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EUROPEAN SUMMER '09

The folk name for this combination of rainy days with days suffocated by high temperatures is "swine" or "deceitful" summer. And while hydro-meteorology records such summers relatively frequently, in the process of European Integrations it is rare that a single summer brings two such positive tings for Montenegro.

In mid July European Commission proposed to the Council of EU Ministers to lift the visa requirement for Montenegro for travel to the countries of the Schengen zone and later this month the enlargement commissioner **Olli Rehn** brought the famous Questionnaire to Podgorica.

In order to abolish visas, EC asked Podgorica to put more effort in solving the problems related to the implementation of the Law on Foreigners, problems with displaced persons, to implement the law on anti-discrimination and to harmonise the Law on the protection of the secrecy of personal data with the European standards and to strengthen the capacities to fight corruption and organised crime. Plenty of work for administration, especially for the Ministry of Interior Affairs and Public Administration.

The Government in Podgorica should act upon these recommendations in all seriousness, although the Council of Ministers is unlikely to decide counter to the Commission's recommendations, even if the Montenegrin authorities fail to fulfil the remaining tasks.

Nonetheless, Montenegrin authorities ought to fulfil these requirements if they wish to appear as a credible partner.

Answering the Questionnaire is much more demanding than the remaining conditions for the liberalisation of visa regime. Montenegrin administration probably never faced a more challenging task in its history and can forget about holidays this summer.

If it's of any consolation to them, the successful completion of these two tasks would mean that next summer they will be able to travel to Europe with only a passport in their pockets, while peacefully awaiting the decision of the Council of Ministers on the candidate status.

V.Ž.

Sweden takes over EU presidency (1 July) – Stockholm announced that the priorities of Swedish presidency for the next six months will be to face the financial crisis, fight climate change and the Lisbon Treaty. Swedish ambassador in Belgrade **Krister Bringeus** said that his country will continue to work on "strengthening the membership perspective of West Balkan countries, although that will primarily depend on the speed and success of the processes of reforms and modernisation of these countries".

Assistance to get to EU funds (6 July) – Montenegro ought to strengthen its administrative capacities in order to be able to apply for cross-border cooperation projects is the conclusion of the meeting "Montenegro towards European integration" organised by the Italian Ministry of Environment, Land and Sea and Montenegrin Ministry for European Integration. Italian ambassador **Sergio Brabanti** said that Italy will help Montenegro to apply for the European funds for cross-border cooperation programmes, which recently brought 40 members of Italian administration and NGOs to Podgorica.

New Speaker in the European Parliament (14 July) – Former Polish Prime Minister **Jerzy Buzek** was appointed the new president of European parliament at the first session of the new assembly in Strasbourg. Buzek is the first person from a new EU member state to head one of the European institutions. Buzek comes from the largest political group in EP – European People's Party (EPP). He will preside over the Parliament for the first two and the half years of its term, while the Speaker for the second half of the term will be chosen from among the Socialists, probably their current leader **Martin Schultz**.

White Schengen officially recommended (15 July) – European Commission officially recommended to the Council of EU ministers to abolish visa requirement for travel to the Schengen area for the citizens of Montenegro, Serbia and Macedonia from the beginning of next year, said European commissioners **Jacques Barrot** and **Olli Rehn**. EC asked Podgorica and Belgrade to implement additional requirements by October. Montenegro ought to resolve the remaining problems surrounding implementation of the Law on Foreigners and problems with displaced persons and strengthen its capacities to fight corruption and organised crime.

Solana in Montenegro (15 July) – EU high official **Javier Solana** visited Montenegro on its tour of the West Balkan region. Solana congratulated Montenegro on its impressive achievements and judged that Montenegro made more progress than some other countries which are hoping to join EU.

Medojević instead of Milić (17 July) – Administrative committee proposed to the Parliament of Montenegro, based on an agreement among opposition forces, to appoint **Nebojša Medojević**, president of the Movement for Changes, as the new head of the National Council for European Integrations (NCEI). The previous, first president of NCEI was the president of the Socialist People's Party **Srdan Milić**.

Rehn brought the Questionnaire (22 July) – European Enlargement Commissioner **Olli Rehn** handed over the Questionnaire to the Prime Minister **Milo Đukanović** at the ceremony in Villa Gorica. The Questionnaire contains 2.178 questions. Rehn said that the quality of answers is very important for EC to be able to make a fair and accurate assessment of Montenegro's readiness of Montenegro to fulfil obligations from EU membership. Đukanović said that he is optimistic about our administration's ability to "live up to this task and to provide reliable answers by the end of October or early November, without being slaves to deadlines".



A VIEW FROM EU

Winners and losers



Europe's decision to grant three Balkan countries visa-free travel, while leaving three others out in the cold, is



by Gerald Knaus and
Alexandra Stiglmayer

regrettable and – in Kosovo's case – an unmitigated disaster.

The European Commission proposed that the EU move three West Balkan states, Macedonia, Montenegro and Serbia, from the "Black" onto the "White" Schengen List. If the proposal is adopted by EU member states as planned before the end of this year, it will be a momentous step for the Balkan region. Macedonia was on the verge of civil war in 2001. Montenegro only became an independent state in 2006.

For the citizens of all three countries, traveling visa-free to the EU from early 2010 onwards – for the first time since the collapse of Socialist Yugoslavia – will be a cause for celebration. Getting to this stage was everything but easy. Substantial reforms that had to be implemented to meet almost 50 precise criteria ranged from equipping border crossings to increasing document security and deepening police cooperation. In the words of two former interior ministers, Italy's **Giuliano Amato** and Germany's **Otto Schily**, such reforms make Europe safer and the visa requirement redundant. This is truly a win-win situation.

However, the Commission's proposal leaves two countries, Albania and Bosnia-Herzegovina, on the "Black" list. It also adds Kosovo "under UN Security Council resolution 1244" to the negative list as an "entity and territorial authority."

Critics are rightly concerned about a

new worst-case scenario: a situation in which Bosniaks, Albanians and Kosovars find themselves imprisoned inside a new, even smaller enclave; where Bosnia is torn apart by centrifugal tendencies as Bosnian Croats and Bosnian Serbs obtain the passports of the neighbouring states, leaving Bosniaks isolated. One Turkish paper recently bore the following headline: "European Union leaves Bosnian Muslims out in the cold, once again."

At the same time it is necessary to remember that the road to visa-free travel is clearly marked out for all the countries involved. By judging all the countries by the same rules, the European Commission has made a fair proposal.

Provided they focus on the reforms, Bosnia and Albania can reach Serbia's current record on implementation within the next 12 months. We therefore call on EU member states to send a signal to both countries' citizens by moving Bosnia and Albania onto the White List already this year, but suspending the actual application of visa-free travel until all conditions are met.

While Bosnian and Albanian citizens might be disappointed today, they also know that if certain conditions are met, visa-free travel is within reach. There is no such hope for Kosovars. For Kosovars, the proposal is an unmitigated disaster. For the EU's credibility in Kosovo, it is devastating.

This is hypocrisy. Now the Commission requires Serbia to issue entirely separate passports to all Kosovo residents. Putting in a big 'K' would have

been tasteless and the proposal, therefore, resorts to a gimmick: all passports for Kosovo residents are to be issued by one special office (Kordinaciona uprava) in Belgrade – and then no such passport will allow visa-free access.

For years the EU preached the value of a multiethnic Kosovo: and now Kosovo Serbs are asked to get resident status in Serbia – abandoning Kosovo – if they want to have passports that allow them to travel in Europe.

Some Kosovars who consider the idea of their citizens applying for a passport in Belgrade as a form of treason have prematurely welcomed this. They ignore the fact that the decision to exclude Kosovars in this discriminatory manner is "motivated exclusively by objectively determined security concerns", as the Commission explains, not by any consensus on Kosovo's status.

In addition the Commission does not even mention the possibility of a future roadmap for Kosovo. While many Moldovans, Turkish Cypriots or Argentinians in Spain can obtain EU member state passports and then travel visa free to Europe, Kosovars holding double citizenship cannot "in view of security concerns regarding in particular potential for illegal migration".

All Kosovars are seen as a security problem while all Bosnian Serbs can apply for Serbian citizenship, a Serbian passport, and then travel to the EU.

"Strict but fair" conditionality has worked in Macedonia, Serbia and Montenegro. It is likely to work in Bosnia and Albania in the near future. It is in the EU's interest that it also works in Kosovo.

The Commission proposal is a very welcome first step. It needs to be modified, however, in order to prevent new tensions and problems.

The authors are founders of and senior analysts with the European Stability Initiative. Excerpts from the article in Balkaninsight.com



THE GOVERNMENT CLAIMS IT IS ON THE RIGHT TRACK TO SOLVE THE REMAINING PROBLEMS IN ORDER TO PUT MONTENEGRO ON THE WHITE SCHENGEN LIST WITHOUT RESERVATIONS

Foreigners by European standards

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If the Government in Montenegro wishes to appear as a credible partner to European



by Danilo Mihajlović

Union it will have to begin full implementation of the Law on Foreigners without further ado.

In mid July European Commission proposed to the Council of Ministers to abolish visas for Montenegrin citizens travelling to the Schengen zone, which involves, among other things, "solving the remaining problems related to the implementation of the Law on Foreigners".

By 25 September the Govern-

ment should complete the report on the measures it undertook in relation to this and other outstanding conditions from the Roadmap which were not entirely fulfilled. Afterwards the European Commission experts will visit Podgorica and based on their evaluation Brussels will compile the final report for the Council of EU whose decision to abolish visas is expected in late November or early December.

Still, it is hard to believe that, even if its institutions fail to make much progress on the remaining tasks, Montenegro could be taken off the white Schengen list before it is even put there officially.

The Council of EU decides on such questions by 2/3 majority, and already 8 EU member states have signed a declaration asking other members to abolish visas for West

Balkan countries as soon as possible. Recently even Germany, which earlier has shown reserve with respect to liberalisation of the travel regime with West Balkan countries, announced its support for the elimination of visas for Montenegro.

However, this should not make

DISPLACED PERSONS LIKE FOREIGNERS

Montenegrin Government is considering the option of giving displaced persons the status of foreigners in Montenegro, *European Pulse* learned.

European Enlargement Commissioner **Olli Rehn** said that Montenegro has to solve the problem of displaced persons by October, before the visit of EC experts whose impressions will provide the basis for the new report on Montenegro's compliance with the Roadmap.

Turning displaced persons into foreigners will formally take this matter of the agenda. However, the question is whether this would change something in practice. This solution would deprive displaced persons of the right to social assistance. On the other hand, if the Law on Foreigners is consistently implemented it would be much easier for them to attain permanent employment.

According to the Law on foreigners, citizens of the countries created on the territory of former SFRY who registered their residence in Montenegro before 3 June 2006 have the right to permanent residence, without submitting application and without special approval, once they submit a request for registration.



Airport in Podgorica

photo: VIJESTI

Montenegrin institutions too comfortable to the extent that they forget about the remaining tasks from the Roadmap.

One reason is credibility of the state.

The second features in the messages of European Commissioners Olli Rehn and **Jacques Barrot** who insisted that "Podgorica must make additional efforts in order to ensure sustainability of its achievements so far".

In other words, if you fail to continue with implementation of the Roadmap, we will think about taking you off the White Schengen. The same message was sent to Bulgaria a few years ago, when this country was almost taken off the white list because Brussels was dissatisfied with the performance of Bulgarian customs.

The Law on Foreigners in Montenegro was adopted in December 2008 and its implementation began early this year.

It is hard to find any flaws in the law which contains, among other, 100 different European regulations detailing the rights and duties of Foreigners in Montenegro.



photo VIJESTI

Osman Subašić

The law practically equates the rights and duties of foreigners with those of the citizens of Montenegro.

According to the Law, there are three modes of a foreigner's stay in Montenegro: up to 90 days, temporary residence and permanent residence. A short stay up to 90 days is issued based on a short-term visa, i.e. for tourism, business trips with single or multiple entries in Montenegro. Temporary resi-

dence can be granted to foreigners who wish to stay in Montenegro for the purposes of study, in the context of international student exchanges, training, research, health-related treatments, family reunion, employment or seasonal work.

European Commission experts who visited Montenegro in May, as an overture to the final EC report, emphasised that in order to implement the Law on Foreigners Montenegro needs to ensure greater cooperation among relevant institutions, "especially between Ministry of Interior Affairs and Public Administration and Employment Bureau".

Permanent residence can be granted to a foreigner who until the date of submission of the request had lived in Montenegro for five years without interruption with a valid temporary residence permit. The foreigner with permanent or temporary right of residence will be given a foreigners' ID. Ministry of Interior Affairs and Public Administration is in charge of all applications for short, temporary and permanent residence permits.

Before that, this Government organ will have to sort out numerous issues. The Law places the responsibility for detailing the instructions and new application forms for residence permits on the Ministry, as well as a number of other legal acts which are yet to be drafted.

Deputy Minister of Interior Affairs **Osman Subašić** is optimistic: "Based on the Law on Foreigners we are supposed to issue a number of legal acts in order to make it fully implementable. To this end, the Ministry is currently completing the activities surrounding the adoption of these acts and we expect to

LOVE OR CONVENIENCE

Montenegrin Law on Foreigners is indeed harmonised with European laws – it even contains a provision obliging the Ministry of Interior Affairs and Public Administration to check, when issuing temporary residence permits for married couples one of whom is a foreigner, whether the partners really love each other or they concluded a marriage of convenience.

The Law states that a foreigner cannot be issued a temporary residence permit for the purpose of family reunion if it is ascertained that the marriage has been concluded out of interest.

Circumstances which indicate that the marriage has been made out of convenience are that partners have not consumed their marriage, are not fulfilling marital obligations, have not known each other before they married, do not give valid personal data, do not speak a language in common...

The fact that the marriage has been accompanied by a transfer of valuables is also incriminating, when the valuables are not given as dowry, in the case the spouses come from countries where dowry is a custom.

be done by the end of this month, with all supporting legislation coming into force by mid August", said Subašić for *European Pulse*.

European Commission experts also emphasised that the "further efforts are required to improve the data collection and migration monitoring systems", adding that the registers on foreigners currently remain paper-based and separated between different authorities.

"A centralised register for foreigners is currently missing but will be in operation from November on, under the management of the Ministry of Interior Affairs and Public Administration. It should be ensured that functional, electronic access to this database is available to all relevant central authorities and local offices of the Police and administration", states the report.

Subašić said that the electronic database of foreigners functions perfectly and is being updated daily.



From border crossing Debeli brijeg

Ministry of Interior Affairs and Public Administration should also regulate the security measures for expulsion of foreigners, is in charge of the forms confirming confiscation of valuables, fees related to forced removal of persons etc.

According to the Law, foreigners are obliged to respect the laws of Montenegro and can be removed on charges of illegal employment, expired visas, non-possession of ID, violation of laws or if their removal is required by reasons of national security, public order or protection of public health.

A foreigner who, as the law states, cannot be immediately removed or whose identity cannot be ascertained will be detained in the collection centre for foreigners.

A foreigner whose place of residence and financial means are secured and who for some reason cannot be expelled can have his or her rights of residence and movement restricted to a certain area.

In order to ensure execution of forced removal a foreigner can be temporarily deprived of travel and other documents, tickets, possessions and valuables. The valuables will be used by the state to cover the expenses of forced removal.

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

CROATIA CHANGED THE LAW THREE TIMES IN FIVE YEARS

European Commission pays a lot of attention to the laws on foreigners, asylum and similar acts in order to prevent illegal immigration.

It focuses especially on countries which are tourist destinations. Since 2004, Croatia had to adopt a new or amend the existing Law on Foreigners three times, most recently in February 2009.

Comparing the Montenegrin Law on Foreigners with the latest version of the Croatian, it seems the Government of Montenegro decided to adopt at once all regulations for which the Croats took full five years.

Two moments in particular raised a lot of dust in Croatia with regard to this law.

One was when the parliamentary majority decided to keep the status of foreigners for all persons who lived and worked in the former federal republic of Croatia, had to leave their homes during the war and did not get Croatian citizenship. These people were declared erased.

In another case, the trouble arose around the treatment of tourists. Those working in the tourism industry were dissatisfied with the regulation adopted in 2007 which said that people less than 18 years of age can only enter Croatia with a written approval of their parents. According to them, this provision is detrimental for tourism, especially in the case of organised school trips.

IS MONTENEGRO'S ADMINISTRATION READY TO ANSWER THE QUESTIONNAIRE?

Montenegro before the mirror

The Government of Montenegro is up on its feet ever since the European Enlargement Commissioner Olli



by Neđeljko Rudović

Rehn brought the Questionnaire of the European Commission based on which the EC can decide whether Montenegro is ready to receive the status of a candidate for membership in the EU.

Now the race with deadlines begins. Governments' officials who are directly involved in the process of composing answers can forget about their holidays so that by the end of October all answers can be on EC's table

Now the race with deadlines begins. Governments' officials who are directly involved in the process of composing answers can forget about their holidays so that by the end of October all answers can be on EC's table. In this way, we will know in four months whether the Montenegrin administration is sufficiently capable of coming to grips with greater challenges. As a matter of fact, the dynamic of filling out the Questionnaire will show Montenegro's place. According to the unwritten rules, Podgorica should complete the work within four months at most.

Knowing the questions that were sent to Croatia and Macedonia, the Government could have already started filling out the answers to the standard questions regarding harmonisation of the national legislation with the relevant parts of *acquis*. Thus a lot of work could be done in advance, and more attention and time could be dedicated to the questions specific to Montenegro. Since the Government already has the Croatian and the Macedonian questionnaires, it should have already started with preparations for

the numerous questions asking for statistics that ought to be provided by Monstat and relevant ministries. Allegedly, the Government was planning to do just that but it is uncertain whether they managed anything, given the protracted uncertainty surrounding the constitution of the new cabinet of **Milo Đukanović**.

Some sources suggest that the former Secretariat for European Integrations prepared the initial proposal of the list of translations of laws and other documents that have to be submitted to EC, as well as appendices to the responses to the Questionnaire.

The Government should also establish a detailed organisational and communication scheme for these answers, their coordination and proofreading,

given the scope of the Questionnaire, the enormous number of institutions and individuals who will be involved in this process, and distribution of documents from the headquarters to the institutions and back.

Proofreading is especially important in order to avoid contradictions. Earlier, it was planned that before every answer is proofread and verified on the political level, in the Ministry for European Integrations, the answers should be com-

Those who would hope to profit by playing tricks on Brussels should remember that after the Questionnaire and Avis come the membership negotiations. And there, there will be no chance to convince the other side that black is white

pared, proofread and verified on the operative-technical level, on the sectoral basis, by special teams formed for each chapter. In addition to this, there should be "control groups" whose members, according to the current plan, will also come from the ranks of the Government.

One of the most important issues is translation of questions, answers and appendices, which is one of the most

demanding tasks if we know that Montenegro lacks translators in almost all sectors.

Montenegro already established the Translation Coordination Unit (TCU) and prepared a Handbook for translation of legal and other acts related to European integrations, containing practical and obligatory guidelines for the translators of legal acts and other documents. This is to ensure that Montenegro does not send to Brussels a colourful jumble of data that those who are supposed to judge it would most likely fail to understand.

At the moment, there are 40 translators ready to do the job, but the question is whether this will be enough. The former secretary for European integrations **Ana Vukadinović** was in favour of establishing a "translation centre" with 50 translators.

More important than all this, however, is that Montenegro should demonstrate credibility, which means that there must not be cheating. Looking at the practice so far, it often seems that Podgorica is trying to persuade Brussels that it's been following European Union standards by adopting laws that are supposedly harmonised with them. In the end it would turn out that these laws were adopted for this purpose alone, while the practice remained the same and the new standards were simply dodged. Starting with the law on Public Broadcasting Services all the way to the most recent Law on electronic communication. Not to mention the fact that the

most prominent candidate of the ruling DPS for the mayor of Žabljak was a man who at the time was the president of municipal court.

Those who would hope to profit by playing tricks on Brussels should remember that after the Questionnaire and Avis come the membership negotiations. And there, there will be no chance to convince the other side that black is white.

SENIOR ADVISOR FOR EU IN MACEDONIA DRAGAN TILEV ABOUT THE QUESTIONNAIRE OF EUROPEAN COMMISSION

Organisation is the key

Senior advisor for European Union in Macedonia **Dragan Tilev** explains that organisation is the key to successful response to European Commission's Questionnaire.

"The key is organisation which must be perfect. It will decide whether you can answer the Questionnaire in the short time period of three to four months", said Tilev in the interview for *European Pulse*.

He added that the work should be organised in such a manner that all questions and sub questions are directed to people who know the answers.

"When the questions reach these people, who are experts in their own field, there will be no problem in answering them. Therefore, it has to be known

It has to be known exactly who sends the questions and who receives them, who is responsible for answers, whether all the relevant institutions have been consulted. Once you find that person in your Government or administration who knows about and is competent to answer certain questions, this is not a difficult task – it will be done in a week

exactly who sends the questions and who receives them, who is responsible for answers, whether all the relevant institutions have been consulted. It is important to do this in order to extract the maximum from everything you can offer as information, response, explanation to the European officials and in the end, translate everything to exceptionally readable English. We are talking a thousand aspects which must be brought together and verified by the Government. These are the official positions and data



photo: VJESTI

Dragan Tilev

which, in the course of procedure agreed with the European Commission, will be delivered to the EC", said Tilev.

● What, according to you, is the most difficult aspect of piecing together the answers to the Questionnaire?

First and foremost the organisation and coordination of this task, and in the second place translation.

In principle, answering the questions is not difficult, as these are technical and specific questions. Once you find that person in your Government or administration who knows about and is competent to answer certain questions, this is not a difficult task – it will be done in

a week.

But the pressure will be heavy on the administration, on experts for individual fields and especially on you minister **Gordana Đurović** who will have to coordinate and manage the whole thing and to present the work of the administration at the Government meetings.

Under normal circumstances, you would need a year, year and a half, but you have to finish it all in three–four months.

● You said that translation was also a challenge?

Translation is an extremely important phase. All answers and annexes must be translated. In the case of Macedonia, that meant 14.000 pages.

I'm not saying that Montenegro cannot do this with fewer pages, 8.000 perhaps, but we are still talking an enormous task.

I would emphasise that the translation must be in high quality

MORE MONEY CALLS FOR BETTER ADMINISTRATION

● Did the candidate status give Macedonia the right to draw more money from EU funds?

By definition, the closer you are to membership, the more assistance you receive.

Candidate country has a right to access funds from all five components of IPA funds.

At the moment, Montenegro can only access two components, but once it receives the candidate status it will also have the chance to use the other three – regional development, human resource development and rural development. This includes financing of large infrastructural projects, which is of great importance to Montenegro.

● European Commission often pointed out that Montenegro ought to strengthen its administrative capacities in order to apply successfully for the projects financed from IPA funds?

Access to additional components entails the need to strengthen the administrative capacities and to introduce the Decentralised Implementation System (DIS) for EU pre-accession funds. This will require greater preparation.

Montenegro already started introducing DIS. However, establishing the system is one thing, but getting accreditation to be able to manage these funds is something else, a lot more serious and demanding.

● Did Macedonia receive accreditation for DIS?

It did not. That's exactly why I'm saying that this is a serious task. In Macedonia, it has been on the table for more than three years, which is taking a little longer than it should. Most probably we will complete the process by the end of this year and we'll get accreditation for the components 1, 2, 3 and 4, and for component 5, rural development, some time early next year.

English, complete with terminology which is in use in Brussels, in order to avoid misunderstandings.

● How many translators did Macedonia have?

In Macedonia, the work was done by 30 to 35 professional translators.

However, you should bear in mind that we started translating everything much earlier, because we could tell in advance which laws,

sent them to Brussels.

● Is there ongoing communication between the European

Translation is an extremely important phase. The translation must be in high quality English, complete with terminology which is in use in Brussels, in order to avoid misunderstandings

Commission and the Government during the process of answering the Questionnaire?

Absolutely. Communication begins a day or two after you

announced regarding your status as a candidate.

There will be an open communication channel between the Government, or rather your Minister for European Integrations and DG Enlargement in Brussels and with the Delegation of the European Commission in Podgorica.

This communication will be continuous. There will be many questions and sub-questions that will be exchanged on this informal level.

● Montenegro should submit its answers by November, and the Commission should reveal its opinion in the first half of 2010. It was announced that the Council of Ministers could decide on the candidate status in the second half of 2010. This period from the moment the answers are sent until the Council of Ministers decides lasts about a year. What should Montenegro do in this period?

In this period, you should lobby. The Council of Ministers decides on giving a country candidate status by consensus. This means that you should garner support of all 27 EU member states, in other words, you should not have a single country which would vote against or other-

wise obstruct the final decision.

Personally, I believe that Montenegro has an exceptionally good base and that it can count on a positive atmosphere in the European Commission and receive, by 2010, not only the status of a candidate country, but also a date to begin negotiations, or even begin membership negotiations.

For this you will need lobbying – a continuous dialogue on bilateral basis with all member states.

It takes about a year from the submission of answers until the final decision of the Council of Ministers. In this period, you should lobby. The Council of Ministers decides on granting candidate country status by consensus. You must have support of all 27 EU member states

legal acts, strategies and action plans would be interesting to Brussels.

The answers were translated during the last month before we

receive the Questionnaire and it lasts until the conclusion of the process, i.e. until the final decision of the Council of Ministers is

V. ŽUGIĆ

EU NEEDS A CONCISE DOCUMENT OF ITS HIGHEST LEGAL ACT MODELED AFTER USA

Does Europe need constitution after all?



After a failed attempt to replace the founding treaties with a Constitutional



by Vladimir Pavićević

Treaty for Europe, leaders of the EU member states began working on new modifications and amendments of the previous treaties. The result of this initiative is the Lisbon Treaty (also known as Reform Treaty), signed on the 13 December 2007 in Lisbon. Its ratification ought to be completed in all member states in the course of 2009 for the treaty to come into force next year.

The Reform treaty endows EU with legal subjectivity; eliminates the so-called pillar structure of EU; institutes the office of President of the European Council; establishes the position of Commission member in charge of foreign and security policy who will also be the vice president of the European Commission and will be appointed to that place, unlike all other Commission members, by the Council; explicitly establishes the primacy of community law with clear delineation of responsibilities between EU institutions and member states; defines, for the first time, procedures for withdrawal from membership in this organisation.

The question of EU's democratic deficit is attenuated by the Lisbon Treaty by the possibility for the national parliaments to demand, under specific circumstances,

reconsidering or changes to decisions adopted on the EU level, and in extreme cases even to block decisions of European institutions. Until May 2009 the Lisbon Treaty was ratified in 24 member states and was left to be ratified by Germany, which is still awaiting the decision of the Supreme Court on the compatibility of the Treaty with the Basic Law, Poland, where the President still has to sign the Treaty, and Ireland, which is to organise a second referendum after the first one failed in 2008.

Discussion on the implications of the Lisbon Treaty takes us back to the well-known debate between Eurosceptics and Euro-optimists. Eurosceptics will always try to argue that EU does not need either the Lisbon Treaty or a constitution for Europe, as the Reform Treaty leads to deeper integration, and the Constitution would inevitably turn the Union into a state, which is not to the liking of all its members. On the other hand, there are plenty of arguments in favour of the Reform Treaty, as well as the belief that for

the sake of further development of EU it is desirable to go back to the debate on the Constitution for Europe. Euro-optimists insist on the need for further integration of European states, ideally for the establishment of a European federation. Their arguments can be classified in several strands.

First of all, without an act of constitutional character the EU is an entity constantly in flux, its character subject to continuous debates which can never have a decisive conclusions around the real nature of EU. Is it an international organisation, is it a federation, or is it simply a supra-national organisation? Every attempt to decipher its character leads you into a detailed debate on the development of Union, and the reasons that the integration proceeded so broadly in the first place. In this sense, the Constitution would certainly contribute to clarify the nature of EU, whichever concept of development becomes dominant in the end. This means that we would finally be able to describe, based on one key document, the character of this entity and what it represents.

The next issue is the purpose of EU's existence. At the moment, we do not know the goals of the process of European integration, its final shape or nature. A good example of this ambiguity was the situation of the Central and East European countries in 2004. After the fall of Berlin wall, these countries were promised membership in the family of west European national, but the process took much longer than they expected. Since the early 1990s, they were often



EUROPEAN PHILADELPHIA

Debate on this topic becomes all the more important if we try to compare the creation of the first federation in the world – United States of America – with the process of integration of European states. It is clear that the USA and EU represent very complex systems, both guaranteeing constitutional competences to different levels of government. Both contain compromise solutions related to the division of powers among different actors. American system is usually described as a presidential system where the executive is represented by a powerful president who is able to select his own cabinet acting as a Government of USA. American Constitution, written in 1787 was never changed, but was altered through 27 amendments. It contains seven articles, four of which regulated distribution of power among the organs of the central authority. Federal level in USA is represented by three main institutions: Congress, President, and the Supreme Court.

EU's case is somewhat different and more complicated. In the Treaty on EU, signed in Maastricht and updated by the Treaty of Nice, it is written that "The Union shall be founded on the European Communities, supplemented by the policies and forms of cooperation established by this Treaty..." This means that all institutions, established by the Treaty on European Community are simultaneously institutions of EU. There is, however, one institution which is not part of the European Community but is part of EU – the European Council.

Article 7 of the Treaty on European Community clearly states which institutions are to manage the activities of the Community. They are European Parliament, Council of Ministers, Commission and the Court of Justice. At the same time, Article 4 of the Treaty on EU states that European Council is the "steering" institution of European Union. Its main role is to set general political guidelines.

One could contend that a comparison between European and American system is not applicable. It is indeed difficult to compare since the European institutions are differently interlinked through various competences which are not clearly separated, and it is often difficult to say whether this system of complex linkages can be dubbed a division of powers in the classical sense. Nonetheless, the question of whether the European constitutional process could be modelled on the American experience will remain relevant until it becomes clear what the Europeans really want with Europe.

told that they could expect to join EU after five years. Later, they were given the exact date – 1 May 2004 for the first ten countries – but it took much longer than many of these countries had hoped in the beginning.

At the moment, the West Balkan countries are in the similar situation. At the Thessaloniki summit in 2003 they were clearly told that there is place enough for them in the EU, but the pace of association and accession of these countries remained unknown. If we consider the negotiations with Turkey, whose accession is still subject to debate among Europeans, as well as

the vague Eastern border of the European continent, the Constitution remains the only way to outline the possible future path and borders of EU.

This would certainly eliminate some confusion caused by bizarre occurrences such as Morocco's application for EU membership or Israel's potential candidacy. By establishing the basic orientation for EU's development, a constitution would also delineate the future relations with Russia, whose excessive rapprochement with or entry into EU would swallow the values of European tradition already incorporated into EU's path.

No less important are the technical issues such as the obvious need to simplify the existing treaties. At the moment, two treaties constitute the foundation of the entire EU law – the Treaty on European Community, i.e. the first pillar of the Union, and Treaty on European Union, which contains provisions linked to the functioning of the second and third pillar. In fact, the first pillar is the only one that falls entirely to supra-national jurisdiction, but it is also the most developed and related to the entire EU market, regulating relations among different actors. The second and third pillar are by their character intergovernmental and here the decisions are usually made by consensus, with agreement by all Union members.

Simplifying these treaties means a single act, in this case a constitutional document, that would contain all three pillars of EU. This would allow not only researchers but also EU citizens to gain insight into the key provisions regulating the new, modern Europe and defining the rights of citizens of this Europe.

In addition to this, if doesn't want to end up like the former Communist countries whose constitutions were as a rule extensive and tiring texts, Europe needs a concise, coherent text for its Constitution which, like the American one, would contain chapters on institutions, rights of citizens, internal organisation etc. It should be a constitution, in the words of **Jack Straw**, former UK minister of foreign affairs, that we can easily fit into our coat pockets and, as citizens of European Union, help ourselves to it in any moment.

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

Porno liberalisation

by Brano Mandić

A wonderful definition by **Umberto Eco**: If an automobile takes longer than you wish to cover the distance from point A to point B, it means you're watching porn. The directors are at pains to fill out the time gap between two naked encounters, so the hero enters the car, turns on the machine, refills gas, drives, parks at an angle, plays with the dog... It should all resemble a movie, until the said stag can show up dressed in a plumber's outfit in front of a bungalow with a leaking pipe which craves the hard grip of his pliers.

So we saw **Pam** eating an olive, **Miomir** handing her a blouse, a diver boy, hot pants, national dress and a home bread. We also saw the white-bellied yacht but we still don't know why Pam came and how much money she would offer, if she would.

Instead, a handful of local money bags made descended on the diva like

At the peak of her career Pamela was in fact what European Union is, politically, on the Balkans. An icon after which you pant and which makes you jump

a bunch of adolescents, all stiff like when you're calling a waiter while you hand grips the wrong pocket. And they were smug enough to present the plebs the wet dream of many a truck driver and bohemian as a business messiah, until the whole thing looked like some LSD apocrypha with troubling symbolism: a white robe, whipping (looks), a mantle received from the local authorities, a promise of well-being, olive groves, preachings of health and physique, spilling water...

Sounds familiar?

Naturally, religious associations often arise as the only refuge when the said plumber finds the doors shut in the midst of an economic crisis and



Pamela reveals almost everything she's got, except for wallet. Then comes a nervous "cut", our dearest is already at Surčin since there's no direct flight from Podgorica to London, and we are left to dream of investments and philosophise on.

the comment "What a boar I've spent my life with".

The hosts of the famous actress reached for the same porn strategy. Pornography is not what Pam does, pornography is when you present her with a credit card in front of cameras. Everything must be shown, zoom from beneath, no cheating! Penetration. No acting, it's really happening! They are no doubles, the public must learn that everything is real: **Anderson Pamela** is a chance for development of a society where 70% of the men spit on the sidewalk and every third beats his wife.

All this is dripping and pulsing while from the fortress of Petrovaradin **Patti Smith** cries out against the dictatorship of fat capitalists, Patti who would hardly fill the smaller hall of DODEST in Podgorica, and in Zagreb the students are shaking up the system, reading Praxis, debating.

"Pamela is cute" said the porters in Podgorica's Town Hall.

"But we have prettier girls", they added, patriotically, three years after independence.

What happened in the end?

There's another wonderful definition in addition to Eco's: **Epstein Mikhail** talks of pornography as hypersexuality. Everything is amplified here, the details are shown from angles inaccessible to the anatomy of real lovers. This is exactly where the problem begins because hyper- destroys the reality, paradoxically it kills the desire in the real life, when the bed sometimes creeks and the kid squeaks in the wrong moment from the next door.

Frequent consumption of porn stories leads to the same contradiction like when you swallow a kilo of lemons and end up in the emergency room for hypervitaminosis, or it can throw you into a deep blue worthy of



At some point, mayor Miomir pulled back leaving the female devil to chat with the owner of Atlas Group **Knežević**. Pam pouted and said "No no, mister mayor, please sit next to me, I wanna be in a sandwich!" And there was sandwich, worthy of a plate above which one vomits and howls wedding songs at four in the morning, while the red dawn is not yet in sight

Elimination of visas will bring no epochal effects, but something important will happen. Those individuals who cannot find themselves in the small town ambiance of their homeland will have no more excuse

and other gimcrack.

Pamela is important here as a totalitarian image of sexuality. Pamela at the peak of her career was in fact what European Union is, politically, on the Balkans. The icon after which you pant and which makes you jump.

To cast the EU in this role required a marketing-simplified political image of the old continent. The sickened people beyond the slaughterhouse had to have its brains washed, and the decision came to say every day "EU integrations" at least 100 times and after ten years check for the possible shimmer of a new identity. This much is evident, every propaganda is stupid in order to be acceptable to the widest circles in its

use wisdom.

But imagine the pain of facing the real picture of, say, Montenegro in relation to EU, when the citizens start going out a little more often and looking at the reality from a new angle. How will we live with the fact that most people out there never heard of Montenegro, after a decade-long self-hypnosis about own greatness.

Perhaps the removal of visas will even create a direct political reflex: awaken people, ready for free discussion, educated abroad, with a backpack and a laptop... I doubt we can expect something like that. The cards are dealt too well and the financial elite controls the political scene in Montenegro in such a routine manner that it's nearly impossible to imagine a new turbulence, some dangerous turn, fresh blood. Vulgar recruitment of incapable cadres casts the future leaders who are fit to be rebels like Pamela is fit to act **Marie Curie**.

Still, let's not whine. Montenegro is not doing so badly if we compare ourselves to Macedonia where national tensions are on the rise and the cit-

izens are brainwashed by myths of Alexander the Great. Montenegro is ahead of Bosnia and Herzegovina and Kosovo. Is that little? The once least developed republic of SFRY at least managed to improve its image. The problem is the rot on the inside which the EU takes into consideration only within the limits of real political combinations, which is only natural.

Elimination of visas will bring no epochal effects, but something important will happen. Those individuals who cannot find themselves in the small town ambiance of their homeland will have no more excuse. On purely hedonistic grounds, middle aged people fed up with primitivism will be able to organise themselves a few excursions per year. It's not a small thing, to run away from a country where one spent Hollywood mouthpiece lines up the leaders of transition like freshmen. Or, go to Paris to interview **Alain Noury**, for instance. You just have to convince the owners of the media where you work that this is a good idea and wrestle out some travel expenses. Psychologically, it's a big thing, as well emphasised by **Olli Rehn**, that the kneeling reality of queues that used to kill every will to travel and work will disappear. The Balkan comedy was getting quite boring. Somebody decided we should move on, and we're most grateful. It's the first time that we get some news from Brussels that merit a toast, after years of signing documents and exchanging notes. There were immediately critics and sceptics who should always be acknowledged. But it doesn't seem quite probable to me that the EU would allow itself to just open up the doors to organised crime from the Balkans. Besides, why should the criminals live the European dream and conquer new places when they're doing so well here.

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

WHY IS NECESSARY TO MAKE MP POSITION AS PROFESSIONAL

Unprofessional in conflict

For years now Montenegrin public has been buzzing with the need for professionalisation of



by Stevo Muk

the function of MPs in the Parliament of Montenegro.

In March 2007 the then head of the parliamentary club of the Democratic Party of Socialists **Miodrag Vuković** spoke in favour of professionalisation of MP's office. However, he was not fully supported by his party.

At the same time, the move was welcomed by the US National Democratic Institute (NDI). Its director **Lisa McLean** even said that she was promised in her talks with the government and opposition that professionalisation will soon get under way, as this is a precondition for more effective performance of the Parliament of Montenegro. The same recommendation figures in the then analysis of NDI "New challenges for a new term". The justifications states that this would strengthen the authority of the Parliament, leading to better and more responsible work, and to elimination or at least curbing of the conflicts of interests. NDI also emphasised that it is necessary to hold MPs accountable and to prescribe sanctions for unjustified absences from the sessions.

Centre for Civic Education (CCE) and Centre for Development of Non-Governmental Organisations (CDNGO) also welcomed the initiative to professionalise the office of MPs and warned that this should be defined by the new Constitution, reminding of the new

competences of the Parliament, changes in the previous practices, application of the new regulations which require full dedication of the MPs, the prospective law-making dynamic of the Government as well as of the numerous commitments arising on the European road of Montenegro. "Professionalisation of MPs it therefore of utmost importance for effective positioning of the Parliament with regard to these task", concludes the joint communication of these two non-governmental organisations, adding that this would contribute to a more professional approach not only to the role of MPs but also to a number of other public functions in local administrations, public institutions and enterprises, currently performed by MPs.

In the process of drafting Montenegro's Constitution I advocated

Only once the MPs are able to approach their office with dedication and professionalism will they have the moral right and full legitimacy to ask for higher wages and better financing of the Parliament, paid assistants and advisers, cars, travel allowances as well as complete trust from the public

professionalisation of MP's function and a ban on employment in other functions while in office. Unfortunately, no such regulation was adopted, and the new Constitution states that "an MP has the right to perform his representative function professionally". This only continued the practice of multiple employment of MPs, and in some ways even reinforced it.

However, for a number of MPs this means a flagrant conflict of interests, since in addition to their parliamentary office they perform the highest functions in the public administration, public funds and public agencies.

The Parliament ought to control the Government, i.e. public administration, and the Book of Regulations prescribes the co-called control hearing as

one of the forms of the control functions of the Parliament. It states that "In order to acquire information and expert opinions on certain issues in its realm of competence, as well as on the issues of defining and implementing policies and laws or other activities of the Government and public institutions which contain ambiguities, dilemmas or principled arguments, in order to resolve these issues, the relevant committee may call into session the responsible representative of the Government or other public institution and question him or her on the matter".

It would be interesting, for instance, to have a parliamentary committee call into control hearing the director of the Bureau for execution of criminal sanctions (ZIKS), and have one of the MPs, perhaps even the member

of this very committee appear before the Parliament. **Božidar Vuksanović**, representative of DPS is also director of the Bureau for execution of criminal sanctions.

The list of MPs from the ruling majority who find themselves in a similar conflict of interests is longish: **Mevludin Nuhodžić** is director of the Government's Directorate for joint tasks, **Radoje Žugić** is the director of the state Pension and Disability Fund (PDF), **Zoran Jelić** director of the Employment Bureau and president of the Board of Directors of the company "Ulcinjaska Rivijera", **Miće Orlandić** director of the Real Estate Authority, **Miomir Mugoša** the mayor of the capital Podgorica, **Zoran Srzentić** director of the General Hospital in Bar, **Đorđe**



From the Parliament of Montenegro

Pinjatić director of the public company "Water and sewage systems" in Budva and member of the council of the Municipality of Budva. **Husnija Šabović** is director of the Forest Authority in Plav, **Obrad Stanišić** member of the Board of Directors of PDF and of the public institution National Parks, **Zarija Franović** is president of the Board of Directors of the "Railway transport" etc.

In his CV on the Internet page of the Parliament of Montenegro, Radoje Žugić, currently a DPS MP, lists the following functions he is occupying at the moment: "President of the Board of Directors of: Central depository agency, Lovćen insurance, First Bank of Montenegro. Member of several directors' and managing boards, committees and working groups of the Government of Montenegro".

Although at the very beginning of this term of the Parliament of Montenegro Socialist Peoples' Party (SNP) advocated "professionalisation of MPs with the aim of better and more accountable work", its representatives on the Parliament benches this year are **Milisav Ćorić**, who is also president of the municipal assembly of Mojkovac, **Gojko Obradović**, director of

Directorate for management of the branch harbour Herzeg Novi and **Dobrica Šljivančanin**, president of the municipal assembly of Žabljak.

It is of no less importance whether the MPs working in health and education are managing to perform equally well and without damage both of their jobs.

How many hours are to be missed by the children whose professors of literature, sociology or other subject matters are simultaneously MPs in the Parliament of Montenegro? How and when are these hours made up, are the children losing out, are the rules of education superior to political ambition of teachers?

How do doctors MPs perform their medical duties, are they violating the rights of their patients, are they endangering the quality of medical services offered by them, is it possible to operate before or after the Parliament session or in between two parliamentary committees?

According to our data, slightly above one half of the total number of MPs is not professionally engaged in the Parliament of Montenegro. However, every MP can be a member of a maximum three parliamentary

committees and those MPs who occupy several functions nevertheless do not lag behind in the number of committees they attend.

The question indeed is, whether and to what extent this kind of approach to MP's office and duties contributes to the fulfillment of the proclaimed goals such as raising the quality and efficiency of the Parliament, strengthening the Parliament's control function, garnering greater trust among the public in the work of the Parliament.

It is obvious that the MPs who perform several functions cannot be fully dedicated to their parliamentary office and this only undermines the Parliament.

Generally speaking, it is most difficult to understand DPS as the largest party, since they have enough cadre not to overburden the same people with several functions which cannot all be fulfilled equally well. It is also difficult to understand opposition, which builds its internal system and selection processes by narrowing down, instead of expanding the number of cadre in the position they are entitled to.

The authors of Constitution, the Government and the political parties could benefit from reexamining this question and presenting their esteemed members with the dilemma: an MP or everything else. This will not only benefit the Parliament, but also other public institutions, local administrations, schools and hospitals, children and patients and finally even the families of the MPs as well as MPs themselves in terms of quality of their lives.

Only once the MPs are able to approach their office with dedication and professionalism will they have the moral right and full legitimacy to ask for higher wages and better financing of the Parliament, paid assistants and advisers, cars, travel allowances as well as complete trust from the public.

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

Justitia doesn't live here



What does it mean to be a citizen of Europe? Aren't we already citizens of Europe? Do we still need Montenegro to get to Europe or



by Snežana Jonica

is it perhaps more urgent that Europe should come to Montenegro?

Europe begins in the mind and acts of every individual. We will be ready for Europe only when every individual realises and accepts the norms of European behaviour.

To me, Europe is not a goal, but a means to achieve a more just, better and safer life. Montenegro is sometimes called

can and we must solve our problems by ourselves. In Montenegro. Perhaps Europe will help us to understand this.

If we look upon European Union as a paradise and have it constantly on our lips as a mantra, brandishing its banner, it can happen to us to wake up one day far, far away from any solution to our problems, because the myth of "Europe" made us blind for these problems. It can happen to us to discover that the EU became more than just a politically correct way to pass on our troubles, as if its promise alone could replace the solutions to our present problems and crises.

"Europe" is indeed more than a geographical notion, but less than an answer. We must find answers on our own.

Visa-free travel gives us a chance, opens the doors to go and see, to meet, to learn...and to come back knowing how beautiful this country is and how much better it can get if we apply what we learned, if we see the goal, if we understand the need,

regard to the above context we can say two things with certainty. In Europe, in the geographic sense of the word, the last hundred years have seen extremely anti-European tendencies and forces, which led to bloody conflicts, among them the two World Wars. Fortunately, Europe won both and overruled its anti-European undercurrents, and the EU itself was created first of all in order to avoid such anti-European regressions in the future.

The task was to create a common, democratic Europe, based on the idea of freedom, free of all ideological or political narrow-mindedness and myopia. It was not easy, but there was no other way. The alternative was decline and a permanent threat of conflicts and wars – a long-standing, rich tradition in these parts. Europe choose its path. And a way to preserve it.

Europe managed to establish and maintain a never easy balance between the state and the market, between individual and social responsibility, between competition and solidarity, work and capital, it managed to construct a system caring for the quality of life of all its citizens, and not only of the most powerful groups and individuals.

The question is, WHY?

Because the rules are the same for everyone... Because the knowledge and effort are valued far above personal connections and political affiliation... Because of the ideals of social justice... Because of the concept of human rights... Because of the laws adopted to be implemented.

Because they were uniting while we were busy dividing, because they made the lessons learned a foundation for future work, because they learn from their mistakes, because they are not ashamed to admit their mistakes, because changing the government is not a problem, and living by one's own work is possible.

Why do I chose Europe?

Because between past and future I choose future, between divisions and consensus I choose consensus, between fears and hopes I choose the hope... and the challenge...To show what we are worth, to show whether we are ready for this.

The author is the Secretary of the Executive Committee and member of the Socialist People's Party in the Parliament of Montenegro. She attended V generation of European Integrations School.

What we really need is to bring Europe here. To realise that we are all born with equal and inalienable rights, that the measure of truth is not power, that discussion is a step towards agreement, that we must agree in Montenegro in order to agree with Europe, that we are too few to afford to be divided, that knowledge does not only reside on one side, that a policemen can refuse an illegal order from his supervisor, that a judge can judge according to law and justice

the country of gods, but there's at least one goddess that most certainly does not live here – the goddess of justice, Justitia.

Because the laws are not equally applied to everyone, there are no equal opportunities for all, because we live in a system where who you know matters more than what you know.

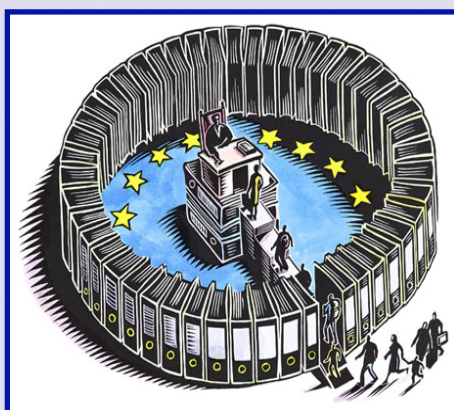
What we really need is to bring Europe here. To realise that we are all born with equal and inalienable rights, that the measure of truth is not power, that discussion is a step towards agreement, that we must agree in Montenegro in order to agree with Europe, that we are too few to afford to be divided, that knowledge does not only reside on one side, that a policemen can refuse an illegal order from his supervisor, that a judge can judge according to law and justice.

Europe will not solve all of our problems, but it will help us find a way to solve them more quickly and effectively. But we

share the responsibility and look to the future.

What does European mean to us?

If European means the rule of law (remembering the Roman law), knowledge and enquiry (remembering the Greeks) or freedom, equality in law, tolerance and social solidarity, in a word – democracy (remembering the French Revolution), then with



Beware the 20 euro note

The number of confiscated false euro banknotes rose by 17% in the first six months of 2009, continuing the upward trend of the last two years, said European Central Bank (ECB).

"In the first half of 2009 a total of 413.000 falsified banknotes were withdrawn from circulation", said ECB.

As earlier, most of the counterfeits were 20 euro notes, 48.5% of the total, followed by 50 euro (34%) and 100 euro notes (13.5%).

In January ECB reported on the rise in the amount of false banknotes in the previous six-month period by 13%, but said

that the spread of counterfeiting did not reach worrying levels. The most recent report omits this comment.



Crisis discouraged immigrants

Economic crisis, together with stronger cooperation with the home countries of EU's immigrants reduced the number of illegal immigrants in the EU by 16% in only a year, said the European agency for the protection of borders Frontex.

"The number of illegal immigrants caught at the EU borders in the first quarter of 2008 was 24.000, and a year later 20 200, said **Gilles Arias Fernandez**, deputy director of Frontex.

These numbers do not take into account the effects of the agreement between Italy and Libya to fight illegal immigration which

came into force on 15 January 2009. It is expected that by the end of the year there could be a decrease of 20 to 25% across EU. Economic crisis reduced the number of jobs available to immigrants and opportunities to find work, dampening the desire of potential immigrants to face all obstacles in order to get to the EU.

"When you know that there are people who spent loads of money for the trip, faced grave dangers while crossing the sea, only to be chased out of the country once they arrived, you will think twice whether to take the chances yourself", said Arias Fernandez.

Iceland said "yes" to Europe



On 16 July the Parliament of Iceland accepted the Government's proposal to apply for membership in European Union. After a heated debate which lasted several days 33 MPs supported the

application for EU membership, 28 were against and 2 abstained.

Iceland was the first country to go bankrupt under the onslaught of economic crisis, which motivated this country and its government to turn to EU integration.

According to the latest polls 62.1% of Iceland's 330.000 citizens is in favour of membership in the Union with which it already shares economic treaties and a large share of legislation.

Head of the parliamentary committee for European affairs **Arni Thor Sigurdsson** said that the accession negotiations could begin in February 2010, and that referendum could be scheduled for early 2012, with the prospective accession date being 2013.

6.000 euros for MPs

With the new assembly of the European Parliament, constituted on the 14 July, new rules on MP's earnings are coming into force.

Until now, European Parliament members did not have equal pay, and their earnings depended on their home countries, with wages equaling the wages of MPs in the national parliaments.

From now on, however, every MEP will have a gross wage of 7.665.31 euros, or net wage of 5.963.33 euros.

In addition to this, each MEP will receive 4.202 euros per month for general expense as well as 17.540 euros to maintain an office and employ assistants.

Referendum on 2 October

Irish Prime Minister **Brian Cowen** announced that Ireland will hold the second referendum on Lisbon Treaty on 2 October 2009. In the last few months Cowen received legal guarantees from the EU partners that ought to dispel the fears of Irish voters who rejected the treaty on the last referendum. The Irish feared by acceding to the Lisbon Treaty they would lose their military neutrality, independent fiscal regime and prohibition of abortion.

Greece fined

Court of European Communities fined Greece with 2.000.000 euros because it failed to recover illegally awarded state aid from the airline company Olympic Airways.

This case is related to 41.000.000 euros of state aid injected to Olympic Airways in the course of unsuccessful restructuring of this company. Greece was fined because it failed to act upon the court's verdict from 2005 which deemed this aid illegal. European Commission has long-standing charges against Athens because of subsidies to Olympic Airways.

A YEAR SINCE THE FOUNDING OF THE NATIONAL COUNCIL FOR EUROPEAN INTEGRATIONS (NCEI)

On the margins of the process

A year after it was founded, National Council for European Integrations (NCEI) stands on the margins of a process in which it ought to be playing an important role.

Intra-oppositional battle over the place of place of the president of NCEI, stoked by the ruling coalition, whose vote in the end decides on who gets the office, numerous obstructions on the part of the ruling circles and passivity of its president and members are all reasons for NCEI's position today.

The decision to found NCEI was adopted on 19 March 2008. The Council was established as an advisory body to monitor the process of the fulfilment of commitments set by the Stabilisation and Association Agreement (SAA) between Montenegro and

European Union, as well as the future negotiations on accession to EU, and when necessary formulate opinions on the harmonisation of Montenegrin legislation with EU regulations and discuss other issues related to the question of European integrations and implementation of Stabilisation and Association agreement.

In addition to this, NCEI was conceived

order to achieve "high level of participation" in the process of European integrations. The decision on the appointment of president, deputy presidents and members of NCEI was adopted by the Parliament only on 31 July 2008.

The reason it took a full four months to constitute NCEI was a clash inside opposition over the office of president. According

Since its constitution on 18 October 2008 the Council only had two meetings and one joint session with the parliamentary Committee for International Relations and European Integrations

as a body that will gather the largest possible spectrum of social and political actors in

to the decision to establish NCEI its President was to be appointed from the ranks of the opposition, and the struggle for this function took place between president of the Socialist People's Party **Srdan Milić** and leader of the Movement for Changes **Nebojša Medojević**. Milić was appointed the first president of NCEI.

Difficulties surrounding NCEI's constitution were further complicated by the manner of appointment of members of the Council coming from the ranks of non-governmental sector. According to the founding act of NCEI, two places in the Council are reserved for representatives of NGOs. However, NGO activists with long-standing experience with programmes related to European integrations were left out of the Council. Such decision on the part of authorities caused an upheaval in that segment of the civil sector and reinforced suspicion that the governing coalition, whose votes in the Parliament are decisive in appointing NGO representatives to the Council, is not really interested in having NCEI as a truly independent body whose objective approach could make it a valuable "assistant" to the Government to work successfully on its commitments on the road to EU.

The Council began its work by getting a grip on everyday problems, without notable public appearances, remaining in the shadows and without any tangible impact on the process of European integrations which it should be monitoring and to some extent managing.

Constitutive session of NCEI was held on 18 October 2008, where the Council appointed a working group to create a book of procedures for the Council. It also adopted the suggestion of its members to improve

CONTROVERSIAL APPOINTMENT OF NGO REPRESENTATIVES

The last point of the Article 2 of the Decision to Establish NCEI, which defines the structure of this body, states that "two members will be appointed to NCEI by: NGOs dealing with European integrations and implementation of the Stabilisation and Association Agreement and Social Council".

During the appointment of members to the previous NCEI there were 11 NGOs whose work in the field of European integrations is well recognised and who signed the Agreement on Cooperation with Secretariat for European Integrations. Nine out of these 11 (ADP ZID, CEDEM, Centre for Civic Education, CEMI, CDNGO, EMiM, FSR, Institute Alternative and Network for Affirmation of European Integrations) supported candidacy of **Momčilo Radulović**, Secretary General of European Movement in Montenegro. With support of one of these 11 NGOs with a formally recognised role in European affairs, Nansen Dialogue Centre (NDC) and two other NGOs – Youth Initiative for Human Rights (YIHR) and Centre for Democratic Transition, and by the will of the political parties **Boris Raonić**, coordinator of NDC and programme director in YIHR was elected. The second NCEI member – representative of non-governmental sector was **Tijana Marković**, at the time an employee of Telecom Montenegro, whose candidacy was supported by 47 NGOs, mostly unknown to the public, especially in the realm of European integrations, of which some were, legally speaking, not really NGOs but entities whose work falls into rather different legal categories. Controversies sprouted by the appointment of these two people found no response from the representatives of the ruling coalition, who said they did not want to meddle in the appointment of NGO representatives and that their choice of appointments was guided by the formal criteria, according to which Marković gained most votes. Nobody explained the neglect of the formal criteria regarding the area of activity of NGOs involved as stated in the Article 2 of the Decision nor which formal criteria decided in favour of Raonić and against Radulović. Marković was only supported by the ruling parties, while Raonić gained votes of the ruling coalition and part of the opposition.

administrative and technical conditions for the work of the Council, to employ experts to support the work of NCEI's members and provide basic technical conditions for their work.

This was, however, never implemented. In spite of insistence on the part of NCEI's president to secure the most elementary conditions for the work of the Council, former secretary general of the Parliament of Montenegro **Milan Radović** allowed NCEI to employ only one person for administrative and expert support.

The first session of the Council was held on the 5 November 2008, where the head of the European Commission Delegation in Podgorica, ambassador **Leopold Maurer**, presented the European Commission's Progress Report for 2008.

On 4 December NCEI had a joint session with the parliamentary Committee for International Relations and European Integrations. The guest of the session was **Pierre Mirel**, director for Western Balkans in DG Enlargement of the European Commission. During this session, the MPs exchanged opinions on the Agenda for European Integrations of Montenegro as well as on related issues and activities. This was the only session which drew public's attention after president of the Supreme Court **Vesna Medenica** unofficially told Mirel that Montenegrin judiciary is in an even worse state than it appears in EC's annual report.

The second session of NCEI took place on 22 December. The agenda featured, among other, presentation of the then deputy prime minister dr **Gordana Đurović** "Montenegro and European Union". The Book of Procedures for the work of the Council was also adopted at this session, as well as the draft First Annual Report on the work of NCEI which was never submitted to the Parliament.



From the session of NCEI

This ended all activities of the first convocation of NCEI, as Montenegro entered the election campaign.

Debates surrounding the Council and its role and importance in the process of EU

The Council will be constituted, it will continue to exist, but the question is whether it will function like it was supposed to or remain a pretty facade behind which the process takes place in the hands and according to whim of the ruling structures

accession flared up again this summer. Following presidential elections in March and constitution of the new Parliament it became necessary to form a new Council. The issue of the appointment of new members and president of the Council is thus again on the agenda. This time the opposition reached an agreement and the Administrative Committee of the Parliament proposed **Nebojša Medojević** for president.

However, it is unclear whether the ruling coalition will support Medojević. He said he is not hoping too much for support, since he believes that someone who is known to ask uncomfortable questions would be dangerous for the ruling circles in the office of president of NCEI.

The most controversial, however, was the statement of the MP of Democratic Party of Socialists and president of the Committee

for International Relations and European Integrations **Miodrag Vuković** who said that there is no real reason for NCEI to exist. According to him, this body has neither the capacity nor legitimacy to be involved in the process of answering European Commission's Questionnaire for Montenegro.

Vuković himself, as president of the parliamentary Committee for International Relations and European Integrations and also a member of NCEI for the whole year did not raise

a single initiative to redefine the Council and its role or to improve its capacities to participate in this process.

Experts on the process and representatives of the civil sector believe that the gov-

ernment will try to push the Council to the side while it answers the Questionnaire in order to preclude any opportunity that it might rise from the ashes. Also, by keeping NCEI on the margins, the government ensures that the only image of the situation in Montenegro that comes across is its own. This is certainly not a way to enhance the quality of the process.

Candidate for NCEI's president, **Nebojša Medojević**, expects great obstacles and challenges in the work of the Council "as this will be a struggle against pro-European structures and a handful of powerful ones who are not eager to embrace European standards".

On the eve of constitution of the second NCEI it is still unclear whether there will be a new call for representatives of NGO sector or the names will be simply transferred from the previous term. The latter seems more likely, although it is contrary to the legal framework regulating the establishment and work of NCEI.

According to the Centre for Civic Education "There is little doubt that the previous assembly of NCEI had to face numerous challenges, but it is now clear that the ruling coalition never wanted a body that would involve people who do not share every opinion with the Government, even in this limited form".

The Council will be formed, it will continue to exist, but the question is whether it will act like it was supposed to, or remain a pretty facade behind which the process continues to take place in the hands and according to whim of the ruling structures.

V.Ž.-P.Đ.

NEW COUNCIL – OLD PRACTICES?

On 24 July Administrative Committee of the Parliament of Montenegro announced the new convocation of NCEI with **Nebojša Medojević** as president, and **Mevludin Nuhodžić** (DPS) as deputy. Members are MPs **Srdan Milić**, **Svetozar Golubović**, **Nataša Vuković**, **Branko Radulović**, **Goran Danilović**, **Amir Holaj**, **Miodrag Vuković**, **Vasilije Lalošević**, **Radivoje Nikčević**, **Aleksandar Damanović**, **Džavid Šabović**, **Ervin Spahić**, **Dragan Kujović**, **Đorđe Pinjatić**, **Nada Drobnjak**, **Božidar Vuksanović**, **Zoran Čulafić**, **Branka Tanasijević** and **Andrija Mandić**. By appointment of the president of the Republic member of NCEI will also be **Ivan Leković**, on behalf of the University **Srdan Darmanović** before University, **Miomir Đurović** before CANU, **Vesna Medenica** as representative of the Judicial Council and **Ranka Čarapić** as representative of the Prosecutors' Council, **Milivoje Radović** and **Branislava Božović** are representing the Social Council. Without a call for nominations Administrative Committee confirmed appointments of **Tijana Marković** and **Boris Raonić** as representatives of NGOs.

ACCORDING TO EUROSTAT RESEARCH DENMARK IS THE MOST EXPENSIVE, BULGARIA THE CHEAPEST EU MEMBER

Close to EU in prices

In 2008, price levels for consumer goods and services differed widely across Member States, states the Eurostat report on price levels for 2008.

According to the report, Denmark (141% of the EU27 average) is the most expensive member state, followed by Ireland (127%) and Finland (125%).

Price levels of 10% to 20% above the EU27 average were found in Luxembourg (116%), Sweden (114%), Belgium and France (both 111%), while Italy and Austria (both 105%), Germany (104%) and the Netherlands (103%) were just above the average.

The United Kingdom (99%), Spain (96%) and Greece (94%) were just below the average, together with Cyprus (90%), Portugal (87%) and Slovenia (83%).

Price levels between 20% and 30% below the average were observed in Malta (78%), Estonia (77%), Latvia (75%), the Czech Republic (72%), Hungary and Slovakia (both 70%).

Montenegro is more expensive than Bulgaria, prices are comparable to Romania, and we pay slightly less for consumer goods than the citizens of Lithuania, Poland, Hungary and Slovakia

The lowest price levels were found in Bulgaria (51%), Romania (62%), Lithuania (67%) and Poland (69%).

Eurostat also analysed the data for countries potential membership candidates (Albania, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Montenegro and Serbia), candidates (Croatia, Macedonia and Turkey) as well as Norway, Switzerland and Iceland.

According to the report, the prices in Montenegro are around 62%



of EU average. This makes us more expensive than Bulgaria, with prices the same as in Romania and slightly less than in Lithuania, Poland, Hungary and Slovakia.

However, in the region we are way ahead with Croatia with regard to prices. We are more expensive than Macedonia, which is the cheapest country in the region, and ahead of Albania, BiH and Serbia.

The prices of clothing stand at 113% of EU average, and consumer electronics (93%) and personal transport equipment (92%) are only slightly less expensive than in EU. However, we are far below the European average when it comes to alcohol and tobacco (41%).

The research shows that within EU food and non-alcoholic beverages are also most expensive in Denmark (147% of EU 27 average) and cheapest in Bulgaria (67%), but the differ-

ences in price levels were smaller for this product group than for total goods and services.

For alcoholic beverages and tobacco, for instance, prices were lowest in Romania (62% of the average) and highest in Ireland (184%). This large price variation is mainly due to differences in taxation of these products among Member States.

The smallest price variation is found in the categories of clothing and consumer electronics. The prices vary from 83% of EU average in the UK to 123% in Finland, while consumer electronics are also cheapest in the UK – 96%, and most expensive in Malta (126%).

Excluding Denmark, price differences among Member States were also limited for personal transport equipment – from 84% in Romania to 174% in Denmark.

Price variations were more significant for restaurants and hotels, ranging from 40% of the average in Bulgaria to 151% in Denmark.

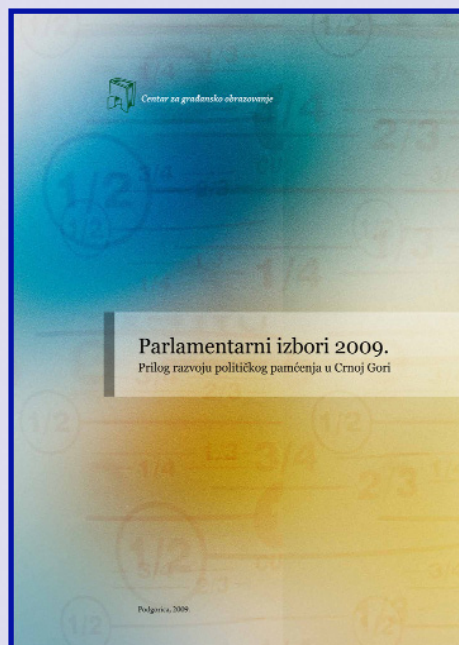
V.Ž.-V.Š.

Price level indices for consumer goods and services, 2008 (EU27=100)

	Total	Food and non-alcoholic beverages	Alcoholic beverages and tobacco	Clothing	Consumer electronics	Personal transport equipment	Restaurants and hotels
EU 27	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Belgium	111	113	101	113	106	100	111
Bulgaria	51	67	63	84	96	85	40
Czech Republic	72	82	85	113	108	101	65
Denmark	141	147	120	110	121	174	151
Germany	104	106	97	107	101	101	100
Estonia	77	87	74	108	96	88	81
Ireland	127	127	184	91	111	125	137
Greece	94	101	89	113	112	93	96
Spain	96	94	75	99	103	98	94
France	11	104	108	95	106	99	116
Italy	105	115	107	110	116	101	106
Cyprus	90	106	98	101	120	99	103
Latvia	75	85	78	100	99	90	80
Lithuania	67	76	63	88	101	90	72
Luxembourg	116	117	89	112	108	96	106
Hungary	70	83	71	95	102	101	67
Malta	78	89	96	110	126	123	84
Netherlands	103	88	99	101	102	118	103
Austria	105	112	92	108	104	106	101
Poland	69	75	74	104	103	101	83
Portugal	87	86	90	98	103	121	75
Romania	62	71	61	86	101	84	62
Slovenia	83	95	74	112	107	94	85
Slovakia	70	81	73	112	108	104	61
Finland	125	125	137	123	117	118	135
Sweden	114	117	136	119	102	93	126
United Kingdom	99	104	150	83	86	91	103
Croatia	75	94	87	118	103	103	83
FYR Macedonia	47	59	43	71	103	100	45
Turkey	73	87	91	76	113	104	90
Iceland	117	120	139	117	117	107	135
Norway	139	154	217	125	121	153	168
Switzerland	130	135	95	124	96	93	125
Albania	53	74	57	90	122	98	44
Bosnia & Herzegovina	56	75	45	94	111	95	58
Montenegro	62	77	41	113	93	92	58
Serbia	58	82	54	104	101	98	62

CCE PUBLICATION

2009 Parliamentary Elections - Contribution to the development of political memory in Montenegro



Within the library "Democracy", of the Centre for Civic Education (CCE), and with the support of the Heinrich Boll Stiftung, publication "2009 Parliamentary Elections – contribution to the development of political memory in Montenegro" has been publicised.

On 770 pages, publication gives overview of the context of the elections; election programmes and electoral lists submitted by the participants; election slogans; election campaigns in the print media in the sense of key promises, language and attitude towards the different target groups; gender structure of the electoral lists; relation of the participants towards key issues; results of the elections; list of the members of the Parliament of Montenegro, with gender analyses; documents which include the legal framework under which the 2009 parliamentary elections were held; programmes, statutes and structures of the political parties which participated in the elections.

The editor of the publication is **Daliborka Uljarević**, expert consultant **Jelena Džankić**, and the team that worked for several months on data collection and its processing, which included number of diverse research and analytic activities, was composed of the CCE programme associates **Ana Vujošević**, **Selman Adžović**, **Dragana Otašević** and **Miloš Vukanović**.

On the early parliamentary elections, held on 29 March, 2009, 16 electoral lists participated. There were 7 coalitions: People's coalition – NS and DSS (Peoples Party and Democratic Serbian Party); European Montenegro – Milo Đukanović (Democratic

Party of Socialists, Social – Democratic Party, Croatian Civic Initiative and Bosniak Party); Bosniaks and Muslims together, united (Bosniak Democratic Party and Democratic Community of Muslims – Bosniaks in Montenegro); Coalition LP and DC For the different Montenegro – dr Goran Batričević (Liberal Party of Montenegro and the Democratic Centre of Montenegro); Albanian coalition "Perspective" (group of citizens "Civic initiative of Tuzi" and group of citizens "New Alliance"); Serbian National List (Party of Serbian Radicals, Party of Serbian People and group of citizens "Serb People's Assembly"); and Albanian list — Lista Shqiptare (Democratic Alliance in Montenegro and the Albanian Alternative). 9 parties ran independently: FORCA, Montenegrin Communists, Party of pensioners and disabled of Montenegro, Movement for Changes, Socialist Peoples' Party, New Serbian Democracy, Party of Democratic Prosperity, Democratic Union of Albanians and the Fatherland Serbian Party. In total, 23 political parties presented themselves in these elections, and they were in the focus of this publication.

The intent of the editor was to put a special emphasis on the attitude of the participants towards numerous and important issues marking modern democracies and needs of their citizens. The assessment of the editor was that players of the 2009 Parliamentary Elections spent much more time in mutual attacks than in presenting their own solutions for challenges in front of the Montenegrin society. Still, the publication offers overview of these attitudes related to economy, European Integration, transitional issues, as well as those from social and security domain.

"The publication is somewhat of a "neutral mirror" of the participants of the 2009 Parliamentary Elections and provides significant base for opening the process of gradual analysis of the partisan political elites. At the same time, it offers two options: to the very parties to work with more devotion on their own capacity building, and to all the active citizens, regardless of their position, to put all those participants who abuse the rules which were set up by themselves in a positions of hostages of their own words and promises," is written in the Introduction by Daliborka Uljarević.

This publication immensely contributes to the establishment and development of political memory through documenting of electoral processes and integral information on the parties which lead the process, which ultimately raises the level of political culture and responsibility.

Prepared by: Mirela REBRONJA

NON-GOVERNMENTAL ORGANISATIONS IN EUROPEAN UNION



HEALTH AND ENVIRONMENT ALLIANCE

The Health and Environment Alliance aims to raise awareness among citizens and EU institutions of how environmental protection improves health, casting this link as the key issue of the quality of life in today's world.

The alliance seeks to achieve its goals by creating opportunities for better representation of citizens', politicians', health experts' and the perspectives of organisations fighting for the environment in the European policy-making.

This umbrella organisation gathers more than 60 NGOs, associations of patients, health professionals and environmental organisations across Europe and has a strong track record in increasing public and expert engagement in activities related to health and environment as well as in lobbying relevant institutions. From among its members 15 are international or European organisations while others work at national or local levels.

Health and environment alliance has the mission to create a healthy environment as a foundation of health of all EU's citizens, and to create an environment conducive to active participation of citizens in the environment and health-related European policy-making.

Main activities of the Alliance are:

- Make European citizens and civil society more aware of policy changes that can help or hinder progress towards sustainable development
- Support the participation of citizens in policy making at the European level and represent their concerns
- Strengthen EU policies in favour of better protection of health and the environment
- Link significant research findings to recommendations on policy action

What the Alliance does for its members:

- Makes their voices stronger in EU institutions
- Keeps them informed about what is going on in environment and health related EU policy making
- Creates opportunities to build networks and coalitions
- Provides training for capacity building of member organisations

All organisations working on health and environment or related issues can apply for membership in the Alliance, regardless of whether they are local, national, regional or international organisations.

More information on Health and Environment Alliance can be found at: www.env-health.org

Prepared by: Petar ĐUKANOVIĆ

Cross-border cooperation

In the framework of IPA programme on cross-border cooperation between the Republic of Albania and Montenegro Ministry of European Integrations of Montenegro, Ministry of European Integrations of Albania and joint Secretariat for Cross-border Cooperation between Montenegro and Albania organised a conference on 7 July in Podgorica.

Participants were representatives of NGOs from Montenegro and Albania, as well as representatives of public institutions and bodies interested in projects related to cross-border

cooperation between these two countries. The goal of the meeting was to give the participants a chance to find a partner for joint projects and to learn about details of preparation and application process, inform themselves about deadlines and about specific areas within which they can formulate their own projects. Besides, the participants could get to know each other and establish contact with the potential future partners.

Mirela Rebronja, programme associate represented CCE at the conference.

The road to White Schengen

On 6 July at the Faculty of Political Science in Belgrade Belgrade Centre for Human Rights, Centre for Civil-Military Relations and Forum for Security and Democracy organised panel discussion on the topic "Serbia on the road to positive Schengen list – the role of Ministry of Interior".

The goal of the panel was to present to the public the role of the ministries of interior in the region in the process of visa liberalisation, the way to overcome obstacles and fulfil criteria from the Roadmap as well as other additional requirements awaiting

Serbia, as well as Montenegro in the future according to the report of the Council of Ministers and European Commission.

Speakers at the panel were Prof **Vojin Dimitrijević**, director of the Belgrade Centre for Human Rights, **Dražen Maravić**, head of the Bureau for International Relations and European Integrations of the Serbian Ministry of Interior, **Vladimir Petronijević**, advisor to the deputy prime minister for legal matters in the area of European integrations, **Milica Delević**, head of the Serbian Office for Association with EU and **Daliborka Uljarević**, executive director of CCE from Montenegro.

Europeanisation of parties

Centre for Civic Education (CCE) in cooperation with Heinrich B-II Foundation, organised on 23 July a panel titled "2009 Parliamentary Elections – contribution to development of political memory in Montenegro", where they presented their new publication which bears the same title.

In the framework of its sub-programme *Political memory* CCE continues to promote public discussion of issues which are of great importance for democratisation and Europeanisation of the country, but which are not sufficiently discussed.

Introductory presentations at the panel were given by: **Daliborka Uljarević**, executive director of CCE and editor of the publication, and **Paola Petrić**, coordinator in the regional office of Heinrich B-II foundation. **Ana Vujošević**, **Dragana Otašević**, **Selman Adžović** and **Miloš Vukanović**, members of the editorial board and CCE associates discussed individual aspects of the publication.

Uljarević explained that "Montenegrin public isn't sufficiently acquainted with the basic, and sometimes not even electoral programmes or statutes of political parties, nor do the parties show any tendency to focus on the proclaimed programmatic goals", and

emphasised the importance of the culture of political memory.

Talking about electoral programmes, **Selman Adžović** said there were 16 electoral lists, 6 of which presented their electoral programmes, and only 3 of them entered the Parliament of Montenegro, explaining that the "quality of electoral programme is still far from being a decisive parameter which attracts citizens' votes at the elections, which is not a good sign".

Ana Vujošević explained that they only surveyed printed media, which is obviously not the full picture, but it does provide a useful overview. She noted that the media monitored the elections mostly through news, following all activities of electoral participants while providing most space for party leaders which, in her words "also reflects the approach of parties on the Montenegrin political scene, i.e. the fact that the personality of the presenter is more important than what is being presented to the voters", she said.

Speaking about programmes and statutes of political parties in Montenegro, **Miloš Vukanović** said that they vary, from their size to their topic, but that there are

Rehn met with NGO representatives

European Enlargement Commissioner **Olli Rehn** met representative of several non-governmental organisations on 24 July in Villa Gorica in the course of his visit to Montenegro.

The goal of the meeting was to introduce Rehn to NGO's and their activities aimed at contributing to the European integrations through the process of democratisation and affirmation of human rights. NGO representatives offered their views on the state of the process of European integrations and implementation of the necessary reforms which the EU expects from Montenegro.

Petar Đukanović, programme coordinator in Centre for Civic Education attended the meeting on behalf of the Centre.

Outstanding commitments

Montenegro is a member of the Council of Europe (CoE) but it still has to fulfil many commitments it undertook on accession to this organisation. Reporter to the Parliamentary Assembly of CoE **Jean Charles Gardetto** and met with the representatives of civil society in Podgorica on 6 July to discuss some of these commitments in the area of human rights and freedoms.

CCE's assessment of Montenegro's progress was presented at the meeting by **Selman Adžović**, programme associate, focusing on the freedom of expression and proceedings against independent media, transitional justice and other issues in the domain of human rights and democratisation.

also important similarities.

Dragana Otašević spoke about the issue of gender equality, saying that the international standards and best practices in this area were all but ignored. Of the 16 electoral lists, 8 entered the parliament, and 4 of them do not have a single woman in the Parliament, which speaks of a complete lack of understanding of the importance of women's participation in politics", she said.

Paola Petrić congratulated the CCE team, announcing further support for such projects, and all political party representatives welcomed CCE's work and found the publication very useful for both parties and citizens, emphasising its "impressive and constructive" nature.

The publication itself is indeed unique, but the panel was was a rare opportunity when the representatives of political parties seemed to refrain from disagreement.

FOR THIS ISSUE WE RECOMMEND:

THE EUROPEAN REGIONAL MASTER'S DEGREE IN DEMOCRACY AND HUMAN RIGHTS IN SOUTH EAST EUROPE

Sarajevo – Bologna – A.Y. 2009–2010

The European Regional Master's Degree in Human Rights and Democracy in South East Europe is an intensive one-year Master programme established through the joint efforts of the participating universities and coordinated by the Universities of Sarajevo and Bologna. At present it is in its eight year of implementation. The Programme is co-financed by the European Commission and the Italian Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

The Master's Programme is structured in three terms – I) November 2009 – June 2010: Lecturing period at the University of Sarajevo; II) June – July 2010: Internship work across South East Europe; III) September – October 2010: Master's Thesis writing-up period at the University of Bologna. The teaching activities involve renowned Faculty members coming from more than 25 European and other countries. Internships take place at various regional NGOs, IGOs, think-tanks and research institutes dealing with issues of human rights and democracy in South East Europe. The third term is hosted by the University of Bologna Residential Centers in Italy.

Each academic year the Programme enrolls 30 students from the countries of SEE and the EU. The university degree of the applicants must be earned during studies lasting either 4 or 5 years within the former undergraduate studies provisions, or 5 years (3+2) within I and II cycle studies provisions in accordance with the Bologna process.

Interested candidates should submit the filled in application form and all other required documentation to the Center for Interdisciplinary Postgraduate Studies of the University of Sarajevo. The Programme is able to offer study grants based on the merit of each candidacy. The application form and additional information are available at: www.cps.edu.ba. The deadline for submitting the full application package is: September 7, 2009.

For further information please contact: Center for Interdisciplinary Postgraduate Studies, University of Sarajevo, Zmaja od Bosne 8, Student's Campus, 71000 Sarajevo, Bosnia and Herze-

govina, Tel: + 387 33 668 685 ©Fax: + 387 33 668 683, E-mail: mariana@cps.edu.ba, coordination@cps.edu.ba

THE HEINRICH BOLL FOUNDATION AWARDS SCHOLARSHIPS

Scholarship Programme: for (Under-) Graduate and PhD Students

Application deadlines: September 1, 2009 (date on postal stamp).

The Heinrich BOLL Foundation awards scholarships to German and foreign students in keeping with the guidelines provided by the German Federal Ministry of Education and Research (BMBF) and the Federal Foreign Office (AA).

The maintenance scholarships which are awarded to German citizens, EU citizens and students who have gained their university entrance qualifications from a German school will be calculated on the same basis as BAföG, depending on your parent's income and/or your own income and personal assets. Irrespective of this, an independent book grant of 80 € per month will be awarded to all successful applicants.

* **Earliest application date:** if you intend to enrol for a Bachelor or Masters degree, for a Diploma, Magister or State Examination, you can apply for a scholarship before your studies begin, but the earliest date for receiving payment will be the beginning of the first semester. We advise you to make your application in time for the start of your studies.

* **Latest application date:** within the prescribed maximum period of study you should still have at least four semesters before your final examinations, so that the foundation can support you for at least three semesters.

Heinrich-Boll-Stiftung,
Studienwerk, Schumannstr. 8, 10117 Berlin
E-Mail: studienwerk@boell.de,
Fax: 030/285 34 409

More information can be found

<http://www.boell.de/scholarships/scholarships.html>

HUMAN RIGHTS ESSAY AWARD

2010 TOPIC: The Rights of Freedom of Expression and International Human Rights Law
Deadline is February 1, 2010

The Human Rights Essay Award is an annual competition sponsored by the Academy and seeks to



stimulate the production of scholarly work in international human rights law. Participants have the flexibility to choose any subject related to the assigned topic. The Honor Jury deciding the Award will be comprised of professionals with a recognized expertise in international human rights law. The best articles may be published in the American University International Law Review. The Academy will grant two Awards, one for the best article in English and one for the best article in Spanish. The Award in each case will consist of:

- a scholarship to the Specialized Human Rights Program*
- travel expenses to Washington D.C.
- housing at the university dorms
- a per diem for living expenses

Eligibility and Requirements

- Hold a law degree and have demonstrated experience or interest in international human rights law.
- Submit only one unpublished legal article/paper written in English or Spanish, solely by the participant.
- Articles must not exceed 35 pages in length, including footnotes, and must be double spaced using 12-point Times New Roman font, in letter size paper (8.5 x11) with 1 inch margins all around..
- Articles can only be submitted via email to hrcademy@wcl.american.edu in Microsoft Word format.
- The deadline to submit articles is February 1, 2010, at 9:00 a.m. E.S.T.
- Winners will be announced on April 1, 2010 through our Web site.

For more information visit:

<http://www.wcl.american.edu/hrcademy/regulations.cfm>

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