which the countries outside of the area of implementation of the Schengen agreement must fulfil in order to qualify for visa-free entry to the territory of countries signatories of this agreement.

In 2008 Montenegro received the

CORRUPTION

One of the biggest problems facing Montenegro is corruption. It is a staple item in all reports of European institutions estimating the success of European integration of Montenegro. Achievements with regard to fight against corruption are usually judged as limited or insufficient.

While evaluating the progress of Montenegro in the process of European integrations in this area EU should pay close attention to the elite in power. Ever since **Milo Đukanović** defeated **Momir Bulatović** in the presidential elections of 1997, shifting Montenegro's allegiances towards its Western partners and creating preconditions for its independence, the political elite in power hardly changed. Hailed as the heroes who restored Montenegro's independence, the ruling elite made sure to retain all attributes of the rule it has boasted during the period of cooperation with **Slobodan Milošević**.

Instead of resisting profound reforms and change in the habits it has helped create, the government of Montenegro should put more effort into establishing the law (instead of friendship and secret business or family relations) as the key integration factor of this political community. The generality and impartiality of legal norms would thus replace the whim of the elite in power contribute to a decrease in the extent of corruption in public exchanges.



Road Map for visa liberalisation. The document lists a number of technical conditions to be fulfilled by Montenegro before its citizens can be able to travel without visas to the Schengen area. Since the tasks in the Roadmap are supposedly free of political conditions and pressures, the EU should, in communication with the Government in Podgorica, continuously remind Montenegro that commitment to establishment of a stable, reliable and integrated border control system, geared to prevent any attempt at trafficking in people or goods, drugs or weapons across Montenegrin territory is a precondition for the opening of European borders to Montenegrin citizens.

Montenegrin government should also fully implement the Law on asylum, which concerns the protection of foreigners who under international conventions qualify for the status of refugees (asylum seekers).

The political significance of this process is confirmed by the fact that all countries which joined the EU in 2004 were on the White Schengen list before that, having fulfilled the conditions set by the Council of EU. The road to EU membership certainly leads through the opening of EU borders for the citizens of those countries who wish to become an integral part of a politically and economically united Europe.

Trade liberalisation

The Stabilisation and Association Agreement between Montenegro and EU envisages a step-by-step elimination of tariffs and customs barriers between the two sides, with the EU abolishing all tariffs immediately, while Montenegro was to do it gradually over a six-year period. The Agreement envisages the possibility for Montenegro to eliminate

The political significance of visa liberalisation is evident in the fact that all countries which joined EU in 2004 were before that on the white Schengen list

all tariffs even more quickly, if the situation in the economy or given economic sector allows it.

There is an agreement among economic actors in Montenegro who advocate broader liberalisation of economic relations with EU that the length of transition period set by the SAA is too long, and that the benefits of liberalisation will first go to consumers, who will have access to cheaper products from EU. Another thing is that, if the SAA finally comes into force in 2009, with the full six-year transition period for the elimination of tariffs and other trade barriers Montenegro can count on the full EU membership in 2017 at the earliest, taking into the account 1–2 year for necessary procedures.

More importantly, such a long period left for trade liberalisation with EU can have multiple negative conse-

quences, among which the most striking are higher prices for certain products on the domestic market and an extended period of lower competitiveness of Montenegrin economy because of the privileged business environment. On the other hand, quickly dismantling trade barriers will force the economy to strengthen its competitiveness in the short run, in order to be able to cope with the market pressures. In the meantime, this can lead to short-term deterioration of domestic businesses and even to disappearance of a number of national enterprises due to increased market competition, as well as to loss of customs revenues, which could influence the balance of the budget.

Harmonisation of Montenegro's foreign policy with EU

One of the key requirements in the association process is the question of harmonisation and coordination of the foreign policy of Montenegro with that of EU. The SAA stipulates a commitment on the part of Montenegro to work on the rapprochement of its positions to those of EU regarding international issues, including the matters of the

Common Foreign and Security Policy.

The EU should bear in mind that harmonisation of the foreign policy of Montenegro with EU is an important issues in the accession process. The EU should continue to insist on the harmonisation of the Montenegrin positions with the principles of foreign policy doctrine of EU not only as an important precondition for accession to this organisation, but also in the best interest of the citizens of Montenegro. Establishment of Montenegro's foreign policy on the firm grounds in line with the pro-European orientation of this country is one of the most important steps towards European integration of Montenegro.

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

European success stories

by Brano Mandić

Neighbours

I know a couple. They are around sixty years old and have two dogs, a pekingese and a pug. They spent their entire working lives in Salzburg but they never learned a word of German. What's more, they kept a breed of dialect with nasal vowels. Eastern Bosnia is where they sprung from. There are more of these corners of former Yugoslavia, remote wastelands untouched by linguistic evolution. Every linguist dreams of going there for village tourism, to imbibe sour milk and enjoy linguistic diachrony. These clearings are rife with half-vowels and nasals long extinct in the standard language which turned them to proper vowels [a] or [e]. City kids have long made jokes in which peasants from Crmnica and Americans pronounce the word "mey-nee-ak" in the same way... but the cities are anyway asphalted prisons, crammed with cunning people and young rejects with rings in their

I know a couple. They are around sixty years old and have two dogs, a pekingese and a pug. They spent their entire working lives in Salzburg but they never learned a word of German. What's more, they kept a breed of dialect with nasal vowels. Eastern Bosnia is where they sprung from. .. This is where Europe failed, it would not or could not socialise them, a fact which was cleverly exploited by Dragana Mirković, a pop-folk star and the owner of television "DM Sat"

noses – and why would Salzburg be any different.

This couple of retirees from the city of Mozart are the proof that one can live and work in Austria without ever leaving his or her field of birth. This is where Europe failed, it would not or could not socialise them, a fact which was cleverly exploited by **Dragana Mirković**, a pop-folk star and the owner of television "DM Sat". This media establishment is always ready to grant the wishes of tired gastarbeiters and spin the fierce longing for the homeland, packaged in the old hits of **Jašar Ahmedovski** or **Vida**



Pavlović.

For decades they stacked away their savings and dreamed of a little house on the Montenegrin coast and a peaceful life with two dogs and Ford Escort, with a special tarpaulin against the sun. They didn't buy the giant Yugoslav shepherd or an Alsatian, but rather toy dogs. This is perhaps their

Brothers Darden

Ljorna is an Albanian girl who ran away to Belgium. There she married a junky. Ljorna is beautiful, and the junky has Belgian citizenship and the creepy prospects of overdosing fast. That's exactly the hope of Ljorna's boyfriend, who wears moustache. He's a member of the Albanian mafia and he picked out an appropriate husband for Ljorna, whom they would kill together with some heroine cocktail. Then Ljorna, freshly Belgian and a widow, will decide to marry a Russian who needs the papers. The price will be 10 000 euros and Ljorna will invest that money in opening a restaurant and in the end (third time lucky!) marry her love from the homeland.

All would be a perfect crime if Ljorna had not fallen in love with the Belgian loser. One night when he is suffering abstinence crisis, she decides to strip and thus take his mind off drugs.

That's how the directors' duo **Darden** tells us one sad story about European integrations, white Schengen list and the Balkan syndrome. "Ljorna's silence" should be shown to high-school students. Like they used to take us in the primary school to watch the adventures of dolphin Flipper. We had no idea back in the days that the girl on the screen will blossom in some ten

only compromise with the morbid customs of the foreign country where they spent their working lives. That is probably the only thread of European reasoning in my dear neighbours: the size of their dogs does not have to match the size of their three-story house, built to spite the enemies.

But the enemy never sleeps, somebody spends nights haunting their fences, creeping up on their tangerines, and all they have of social life is an occasional call to the Security Centre to complain about the neighbours' mongrel who is bothering their pug. A standard European story.

years into **Jessica Alba**. Perhaps watching Ljorna the new generations will forget that the European society is cold and indifferent to the Balkan troubles that accosted them from the TV in the nineties.

Strasbourg and Prishtina

Next week I'll be staying in a luxury hotel in Strasbourg on a river island. Before that, I'll spend four days in Prishtina where, as a journalist, I will be taken through the institutions of the state of Kosovo. This job is great because you can travel. Usually you fly, so the distance between point A and point B becomes an abstraction. When you fly from Prishtina to Strasbourg (through Podgorica and Dubrovnik, of course) it's like you entered **Zemeckis'** time machine. If you add a little Xanax on the side to make the flight easier, you could say you've abolished the barrier between these two worlds faster than **Olli Rehn** could even wish for, over a birthday cake.

Strasbourg and Prishtina can be

Everything suggests that this upcoming season will be a touristic fiasco and that we'll enter the last quarter with even less money than we're used to. Which means that Europe is also broke and that fewer good-natured grandmas in sandals and white socks will decide to take a dip in the purple of our Adriatic sea. Instead, we are travelling, the second summer in a row, on the wings of promises from the official Brussels. The Schengen comedy goes on and we only need to be patient a little longer. That's one of the best human traits that separates us from other fauna

part of the same time-space continuum only thanks to the airplanes, and the effect once you've consumed them together is alike to the shock you experience when you go back in time and lean over your own cradle, very near to disrupting the time continuum and screwing up something in your family tree.

Water polo our power

I may be imagining it, but the girls of Podgorica seem to be even more dressed up (if that's at all possible)

since we are hosting the water polo World Cup. We, narrow-shouldered natives, can only simper at the fact that our city is now occupied by hordes of depilated demigods followed by sighs

of our local sympathies from the heights of their heels and youth on vacation.

Those successful young Americans and Italians are threading the streets in flip-flops, not knowing that twenty years ago tanks turned at the corner of Hotel Montenegro while little boys peered out from Njegoš park.

Still, we began to civilise and we got a pool. It's true it was built completely out of the context, in hurry and in scorching heat, but I still cannot condemn it like it was condemned in

one ancient Montenegrin opposition paper. What I mean is, one way or another, a pool in the city centre is a good thing, if it costs us broadshouldered foreigners taking away every half-ripe chick from our streets. Us common mortals are left with smoking our two packs a day before the European rules take front stage and our little stinky habits is relegated to oblivion, together with the above mentioned tanks. That, or to start swimming with little caps on, cursing at the ball and whoever came up with it.

Summer and fashion

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good-natured grandmas in sandals and white socks will decide to take a dip in the purple of our Adriatic sea.

Instead, we are travelling, the second summer in a row, on the wings of promises from the official Brussels. The Schengen comedy goes on and we only need to be patient for a little longer. That's one of the best human traits that separates us from fauna. The more you can wait and curb your urge to move freely the more you're **Mandela** and a true fighter for justice that must come sooner or later from beyond the prison bars. It will be great to follow statistics: how many people will start on the European road the moment visas are lifted. Will it be a stampede, the landing at Normandy or some completely new organised trance, the great Serb migration, counter attack when even the goal keeper is crossing into the enemy's half eager to head it in... Or will most of us stay at home, figuring out how to pay the bills for electricity and fast Internet. To stink at home, to quote a local sage.

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



IN SEARCH OF THE CITIZENS' INTERESTS BETWEEN THE GOVERNMENT, THE ENERGY AGENCY AND EPCG

Hide and seek with electricity



Regulatory Agency for Energy (RAE) was founded in January 2004 based on the Law on Energy, adopted by the Parliament of Montenegro in



by Stevo Muk

June 2003. The law establishes RAE as an autonomous, functionally independent and non-profit organisation with public competences.

RAE's aims, according to the law, are to ensure: that the principles, policies and programmes conceived and promulgated by

It is inappropriate from EPCG to ask us for the formula according to which we calculated that EPCG should return around 20 million euros to the citizens, since we always claimed that the amount we arrived at is imprecise and provisional, and this was never denied by EPCG. If, as the director of EPCG claims, publishing this data "is not a problem", there is no reason not to do it as soon as possible

the Government are implemented on the basis of principles of objectivity, transparency and non-discrimination; that energy is distributed to the consumers in a safe, reliable and environmentally friendly way at a just price; that the subjects providing energy can cover their costs at a set rate of return to investments; that the interests of customers and energy providers are as harmonised as possible; and that energy providers are committed to the preservation of stability, capacity and efficiency.

Upon request of the Montenegrin Electric Enterprise (Elektroprivreda Crne Gore – EPCG), the sole producer, transporter and distributor of electrical energy in Montenegro, RAE periodically sets tariffs for energy which have a direct impact on the price of electrical energy charged to the individuals, i.e. households.

In December 2008 RAE adopted a decision on a new set of tariffs for electricity, originally approved by another decision

of this same agency from May 2008 on tables for calculation of prices of electricity charged to the final consumers.

Three Montenegrin citizens, **Goran Đurović**, executive director of Centre for Development of Non-Governmental Organisations, **Daliborka Uljarević**, executive director of Centre for Civic Education and author of this article submitted in December 2008 a complaint against RAE before the Administrative Court, asking it declare this decision void.

The complaint contained a number of justifications and proofs arguing that RAE's decision was illegal. Among other, the complaint states:

"In the justification of the Decision which we seek to annul RAE explains that the accepted price of energy is to be "average price offered at a tender published by EPCG for procurement of additional amounts of electricity, based on offers which

have been opened to date, or 82 euros/MWh". The relevance and nature of such expenditure does not allow the relevant authority to set the price at its discretion,

This is the first time that the citizens of Montenegro filed a complaint against decision of a regulatory agency. The experiences and lessons of this case are therefore an important contribution for the future analysis and scrutiny of the functioning and decision making not only of RAE, but also of other independent regulatory agencies. It is thus very important that this case should be taken to its final consequences in terms of legal effect and establishment of responsibility. We also expect this case to inspire greater interest in the civil society for the functioning and decisions of regulatory agencies

and certainly cannot be accepted based on the "offers opened to date", but only on the grounds of the contract for import-based procurement of electricity. The appendix of this decision does not even contain these "offers opened to date", i.e. the RAE made

its decision about expenditures surpassing 80 000 000 euros without any proofs!

On 20 May 2009 the Administrative Court declared RAE's decision void, and ordered the Regulatory Agency for Energy to formulate a new decision removing all irregularities indicated in the court's verdict. The Court found that "justification of the decision in question is not sufficiently clear and complete, i.e. it is not in conformity with the Law on general administrative proceedings, and does not clarify the relevant fact regarding cost of business of EPCG which, upon its request, the RAE accepted as justified. This concerns mainly the cost of coal and imported electricity".

In an open letter to the Board of Directors of EPCG, after our complaint was accepted, we wrote that "By implementing this illegal Decision of the Regulatory Agency for Energy in the period when this decision applied (December 2008 to June 2009), EPCG increased the price of electricity supplied to households by a significant margin. On these grounds, we would like to raise the issue of returning the money paid by the citizens or charged to the citizens according to the bills for consumed electricity for the period when this illegal decision was in force. Should EPCG fail to act upon the verdict of the Administrative court, this would amount to EPCG unjustifiably increasing its wealth to the detriment of citizens and their households, contrary to the laws of the state of Montenegro and subject to legal action on the part of Administrative

Court".

Bearing in mind eager interests on the part of the public, and especially consumers of electricity, in the forthcoming information on the return of money paid in the form of bills formulated on the basis of an illegal

decision, i.e. lowering the amount of still outstanding bills for the percentage incurred in accordance to the illegal decision, we asked EPCG to decrease the amounts on the future electricity bills by 10.1% of the amount charged in the period December 2008 – June 2009, and for those citizens who have paid the full price of electricity bills in the period December 2008–June 2009 to lower the amount payable on the next bill by 10.1% of the amount charged and paid in the period December 2008 – June 2009.

We also asked EPCG to inform the public about the total amount charged to the households on the basis of this illegal decision of the Regulatory Agency for Energy for the period when the decision was in force (December 2008– June 2009) and about the difference between the amount charged on this basis and the amount that would have been charged otherwise.

The response of the President of the Board of Directors of EPCG states that "the Law on Energy and the Regulations on electricity tariffs puts the responsibility for establishing income, tariffs and prices determined by this regulation entirely in the hands of the Regulatory Agency for Energy which is also the subject of the said verdict and thus bound to adopt "a new decision, removing



The public debate continued with the three of us having to explain that it is inappropriate from EPCG to ask us for the formula according to which we calculated that EPCG should return around 20 million euros to the citizens, since we always claimed that the amount we arrived at is imprecise and provisional, and this was never denied by EPCG.

The citizens are still waiting for the answer from EPCG which, for reasons unknown to us, is still hidden from the public and is solely known to EPCG. If, as the director of EPCG claims, publishing this data "is not a problem", there is no reason not to do it as soon as possible. EPCG is a company owned by shareholders, among which are the state, private companies and individuals. EPCG has its organs who take decisions in the name of its shareholders. It is therefore inappropriate that EPCG should be using

It is unnatural that EPCG should be using Governments' subsidies as an argument, and especially that it should announce on behalf of the Government a legally impossible decision to retroactively eliminate subsidies to its citizens. However, this is a clear sign that EPCG recognises that price hikes incurred through application of the illegal decision of RAE were substantial to the point that they required Government's intervention in order to avoid social tensions

the irregularities stated in the verdict". In other words, the EPCG Nikšić, as an energy provider, is unable to take autonomous decisions in this area and must wait for the final decision of RAE in order to undertake measures resolving the current situation and its relations with consumers. Until then, EPCG is committed to following RAE's decision, as well the decision of the Board of Director on the discount charged to those who pay their bills regularly".

The executive director of EPCG, on the other hand, warned that "if the RAE, acting upon the Courts' verdict, alters its decision and retroactively returns money to the citizens, the Government will also, we presume, retroactively annul its decision to subsidise the bills of the poorest citizens which was taken precisely in order to alleviate to avoid the negative effects of rising energy prices".

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The executive director of RAE says that the "Administrative Court's decisions do not apply to EPCG", but has contradicted himself the moment EPCG became involved in the proceedings against RAE, realising, as it turned out rightly, that the verdict of the Administrative Court will have a direct bearing on EPCG.

It is clear that RAE's decision, annulled by the Administrative Court, never existed in

the legal sense. That means that the only legal and relevant decision on tariffs is the one which was in force before the illegal RAE decision from December 2008. A new decision on tariffs by RAE cannot replace the illegal Decision on the basis of which EPCG formulated electricity charges in the period December 2008 – June 2009, nor retroactively introduce legal or material effects.

Recently we asked the Minister of Economy of the Government of Montenegro whether the Government will take any measures to address the current situation, whether independently or through its representatives in EPCG, or in some other way.

We said in our letter that "If the address of the entity responsible for returning the money illegally charged to the citizens continues to disappear somewhere along the lines of EPCG–RAE–Government, it would become clear that the citizens are intentionally led into a situation where they must resort to the courts in order to claim the damages caused by RAE's decisions and inaction on the part of EPCG, i.e. the Government".

This situation would certainly not result in a more efficient judiciary, as the courts will most certainly be flooded with tens of thousands of cases. Besides, the general trust of citizens in the work of RAE and EPCG would certainly suffer in the process.

We also asked the Minister to tell us whether such a large damage inflicted though an illegal decision on the part of RAE will lead to investigations to identify the culprit within RAE and the measures the Government intends to take in this case.

EPCG is obviously planning to ignore the demands from the citizens to return their money, hoping that the citizens will find it too burdensome to actually go to the courts and that the court cases, when they are filed, will take relatively long.

At the same time, this is the first case in which the citizens of Montenegro filed a complaint against the decision of a regulatory agency. The experiences and lessons of this case are therefore an important contribution for the future analysis and scrutiny of the functioning and decision making not only of RAE, but also of other independent regulatory agencies. It is therefore of highest importance that this case should be taken to its final consequences in terms of legal effect and establishment of responsibility.

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

Please, look at us!



Few days ago in the evening of another hot day in Podgorica I decided to take a walk to the newly opened shopping



by Vesna DeliĆ

mall and take a look at the European brands. Most of us still find them too expensive for the depth of our pockets, but we still go to "mark" a few items in expectation of seasonal sales. I was not the only one that day who left her stuffy apartment to find relief in the parks and streets of the part of town known as "across Morača".

Parents, teenagers, elderly, a pretty, idyllic picture of seemingly happy people. But if you take a better look you will see a child from the margins of our society begging at the same traffic light where a fashionably dressed teenage girl impatiently waits to cross. At the zebra, whose markings have long faded away, a "hot" car races towards you at a speed of 100 km/h, without slowing down, and the driver is cursing and waving his hands at you to explain that he has the right to pass first, even if the traffic rules say otherwise. Annoyed and angry, you continue on your way, thinking "Well, this is just what it is – Balkans".

Balkans, a geographical but more often political notion. The West of the East and the East of the West. The Last Bastion. A border and a bridge. A region known for its politically, socially and economically turbulent history, a famous "powder keg". You cannot be indifferent to all ambiguous signals that reach you even in the shelter of your home and as soon as you walk out and take a better look. It is true that a lot has changed, that there are people who are really working to bring this country closer to EU, but it also seems to me that the majority is not always aware of what goes on in their

environment. The motto "why should I do it if someone else can" cannot and must not hold in this case. In order to attain our common goal, with EU as a ticket to the better future, we have to have support and full participation of Montenegrin citizens. Regardless of our nationality, our skin colour, the size of our bank account or our political affiliation we must all understand that we are all citizens of this country and that we should all act accordingly, and make the state act accordingly as well. The laws are the same for all and we should recognise this and act upon it. I want the respect and privileges to be distributed according to merit, not according to family relations. As long as highly qualified people cannot find work, or, when they do find work, as

Some of these rules may appear difficult, some senseless, but perhaps we will finally learn that the rules are there to be obeyed, and we will stop galloping across zebras or looking with disdain at those who are different or thinking that the God made us personally in his own image and that everybody else is less worthy

long as what they do is rendered meaningless by the amount of financial compensation they receive, as long as a large portion of our citizens never leaves the country, not because of visas but because they have no money to travel, as long as we are still ruled by prejudices and discrimination, as long as human and minor-



ity rights are not respected to their fullest extent, we must not rest content. We have to change this together. We must not be ruled by the law of silence and turning our heads away from problems and negative things in our environment. We must become the citizens of our country in order to become genuine citizens of EU. The EU cannot do this for us, we have to do it for ourselves, in order to be able to say with pride one day "This is Balkans!".

The Balkans, a multi-ethnic environment which respects all of its citizens, an open society ready to accept difference. Montenegro a country where one should come to experience all the advantages, all diversity of people and nature, cultural heritage of different ethnic groups and a rich history.

I am grateful to EU for having forced us to change certain things and to influence our environment so that we can become its member and a better place for

ourselves. But this is still not enough. On the road to EU we must march together and should not succumb to illusions. The EU offers the kind of freedom that helps us to improve our lives, but also to become more conscious and dedicated citizens of our own country. And just like there are traffic rules which must be obeyed, the EU also has rules which we must follow in order to become part of this society.

Some of these rules may appear difficult, some senseless, but perhaps we will finally learn that the rules are there to be obeyed, and we will stop galloping across zebras or looking with disdain at those who are different or thinking that the God made us personally in his own image and that everybody else is less worthy. As long as EU upholds the rule of law, as long as it is a community which has opened its borders and insisted on social, ethnic and cultural freedoms, I would be glad to be a citizen of that society.

The author is an anthropologist. She attended VIII generation of European Integrations School

Four month parental leave

European social partners agreed on the minimum norm for parental leave in the EU, revising the existing framework agreement which is fifteen years old.

The agreement envisages minimum parental leave of 4 months after the birth or adoption of a child.

The leave can be taken by either mother or father, or both, and up to three months can be transferred to the partner, which means that if both of them take the leave one partner can be effectively at home for entire seven months.

The agreement also includes same-sex couples, if they are recognised by the national laws.

The first framework agreement on parental leave in EU was concluded in 1995. It provided background for legislation that allowed for parental leave of up to three months for mothers or fathers. These are minimum norms, and the member states can extend the benefits if they wish.

Based on the agreement between social partners the European commission will propose the new law "before the summer", which will have to be transposed into national legislations, but will not be discussed by the European parliament.

The agreement does not set the minimum compensation during the leave, which remains in the competence of the member states.



Automobiles 3% cheaper

Car prices in Europe fell by 3.1% last year as the producers try to boost sales in recession times.

New car sales in 2008 fell to the lowest levels in the last two decades. June sales were 27% lower year on year, as the people postponed large acquisitions or bought second hand models, fearing that they might lose their jobs.

According to EC, car manufacturers reacted by lowering the real prices of cars, which fell by 9.7% in UK. Other incentives

included lowering VAT. In France and Germany the prices were only slightly lower – by 0.2% and 0.9%, respectively.

EC notes that the largest dip in prices was recorded in Eastern Europe, where the average income is much lower and people are more used to buying used cars – in Latvia, prices fell by 14.7%.

Car manufacturers warned that plummeting sales during the crisis might force them to lay off some of the 12 million workers working in this industry in Europe.

Call to the richest Hungarians



The Hungarian socialist government called on to the hundred richest entrepreneurs of this country to donate part of their private wealth to a national fund designed to cope with the economic crisis. Hungarian families encountering financial problems can apply to one-off grant from this fund. The Government allocated 5 million dollars as the starting capital for the fund.

Except for the rich entrepreneurs, politicians themselves are also expected to contribute to the fund, as well as large companies whose success in the last few years is partially due to Government's support.

Zero inflation

Annual inflation rate in the Eurozone was 0%, and in the whole of EU 0.7%, according to Eurostat.

In May, the lowest annual inflation rates were recorded in Ireland (minus 1.7%), Portugal (minus 1.2%), Spain and Luxembourg (minus 0.9%).

On the other hand, the highest inflation rates in the same month were found in Romania (5.9%), Latvia (4.9%) and Lithuania (4.4%).

By comparison, annual inflation rate in May 2008 was 3.7% in the Eurozone and 4% in the EU.

Expensive vignettes

At a recent meeting of the EU ministers of transport in Brussels, it became obvious that the European Union and neighbouring countries are still waiting for Slovenia to lower the prices of short-term vignettes for the use of its motorways.

European transport commissioner Antonio Tajani said the EC considers 10 euros to be appropriate for a weekly motorway sticker, instead of 15 euros proposed by the Slovenian government.

In spite of this, Ljubljana still insists that setting the price of vignettes is within its powers of discretion.



Fruit for children

Millions of children in almost all EU member states will be receiving free servings of fruit and vegetables from the next school year on, within a scheme designed to promote healthy diet and combat obesity, announced European commissioner for agriculture Mariann Fischer Boel.

The only countries not participating in the first year of the scheme will be Finland, Latvia and Sweden. EU will allocate 90 million euros for this purpose. Around 22 million children in EU are overweight.

REGIONAL PERSPECTIVE

Time for "Thessaloniki 2"



Six years after the Summit in Thessaloniki of the highest representatives of European Union and West Balkan



by Dr Jovan Teokarević

states it is time for "Thessaloniki 2". The key message of "Thessaloniki 1" was that West Balkan countries must have a realistic perspective of EU membership and that "the map of Europe will be complete" only when the countries of our region join the EU. In the meantime, the countries of this region have achieved substantial progress in political and economic reforms and got closer to EU membership, but we are now facing a stalemate. In order for this not to grow into an open crisis, the main ideas of the June 2003 summit should be reiterated

There is a growing consensus among politicians and citizens of the West Balkans that the road to EU membership, promised in Thessaloniki, is ever longer and less certain, and that we would need not only a critical assessment of the past but even more importantly a thoughtful, realistic strategic view on the future, and one we would have in common with EU. This would be, in short, the aim of a new summit of the heads of states or governments of EU and Western Balkans

and expanded, not only with regard to the achievements of the Western Balkans in terms of Europeanisation, but also because of other major changes which took place in the region, on the "old continent" and in the world.

There is an ever-growing consensus among the politicians and citizens of the West Balkans that the road to EU membership, promised in Thessaloniki, is ever longer and less certain, and that we would need not only a critical reappraisal of the past but even more importantly a thoughtful, realistic strategic view on the future, and one we would have in common with EU.

This would be, in short, the aim of a new summit of the heads of states or governments of EU and Western Balkans, and the greatest benefit for both would not be the meeting in itself, but a cluster of intellectual, political and diplomatic activities that would lead to this summit. A summit on the highest level isn't to be discarded either, for this new historical agreement to arrive from the symbolically most important place whose conclusions are binding. This meeting was anyway envisaged in the conclusions of "Thessaloniki 1". Regular meetings between ministers of foreign and home affairs were also to take place regularly within the EU-Western Balkans forum, as well as those of other ministers if need arises, and fortunately in the last few years these events became routine. A summit on the highest level was, however, never repeated.

In the meantime, in addition to the regular annual progress reports on every country in the EU association process, the Union adopted some important documents concerning our region. These

have been used in discussions of the EU-West Balkans Forum, but also to correct, adapt and innovate policies towards the countries of the region. There were also numerous meetings between representatives of the two sides, whether multilateral or bilateral. The EU, let us repeat (and the EU indeed does on every possible occasion), never gave up on its Thessaloniki promise.

The countries of the region also got down to the monumental task of Europeanisation and achieved enviable results in the process, and the situation looks much better "more stable and prosperous" in the EU lingo, than six years ago.



Their reform achievements were rewarded by higher positions on the ladder to EU which, among other, means greater financial assistance.

We are, however, still missing a serious recapitulation of the situation, policies and perspectives, as well as dialogue on the highest level. This is why the idea of "Thessaloniki 2" finds support not only in the Balkans, and not only among the experts of non-governmental sector. Some prefer to call it the continuation of the so-called Zagreb process, and the Italian Foreign Affairs Minister **Franco Frattini** believes that the meeting should also include representatives of USA.

In any case, there are plenty of reasons for this initiative. One could start with the fact that "there's the impression that at the moment the EU is simply not ready to accept West Balkan countries at the pace we would all wish for", as recently described by the President of Serbia **Boris Tadić**, expressing the sentiments of the entire region. We are all wary of the growing "enlargement fatigue" in the EU which, paradoxically, happens on the fifth anniversary of the last wave of enlargements, with undeniable proofs of the success of this historical enterprise for both old and new member states. The fatigue comes as a result of three intertwined factors, none of which was present at the time of "Thessaloniki 1".

The first is internal – economic crisis in the member states, which started because of the lack of adaptability to globalisation and has been deepened by

the global financial and economic crisis.

The second factor is the institutional crisis and crisis of identity within EU, which has long roots, but has become obvious in the process of institutional adaptation of EU from the failed Constitution (2005) to today's uncertainty regarding ratification of the heir of that unfortunate Constitution – the Lisbon Treaty.

The third factor is the real, if not formal, change in the way the accession preconditions are applied to the West Balkan countries, which became a lot stricter. With explicit reiteration of all Copenhagen criteria in the Lisbon Treaty, and with emphasis in many other documents on the long forgotten so-called absorption criteria (or the integration criteria, as it has been renamed), the message to the aspiring membership candidates is very different from the one addressed to Central European countries before 2004. They were told "you will get in when you are ready for it", while what we hear is "you will get in not only when you are ready for it, but also when we are ready for it!".

West Balkan countries are sure to meet other obstacles on this road: all of them because of economic underdevel-

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opment, lack of rule of law, widespread corruption and organised crime, and most of them because the lack of administrative capacities.

In the meantime, the relations within the region have changed for the worse. Kosovo's declaration of independence, in February 2008 was an important cause, but also, and unfortunately, an excuse, and overall regional cooperation has suffered alongside worsening bilateral relations.

Several West Balkan countries also have problems with EU members: Croatia with Slovenia because of the border, Serbia with the Netherlands because of disagreements on the fulfilment of "the Hague condition", Macedonia with Greece because of the name. All these conflicts are not only slowing down these individual countries on their road to EU, but the whole region. Although in April 2009 Croatia and Albania became NATO



members, there is a real fear that further enlargement of this organisation will be slowed down, both because of the Greek veto on Macedonia's entry and because of Serbia's decision to remain neutral. This could also undermine faster integration into EU.

There are obviously many reasons to hold a "Thessaloniki 2" meeting, which should fulfil at least several aims. First, it is important to reiterate and strengthen European perspective of the Western Balkans in the new circumstances, with a realistic, motivating plan for future action. Second, there should be a new mechanism to connect achievements in reforms with tangible progress in European integrations, visible to the ordinary citizens (such as elimination of visas).

Third, the existing European partnership between the Union and the West Balkan states could be strengthened with a higher level of mutual commitments, including not only candidate status for all states of the region, but also opening of negotiations for EU accession. It is very important that we are not asking EU to "close an eye" on the West Balkan countries or apply lax criteria for membership. We are simply suggesting that after a full decade since the beginning of the stabilisation and association process, i.e. after a large amount of work done by the EU and West Balkans together, the countries of the region are justly expecting to at least get the official status of candidates and an opportunity to begin membership negotiations – no more, but no less than that.

It is also important to formulate a strategy for radical improvement of bilateral and multilateral relations with the

West Balkans, which should also be accompanied by a regional summit, as suggested by the Igman Initiative.

Finally, in order to avoid apathy on the obviously long road to EU membership, but also in order to promote European identity and responsibility of societies and governments in the Western Balkans, there could be an initiative to involve candidate countries in a greater number of EU programmes. With such "virtual membership" the real one would come more quickly and easily.

For the "Thessaloniki 2" to be successful, there should first be a full consensus on its goals within the region itself, a consensus arrived at through a broad discussion between the governments and non-governmental sectors, with participation of experts and wider public. There should be the same kind of consensus with the EU, and within EU.

The question "when" to organise this summit is equally important as "why" or "how". It is obvious that 2009 is out of the question, at least not before the Lisbon Treaty is finally ratified and before the environment is such that there can be talk about anything but the economic crisis.

The year 2010 seems, therefore, the right choice, and it is not too far either, so the preparations should begin immediately.

Some might judge the proposal for "Thessaloniki 2" as too ambitious, coming at the wrong moment or even as being counterproductive. I believe, as do many others who advocate similar initiatives, that there are plenty of reasons for this summit – just like "Thessaloniki 1" in at the time equally important moment – can revive and accelerate European integration of the Western Balkans – the most important and still unfinished European task.

The author is a professor at Faculty of Political Science in Belgrade and director of the Belgrade Centre for European Integrations

APPOINTMENT OF NEW COMMISSIONERS IS ALREADY CAUSING COMMOTION WITHIN EU AND ITS MEMBER STATES

Poland kicks off race

Poland was the first to unveil its candidate for the next European Commission (EC), prompting other governments across Europe to start playing musical chairs with potential commissioners' names immediately after the European Parliament elections and ahead of the recent EU summit at which EU leaders endorsed **Jose Manuel Barroso** for a second five-year term at the EU executive's helm.

Prime Minister **Donald Tusk** chose **Janusz Lewandowski**, a member of the European Parliament (EPP-ED). Lewandowski was re-elected in June, but it seems he will have to give his place to somebody else and join the EC instead. So far, Polish representative in the EC was **Danuta Hubner**, commissioner for regional policy. Ms. Hubner also won a seat in the

privatisation on two occasions (1990–1991 and 1992–1993) and is one of the fathers of the Warsaw Stock Exchange. An MEP in the last legislature, Lewandowski chaired the parliamentary budget committee for his first two and a half years but had to give over this post in 2007.

According to Polish media, Tusk had already made up his mind before the election results but his head of cabinet, **Slawomir Nowak**, still insists that the decision had not yet been taken.

"The new commissioner will be chosen according to the portfolio," Nowak said. "If it's the portfolio concerning markets, the best candidate is Janusz Lewandowski. If it concerns problems that Commissioner Hubner dealt with, it will certainly be Hubner.

The most powerful and coveted spots are those for internal market and competition, who are basically responsible for maintaining intra-EU economic system

European Parliament at the last EU elections for the centre-right Civic Platform (EPP) in the Warsaw constituency, although she is not a member of the party. In 2004, she became commissioner under a socialist government.

Lewandowski is hoping to get a different portfolio in the next Commission, which is expected to be appointed this autumn.

Poland is seeking to secure either the economic and monetary affairs, the single market or the enterprise and industry portfolio. But the difficulties the country created during negotiations on the Lisbon Treaty and its subsequent ratification may hamper the ambitions of this relatively new member state.

Lewandowski, an economics advisor to the Solidarity movement in the 1980s, served as Poland's minister for

And if it's another portfolio, which corresponds better someone else, it will be someone else", Nowak said.

Tusk and Polish President **Lech Kaczynski** are also discussing **Jerzy Buzek's** chances of becoming the next president of the European Parliament. The prime minister has to convince the president to ask conservative PiS (Law

Annual salaries for EU commissioners start at 238.919 euros

and Justice) MEPs to support Buzek's bid. Tusk will then meet Italian Prime Minister **Silvio Berlusconi** ahead of the EU summit to convince him that the Italian has no chance of being supported by the biggest EU countries.

Jerzy Buzek would become president for two and a half years, as the Christian Democrats usually share the five-year term with the Socialists.

Outgoing commissioner Danuta



Hubner can now hope to head one of the Parliament committees, probably on regional policy. As a result, **Jacek Saryusz-Wolski** is unlikely to continue as chair of the foreign affairs committee. But the former Polish minister will still chair the EPP group's Polish faction in the Parliament.

In principle, the Commissioners are appointed by the President, who decides upon their portfolio, and they each take an oath promising to be independent of any government and nation state, including their own. In practice, however, the appointment of every new commission is an elaborate game of political horse-trading.

In spite of all efforts to change it, the principle that all member states have their Commissioner shows that

the EC is not that supranational. Moreover, the governments of the member states are the one to propose names for future Commissioners, which is usually somebody from the ruling party or coalition.

In some cases, like in 2004 when the European Parliament refused to approve the Commission appointed by Barroso, the European Council de facto took things in its own hands and

appointed its own version of the Commission.

With a growing number of member states and a record number of Commissioners, the portfolios have become very thin even though the responsibilities of the commission have increased. The negotiations have, if anything, become even fiercer, as not all portfolios carry equal weight and prestige.

The most powerful and coveted spots are those for internal market and competition, who are basically responsible for maintaining intra-EU economic system. French president **Nicolas Sarkozy** made it clear that he wants one of the two jobs to go to France, and insisted on relaxing the competition rules in order to offer more support to "European companies". Presumably a French person at the job would be more prone to follow such policies than the traditionally free-market oriented Irish and



sioners start at 238.919 euros.

In the meantime, other member states have already put forward names of potential candidates to be nominated as commissioners.

Despite the desire of the current Czech government to nominate a new Czech commissioner as soon as possible, the leaders of the two biggest Czech parties – the centre-right ODS and centre-left Social Democrats (ČSSD) – said they would wait until the

There is also media speculation that ODS leader Mirek Topolánek could be interested in the job, but he continues to deny this

Dutch representatives who are currently occupying these places.

Also closely watched is the trade commissioner, who negotiates trade pacts on behalf of the EU's 27 states; that post is currently held by a Briton **Catherine Ashton**.

Annual salaries for EU commis-

sioners start at 238.919 euros.

This decision was criticised by Prime Minister **Jan Fischer** and other members of cabinet, who warned that "none of the most important portfolios would be left by the time the new Czech government is formed".

As for the name of the next Czech commissioner, speculation is rife. The Social Democrats proposed a few names such as **Vladimír Špidla**, current Czech commissioner for employment and social policy, **Jan Švejnar**, a former unsuccessful presidential candidate, an economist and professor at University of Michigan, and **Pavel Telička**, a former commissioner and pre-accession negotiator with the EU. But

the Civic Democrats are undecided and claim their main priority is a portfolio, and the names will be found accordingly.

There is also media speculation that ODS leader **Mirek Topolánek** could be interested in the job, but he continues to deny this.

In France, while commissioner Jacques Barrot, currently in charge of justice and home affairs, has announced his willingness to serve another term, President Nicolas Sarkozy seems to be on the lookout for a different solution.

Some observers have mentioned former Europe Minister **Jean-Pierre Jouyet**, who is currently chairman of French financial market watchdog AMF (*Autorité des marchés financiers*). France has made no secret of its desire to grab the internal market portfolio currently held by Irishman **Charlie McCreevy**.

In Germany, Chancellor **Angela Merkel** is backing her fellow Christian Democrat Interior Minister **Wolfgang Schäuble**.

Jan Figel, currently in charge of culture and education, is not expected to stay on as Slovak commissioner, given that his political party is out of government. One name that has been circulated is Slovak EU Ambassador **Maros Šefcovic**.

In Luxembourg, **Viviane Reding** is expected to serve a third term and hopes to secure the information society portfolio for another five years, having topped the poll in the European elections.

V.Ž.-V.Š.

ROMANIANS COVET A MORE PRESTIGIOUS SPOT

In the previous Commission, Romania held the place of commissioner for multilingualism – the very bottom of the ladder of prestige.

Recently, however, the Romanian media announced that this country already won the support of France and Greece for a more "substantial" portfolio, like agriculture. Former minister **Dacian Cioloș** could be nominated for the job.

The two rival parties in Romania's governing coalition are both claiming the right to nominate the next commissioner. The situation is very tense, as the two parties already got into conflict over "who really won the elections", as both of them will have the same number of MEPs.

Montenegro in the eyes of AMMF

In the framework of Marshall Memorial exchange programme, which exists for 27 years under the aegis of German Marshall Fund, new leaders from USA and Europe are given a chance to discover and get to know societies, institutions, and people on the other side of the Atlantic. From 19 to 23 June, one such group of US alumni (AMMF) visited Montenegro.

During their short visit the participants met representatives from various social sectors, in order to get to know as well as possible the political life and institutions in Montenegro. The US alumni also had a chance to see and experience the beauties and opportunities which Montenegro offers

in the areas of nature, tourist and cultural capacities and social environment.

The programme for US alumni in Montenegro is organised by Centre for Civic Education in coordination with GMF. **Daliborka Uljarević**, executive director of CEE, was the first participant from Montenegro in this programme, after it was opened to West Balkan countries a few years ago. At the time, she initiated the project of sending US alumni to Montenegro. After last years' pilot visit and based on excellent impressions of the participants, Montenegro was officially included in the permanent European programme for American participants.

Balkans from all angles

From 10 to 14 June, as a part of the summer semester at their universities, six USA students attended an extended seminar at Centre for Civic Education, titled "The creation of states and human rights in the south Balkans". This included a series of lectures on CCE premises, with lecturers from the political, academic and NGO sectors in Montenegro.

The lectures focused mainly on the process of democratisation and preservation of peace, influence of the international community on the said processes, as well as the accession process of coun-

tries of the region to European Union. There was a separate lecture on the profile and work of CCE and more generally NGOs in Montenegro, held by **Selman Adžović** and **Ana Vujošević**, CCE programme associates. **Daliborka Uljarević**, executive director of CCE spoke about the path of Montenegro to EU and the challenges in this process.

The visit took place in the framework of SIT Study Abroad programme. Centre for Civic Education is the programme partner for Montenegro since last year.

Learning democracy

XIII generation of Democracy School, organised by Centre for Civic Education (CCE) with support of Friedrich Ebert Stiftung (FES) successfully completed the programme with a diploma award ceremony on 24 June in Podgorica.

The participants were greeted by Dr Radovan Radonjić, head of the School, Ivana Račić, programme coordinator in the regional FES office and **Daliborka Uljarević**, executive director of CCE. The goal of the school is to inform and educate participants about democracy, its values and ways of realisation and thus contributed to increasing the general level of democratic culture in Montenegro. During the programme which encom-

passes 4 modules, the participants had a chance to extend and further their knowledge about democracy and human rights, economics, civil society, political systems, government, electoral systems, responsibility of the media, conflicts, authority, gender equality, marketing, leadership, trade unions etc. The lecturers were professors from Montenegrin universities as well as universities in the region, as well as judges, NGO activists and political parties, MPs, journalists, lawyers. The most dedicated participants of the programme received special awards in the final ceremony.

The next generation of the School is planned for September 2009.

NON-GOVERNMENTAL ORGANISATIONS IN EUROPEAN UNION



EAEA
EUROPEAN ASSOCIATION FOR EDUCATION OF ADULTS

EUROPEAN ASSOCIATION FOR EDUCATION OF ADULTS – EAEA

EAEA is a transnational NGO with 132 member organisations from 41 countries working in the fields of adult learning. EAEA is a non-governmental, non-profit association whose purpose is to link and represent European organisations whose principal aim is propagation of the concept and importance of life-long learning, and it works where possible through national co-ordinating bodies for adult learning.

Originally known as the European Bureau of Adult Education, it was founded in 1953 by representatives from a number of European countries.

The main roles of EAEA are:

- Policy advocacy for lifelong learning at a European level as well as in the broader international arena;
- Development of practice of life-long learning through projects, publications and training;
- Establishment of international cooperation in the field of development of adult learning;
- Coordination of member organisations and provision of information and opportunities for exchange of knowledge, ideas and experiences.

EAEA promotes adult learning and the widening of access and participation in formal, non-formal and informal adult education for all, particularly for groups currently under-represented.

The aims of EAEA:

- to promote the development of adult learning on the national, European and international levels;
- to lobby international bodies so that they adopt plans and policies which respond to the needs of the adult population in terms of learning to cope with the changes in their working and living environments
- to forge networks that enable NGOs to work together and play an active role in the international scene, fostering their ability to pressure institutions into responding to the organisation's aims.

EAEA works with national and regional governments and international bodies and organisations such as the EU, the Council of Europe, the International Council for Adult Education, UNESCO and the International Labour Organisation.

More information about EAEA can be found at: www.eaea.org

Prepared by: **Petar ĐUKANOVIĆ**

Challenges to establishment of transparent and accountable government



Miloš Vukanović, Dijana Kažić, Nada Knežević

On 17 June Centre for Civic Education presented the results of its pilot project "Call to account", developed by the junior associates of CCE as a contribution to rising awareness about expenditures from the public budget. The example was money spent on cell phone bills of the employees of public institutions, an item that is believed to be used too extensively and therefore subject to more restrictive policies, especially during the economic crisis.

The project included: 13 ministries, 5 agencies, 4 directorates, 8 directorates, 3 secretariats, 6 bureaus, 2 offices, 2 other bodies (1 commission and 1 protocol), and was implemented before the new Government was formed, i.e. it was based on the previous organisational structure. It also included several independent agencies, in order to estimate the extent of costs in these institutions. Data was requested and processed for December 2007, December 2008 and January 2009, and their collection and analysis was conducted between April and May 2009.

The results suggest that the current

situation, which requires greater cost efficiency in order to manage limited financial resources and cut costs had little, if any affect on lowering these expenditures. A large number of bodies also demonstrated lack of transparency in responding to requests for information, submitted in accordance with the Law on free access to information.

Our data show no indication that the much lauded cost cutting measures really took place and that the effects of world economic crisis were adequately taken into account. In addition to this, a Government that is to lead Montenegro into EU has to start adopting European values, standards, and codices, which certainly means greater transparency in the work of public institutions and greater accountability towards citizens on whose behalf they exist and whose money they spend.

Bearing in mind experiences of some EU countries with a rich democratic tradition, in which even ministers bear responsibility for every case of irrational expenditure or lack of transparency, these results show that

Lobbying for visas

European Stability Initiative (ESI) organized a seminar on visa liberalisation in Western Balkans from 24 to 27 June in Istanbul. **Selman Adžović**, programme associated attended the seminar on behalf of Centre for Civic Education, which participates in this project in partnership with ESI.

The first phase of the project was focused on research, while the next phase, which was discussed at the seminar, will focus on lobbying, according to each country's specificities. ESI and its partners in the region will carefully monitor the process and address EU officials and member states whenever opportunity arises.

EU journalists in Montenegro

On 15 June a group of 15 journalists from EU member states met with the representatives of NGO sector in Pogorica, in order to collect information for a report on Montenegro's road to EU from the point of view of representatives of CCE, European Movement in Montenegro and MANS.

At the meeting, **Daliborka Uljarević**, executive director of CCE outlined the key challenges for Europeanisation and perspectives lying ahead of Montenegro.

Montenegro's public institutions are severely lagging behind in these aspects. CCE believes that a more transparent and accountable attitude of public institutions could contribute to greater trust among the citizens in the institutions and increase tax revenues, if the citizens believed that their money will not be squandered.

The findings and conclusions of the project were presented by project associates **Dijana Kažić**, **Miloš Vukanović** and **Nada Knežević**.

FOR THIS ISSUE WE RECOMMEND:



THE EUROPEAN COLLEGE OF PARMA FOUNDATION

The European College of Parma Foundation organizes the course that will take one academic year and is divided into two full-time semesters from October to July, totalling 470 hours approximately. First Semester Examinations take place February whereas Second Semester Examinations take place in July. The Advanced Diploma in European Studies Programme is divided into lectures, seminars and lections magistrales that are held by leading European and international personalities. Lectures are held in English, French and Italian.

In addition to Diploma and Master in Advanced European Studies lectures, seminars and team-work activities are held on EU issues with a specific focus on current issues. Guest lecturers holding included Jacques Delors and Romano Prodi, former Presidents of the European Commission, Franco Frattini, Vice-President of the European Commission, Etienne Davignon, former Vice-President of the European Commission.

The academic staff of the European College of Parma Foundation is formed by professors coming from the academic world and by leading EU officials, institutional figures, politicians and experts of European issues. The main objective is to provide students with theoretical knowledge completed by a practical and 'every-day' life experience.

All proposals and papers should be written in English, and application form can be down-

loaded at the www.europancollege.it/allegati_upload/dase/1_allegato2_FILE.doc.

Application deadline for Diploma and MA in advanced European studies 2009/2010 is 10 September 2009.

For any further information please contact:
Borgo R. Tanzi 38/B – 43100 Parma,
Tel. +39 (0)521 207525,
Fax. +39 (0)521 384653

WORKSHOP 14 / 11TH MEDITERRANEAN RESEARCH MEETING (MRM)

Rethinking Interethnic Reconciliation in the Western Balkans: Minorities, Borders, Governance – Call for Applications

Host: European University Institute (Florence).

Date: March 24–27, 2010.

Location: Montecatini Terme (near Florence).

Deadline for abstracts: July 15, 2009

Bursaries: available.

Workshop directors: Antonija Petričušić

(antonija.petricusic@uni-graz.at);

Cyril Blondel (cyrblondel@yahoo.fr)

For more details on abstracts, please see

http://www.eui.eu/RSCAS/Research/Mediterranean/mrm2010/desc_pdf/MRM2010_Ds14.pdf

For financial details, please see

<http://www.eui.eu/RSCAS/Research/Mediterranean/mrm2010/pdf/MRM2010-InfoParticipants.pdf#page=3>

Paper proposals must be submitted online before July 15, 2009. Abstracts of 500–1000 words are to be pasted in, CVs of max. 5 pages are to be uploaded to, the online form at <http://www.rscas.org/medform.asp>

OPEN SOCIETY FELLOWSHIP SCHOLARSHIPS

Deadline: July 31, 2009

Funding: \$60,000 to \$100,000

The Open Society Fellowship supports individuals seeking innovative and unconventional approaches to fundamental open society challenges. The fellowship funds work that will enrich public understanding of those challenges and stimulate far-reaching and probing conversations within the Open

Society Institute and in the world.

A fellowship project might identify a problem that has not previously been recognized, develop new policy ideas to address familiar problems, or offer a new advocacy strategy. Fellows should take advantage of the considerable intellectual and logistical resources of the Open Society Institute and expect to contribute meaningfully to OSI's thinking in return.

In evaluating each proposal, the selection committee weighs three factors: the applicant, the topic of the project, and the work product.

For a full-time fellow based in the U.S., the stipend ranges from \$60,000 to \$100,000. For fellows based in other countries, appropriate adjustments will be made to reflect the economic circumstances and costs of living in those countries. You can apply at this address

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The Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars is announcing the opening of its 2010–2011 Fellowship competition. The Center awards approximately 20–25 academic year residential fellowships to individuals from any country with outstanding project proposals on national and/or international issues. Topics and scholarship should relate to key public policy challenges or provide the historical and/or cultural framework to illuminate policy issues of contemporary importance.

Applicants must hold a doctorate or have equivalent professional experience. Fellows are provided stipends (which include round trip travel), private offices, access to the Library of Congress, Windows based personal computers, and research assistants.

For more information and application guidelines please contact the Center at: 202–691–4170 or fellowships@wilsoncenter.org.

You can apply online or download the application from the Center's website at <http://www.wilsoncenter.org/fellowships>.

Application deadline: October 1, 2009

EIC Bulletin – European pulse is electronic magazine established within EIC programme, with the support of the Friedrich Ebert Stiftung.

The publisher is Centre for Civic Education.

EIC Bulletin – European pulse is registered with the Ministry for Culture and Media as item No. 578

Editor in Chief: Vladan Žugić

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