



FOCUS OF THIS ISSUE

Why is EC asking for an independent body to monitor party financing

INTERVIEW

President of the
Centre for
Research and
Policy Making,
Dr Židas
Daskalovski

ANALYSES

What can be
learned from
Minister Dinoša's
statement on
LGBT population

EU CHALLENGES

Poland – five
years after
accession to EU



ANNIVERSARY

And while European analysts and former world leaders summed up the importance and consequences of the fall of the Berlin wall, exactly 20 years ago, the citizens of Montenegro, Serbia and Macedonia received the until recently unbelievable news that from 19 December 2009 on they will be able to travel freely within the Schengen zone.

For the citizens of these countries, at least for the first two, the fall of the iron curtain marked the beginning of a long sojourn in the most beautiful prison on earth.

The decision of the Council of EU to abolish visas, after almost 20 years, is like taking bricks out of our wall, and creating cracks through which we can finally have a better look at freedoms: in politics, economy, media...

Just to make sure that we don't get it into our heads that the fall of our wall means that EU is not so far any more, the Government decided not to publish the answers to the European Commission's Questionnaire.

Threats of criminal charges against those who publish or comment on the answers by the Minister of European Integrations **Gordana Đurović** or the populist explanation of deputy prime minister **Svetozar Marović** that he can't give the answers to the MPs, because the questions were not posed by them but by the EC is enough to reveal the true nature of the ruling system and its understanding of integrations.

The undersigned will not waste space on the reasons for this Government's decision, for two reasons: not to spoil the pleasure of the abolishment of visas and of our own little anniversary: the 50th issue of European Pulse.

From an environment where nobody understood what on-line publishing means and all viewed European integrations with suspicion and ridicule in a bit more than four years we became well known to the wider public, recognised as the most serious medium specialising in European integrations and a mandatory reading for anyone with an interest in European integrations.

European Pulse will continue with its primarily educational role, but also with pursuing a critical analysis of all anomalies in our society, in the hope that by the time wall crumbles we also will become a better society.

V.Ž.

SAA to pass seven parliaments (6 November) – After meeting with the president of the House of Representatives of the Federal Parliament of Belgium **Patrick Dewael**, president of the Montenegrin Parliament **Ranko Krivokapić** said that "we were assured that the delay in ratification of our SAA is only a matter of procedural complexity in the Kingdom of Belgium, as it has to get the approval of seven different parliaments".

European Parliament supports visa liberalisation (12 November) – European Parliament adopted by an overwhelming majority the consultative report in support of the abolishment of visas for Montenegro, Serbia and Macedonia, and reiterating EP's commitment to intensification of the process of visa liberalisation for Bosnia and Herzegovina and Albania.



photo VIJESTI

Herman van Rompuy the first President of EU (19 November) – Belgian Prime Minister **Herman van Rompuy** was appointed the first President of EU, and the little-known British European Commissioner for trade, Baroness **Catherine Ashton**, became the head of European diplomacy at the extraordinary EU summit in Brussels. The analysts consider this choice a "choice of small as a compromise among the big", indicating that the choice of Rompuy and Ashton was probably a way to avoid overly strong European leadership by appointing persons of little influence to the top posts.

In EU by 2014 (20 November) – Greece plans to have all Western Balkan countries in the EU by 2014, as a symbolic gesture on the hundredth anniversary of the beginning of World War I, said Greek Foreign Affairs Minister **Dimitris Droutsas** after a meeting with Montenegrin prime minister **Milo Đukanović**. He added that Greece has not yet ratified SAA with Montenegro only for bureaucratic reasons, and that it will be among the priorities of the Greek parliament.

Fule instead of Rehn (27 November) – Czech European Affairs Minister **Stephan Fule** will be the next Enlargement Commissioner, announced the president of European Commission **Jose Manuel Barroso**. Fule is a professional diplomat, and was previously Ambassador of the Czech Republic to Lithuania and United Kingdom, as well as NATO. The former Enlargement Commissioner **Olli Rehn** was appointed Commissioner for Economic and Monetary Affairs.

Secret answers (27 November) – The Government adopted answers for EC Questionnaire that will be submitted to Brussels by prime minister **Đukanović** in December, said Minister for European Integrations **Gordana Đurović**. She announced that, according to the Government's decision, the answers will not be published until the EC completes its opinion on Montenegro's application for membership in the EU, justifying it by "political and economic interests of Montenegro". The non-governmental sector was very critical of the decision.

Final decision: no more visas (30 November) – The Council of EU ministers adopted the decision to abolish visas for travel to EU countries from 19 December 2009 for the citizens of Serbia, Montenegro and Macedonia. Citizens of these countries who own a biometric passport will be able to stay without visas in countries members of the Schengen zone for up to 90 days every six months.

A VIEW FROM EU

A wider EU: what next

The Commission's publication of its reports on EU enlargement last week calls for a balance sheet of



by Rosa Balfour

the past five years. 'Enlargement fatigue' resulting from the expansion from 15 to 27 members, the prolonged impasse of the EU's constitutional and institutional development, and the economic slump have all made the job of Commissioner Olli Rehn difficult.

But the EU continues to be attractive: today nine European states are actual or potential candidates for EU membership, and other countries also aspire to join.

This queue at the door is proof of the continuing magnetism of the European method of integration. Enlargement is still described as the EU's most successful foreign policy, but what of its record in managing some of the challenges in South-East Europe?

A catalogue of bilateral disputes and unresolved statehood problems has kept the region on the brink of instability during the past decade, putting the EU's conflict prevention and resolution abilities to the test.

In 2009 the most pressing bilateral disputes have been Croatia-Slovenia over the maritime border, Serbia-Kosovo over the latter's bid for independence, Macedonia-Greece over the name, and the divided island of Cyprus.

For the first time, the Commission has included a paragraph on bilateral disputes in its Strategy Paper, a sign of recognition of the importance of these problems. Enlargement was supposed to be about preventing conflicts rather than importing them, especially given

that the EU is a lame duck once a party involved in a dispute is one of its members, so it is very unlikely the EU will accept another Cyprus into its fold. The subtext of 'enlargement fatigue' and the institutional impasse relates to a preoccupation over the kind of Member States that the candidates will become.

Reading between the lines, the outgoing Commission is suggesting separating – at least for the time being – the accession path from the talks on the disputes. This solution has enabled Croatia to enjoy a breakthrough.

Compared to Central Europe in the 1990s, EU conditionality is much weaker in South-East

Europe. Different histories make the idealist drive behind EU integration far less meaningful in the Balkans, and the motivations for joining the Union are more diverse and less capable of

There will be no discounts in the fields of judiciary and organised crime: the lesson of the 2007 enlargement is that the process has to be rigorous if it is to be overall successful

creating political consensus. In some countries political elites have been unwilling or incapable of gearing domestic political dynamics to the accession process, often more interested in playing into internal divisive politics and nationalist recriminations with their neighbours than in following the cue of Brussels.

All these disputes in the Balkans should not distract from the bigger picture. According to the Commission's Reports, most of the countries are making progress. Montenegro and Albania have tabled their applications to join the EU and made many steps in the right direction. Serbia too is praised for its reform plans. Kosovo is offered incentives in the fields of visa liberalisation and trade. The enlargement process is still on track, even if it is not a 'high speed train', to use the words of Commissioner Olli Rehn.

Among the areas highlighted by the

Commission in which most countries need to concentrate their efforts are cooperation with the International Criminal Tribunal for former Yugoslavia, reforming the judiciary and the fight against organised crime. There will be no discounts or short cuts in these fields: the lesson of the 2007 enlargement is that the process has to be rigorous if it is to be overall successful.

Political developments remain important. The strengthening of democratic institutions and political rights is part of the Copenhagen criteria required for accession, and many gaps are still evident. Freedom House, for instance, still considers Montenegro, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Albania and Macedonia as only 'partly free', while Kosovo got the least favourable ranking as 'not free'.

It will be important to make sure that the 'best performers' continue to

keep the momentum of transformation, in the hope that they might pull the less dynamic countries.

Keeping the promises made by the EU and persisting with the reforms needed by the candidates to join the EU should remain a key objective of the next Commission. This will contribute to maintaining stability in the Balkans.

Keeping the promises also means overcoming (or at least putting on the back burner) some Member States' reservations on further enlargement. The ambiguities that have haunted this issue have been detrimental to the process as a whole and reduced the EU's capacity to exercise its transformative power. This is all the more important in the long run if the EU wants to become wider as well as stronger.

The author is Senior Policy Analyst at the European Policy Centre in Brussels

WHY IS EC ASKING FOR AN INDEPENDENT BODY THAT WOULD MONITOR FINANCING OF POLITICAL PARTIES?

Party coffers like off-shore destinations

Representatives of both government and opposition agree that there should be effective



by Mirela Rebronja

control of the financing of political parties, but continue to accuse each other of seeking loopholes and opportunities for fraud.

On the other hand, the civil sector believes that there is no will in the Parliament to adopt and implement necessary laws, reminding that these opposed political blocks have been quick to join forces in obstructing a well designed Law on Financing of Political Parties.

Brussels recently warned that it is necessary to establish an independent body that would monitor how the money comes in and out of the party coffers.

The latest Progress Report by the European Commission (EC) states that "Montenegro still lacks strong, independent monitoring authorities that would evaluate important statements...and financing of political parties".

It also notes that "a monitoring body that would ensure compliance with the Law on Financing of Political Parties and Law on Financing of Election Campaigns for President, Mayors and Presidents of Municipalities".

The current Law on Financing

of Political Parties does not mention a special enforcement body, and the control mechanisms envisaged by this document is regular submission of financial reports to the relevant authority, in this case State Electoral Commission (SEC).

According to the Law, all parties should submit annual reports and statements of audit of these reports, which are then published on the SEC website and in the Official Gazette within 10 days of receipt.

The same principle applies to the financing of election campaigns. Each candidate that sub-

mitted an election list needs to submit, within 45 days from the elections, a complete report on origin, amount and structure of funds collected and used for the campaign to the relevant electoral commission, which later publishes the report.

In addition to external reporting, the law on party financing envisages that every party should establish internal financial control mechanisms, obliging parties to designate by their Statute relevant bodies in charge of finances and to lay down the procedures for evaluating own revenues and expenditures.

NO PRIVATE DONATIONS IN THE REPORTS

Progress Report also notes that there are no mechanisms to control private donations to parties.

Although in Montenegro there are very few cases when a company or an individual publicly donated money to a party, it doesn't mean that the practice doesn't exist.

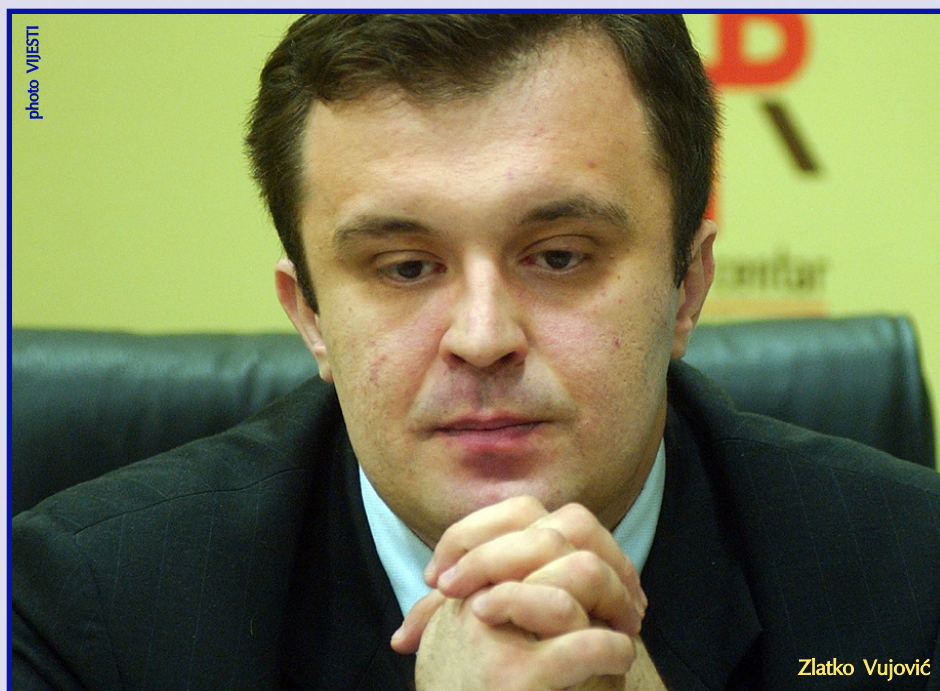
The opposition believes that in undemocratised Montenegrin society donations are indeed hard to come by, and that donors, when they appear, are usually reluctant, for personal reasons, to disclose their identity.

Speaking about this issue Marić said that "he has not heard of a political party in Montenegro organising an evening for donors, or that someone publicly offered financial support to a party".

He is convinced that "in Montenegro there are numerous incriminating ways of financing, especially of political campaigns, which are available to the ruling party, and are in fact part of a larger problem: political corruption".

Vuković agrees that the issue of private donations needs to be regulated since "we hear of individuals buying a seat in the Parliament from some opposition parties".

In order to resolve this important problem, CEMI suggests that within a professionalised State Electoral Commission there should be an auditing body consisting of specially trained employees. They would ensure consistent implementation of the Law as regards allocation of funding to political parties, on the annual basis as well as during elections, and would have a specific task to monitor private donations.



Zlatko Vujović

However, there are no mechanisms to control whether parties received and spent exactly the amount they reported. Therefore it happens that revenues and expenditures match to the last cent, in spite of numerous items which are impossible to plan ahead (i.e. costs incurred by activists for phone calls or fuel). Parties are also known to delay the submission of reports, and usually fulfil their obligation only once the media takes an interest in the matter.

The number of firms controlled by parties or their leaders is anybody's guess.

President of the Board of Directors of Centre for Monitoring (CEMI) **Zlatko Vujović** says in the interview for *European Pulse* that such assessments by the European Commission are not unexpected, since the Parliament also failed to adopt the Law on State Electoral Commission, which was a commitment set by the Revised Action Plan for Fight against Corruption and Organised Crime, and was supposed to be completed by the

end of 2009. According to Vujović, this commitment will most probably be transferred to the Action Plan for 2010–2012.

Director of Movement for Changes (MfC) **Boris Marić** believes that Commission's assessment of inadequate control over financing of political parties is mostly due to unequal access of parties to public funds, and that

this requires extensive revision of regulations.

Emphasising that new legislation significantly improved the control of party financing and that developments have been generally positive, he insists that the biggest problem is the amount of public funding allocated for this purpose. By means of illustration, he points out that "every secretariat of the Capital City receives more funding than MfC".

According to Marić, this should be the starting point of the reform of this complex system, but he agrees that there is also the need for establishment of a monitoring body for party finances.

He believes that the new body ought to be connected to the State Electoral Commission, or established as a special department of SEC, and cooperate with other institutions with a similar function, such as the Directorate for Prevention of Money Laundering, Directorate for Fight against Corruption or Tax Administration.



Boris Marić

According to Marić, it is "of utmost importance that this monitoring body should act publicly and transparently, and provide access to its activities to the widest public, in order to ensure "control of the controllers".

He adds that "among the members of this body should be representatives of the civil sector, as well as State Electoral Commission".

President of the Parliamentary Committee for Foreign Affair and European Integrations **Miodrag Vuković** agrees that party finances should be more closely scrutinised.

According to him, genuine control of party finances is a precondition for full democratisation of a society.

"If this area of political life, especially that which regards electoral procedures, remains insufficiently defined, various deviations and fraud become possible. This is evident on our political scene. It is a fact that we are the most numerous party and that we have significant revenues from membership, we are accused of renting out property of the former League



Miodrag Vuković

of Communists, and we still face financial problems. On the other hand, until recently even the smallest parties did not have any financial complaints, and as far as financing goes we were on equal footing during campaigns", explains Vuković in the interview for *European Pulse*.

He adds that former MP of the Serbian National Party **Dobrolo Dedeić** writes on his blog that leaders of his former parties used

to transfer money from the party account to their personal accounts.

"This is enough to take a more serious approach to the whole thing. I do think that the mechanisms that currently controls party financing is incomplete and needs to be improved", Vuković said.

He has no concrete suggestion for a new monitoring mechanism, but emphasises that a solution should be found through consultations with experts in this area.

"One option would be to establish a body within SEC that would propose certain measures to the Commission, or there could be special body that would oversee party finances", Vuković said.

Whatever the opinion of parties or individuals, all political actors must be aware that traditional mechanisms of controlling the financing are not sufficiently effective and it is only up to the Parliament now to decide when the independent monitoring body will be established to ensure effective implementation of existing laws.

CEMI'S RECOMMENDATIONS

According to Vujović, State Electoral Commission is the pillar of successful system of monitoring the financing of political parties.

The core of CEMI's recommendations for a monitoring body is the following: create a State Electoral Commission with seven permanent members: five from the ranks of judiciary, one from among the University professors whose scientific references are closely connected to the electoral system, and one from the civil society organisations which monitor election processes.

Beyond this core group, the work of the State Electoral Commission would be supported by representatives of parties or candidates, who would be involved only during the election process and would have no voting rights. According to CEMI's proposal, the mandate of the permanent SEC members would be six years with right of re-election.

Vujović explains that CEMI's proposal sets very clear criteria for the selection of SEC members.

One of the criteria is that the person is not a party official nor a public official appointed or nominated by the Parliament of Montenegro.

THE LESSONS OF THE STATEMENT ON LGBT POPULATION BY THE MINISTER FOR MINORITY RIGHTS

Adam, Steva and Ferhat can't go together to EU



Recently we have seen the proof that in the Government of Montenegro some do not understand the



by Neđeljko Rudović

basics of European integration. This complements the impression that the cabinet of **Milo Đukanović**, with the exception of a few ministers, is only grabbing towards EU on paper, continuously abusing the regulations in order to install the cadre of the ruling parties in all places on all levels of the state apparatus. Minister for the protection of

for the protection of minority rights, in which he said that "the existence of homosexual is not good news for Montenegro".

"I don't know how widespread it is in Montenegro, but I can say, for this kind of environment it is not good news. To be honest, I would personally not be very happy if we had that thing in Montenegro. However, as a person who does the kind of work I do, and even outside of my job, I am ready to admit that it's been happening, there are such things, and such cases should be given enough breathing space, if not creating it for them, than not suffocating it".

These are the words of the minister whose job it is to support the members of LGBT population, as well as the members of other minorities. And another example that the Government also says one thing, while doing another, i.e. signs

For days Dinoša has been receiving calls urging him to resign and PM Đukanović to replace him, but then Đukanović spoke up, trying to salvage the position of a potential EU membership candidate for Montenegro.

"Dinoša's position is that the rights of LGBT (lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgender) population should be protected, but not promoted. He is a person who does his job in the government very responsibly, and has a right to his own opinion on the topic. As for the Government's policy, we are absolutely dedicated to rights of all minorities, including this one. Dinoša will continue to protect all international standards in the future, as he has been doing in the past", Đukanović said.

The prime minister was clear, but Dinoša stuck to his line, quoting the MP of the New Serbian Democracy **Goran Danilović**: "If he wanted this, God would not have created Adam and Eve, but Adam and Steve. My opinion is that the life on this planet was given because of love, if you want because of sex, between a man and a woman, and the state has no obligation to promote the groups who think differently".

Thus another dark shade was cast on the picture of Montenegro which to the greatest extent simulates reforms in order to please Brussels and other European capitals and which, in fact, is clinging with all its might to protect party monopolies, turning the state into a private company. The story of the ruling circles that Montenegro wants to join EU not in order to join EU but to transform itself from within remains just a slogan. If it were otherwise, the prime minister could have taken some very concrete steps. A few weeks before Dinoša's outburst he could hear the MP of the European Parliament, coordinator of the Foreign Affairs Committee and member of LGBT intergroup **Ulrika Lunacek**: "If Montenegro wants to progress, it is clear that its politicians have to learn to speak openly and positively about LGBT population".

A few weeks before Dinoša's outburst Đukanović could hear the MP of the European Parliament, coordinator of the Foreign Affairs Committee and member of LGBT intergroup Ulrika Lunacek: "If Montenegro wants to progress, it is clear that its politicians have to learn to speak openly and positively about LGBT population"

minority rights, **Ferhat Dinoša**, demonstrated the shallowness and brittleness of the ruling mantra on Europe without alternative, painfully revealing that Montenegro is being lead towards EU by people whose eyes are fixed on the local politics and other electoral resources, and not on the community of European states and people.

The assumption of the local politics, which is there to harness the votes that decide who will be the minister, is that homosexuals should be burned at a stake. Europe, with its values of coexistence, tolerance, and respect for diversity is too far, and those who should bring it closer to Montenegrin local politics are the loudest promoters of the hypocritical provincial "morals".

Among other, this is how they secure the votes for the next elections. Perhaps this is the best way to explain the shocking statement of the minister

the EU and UN conventions without understanding what is written in them. Thus in March this year Montenegro signed, alongside another 66 countries, a statement against violence and discrimination against sexual minorities.

Civil sector activists concluded that Minister Dinoša "does not possess even the elementary knowledge of human rights and freedoms" and that with this "he has disqualified himself as a person capable of competently leading the said ministry, i.e. promoting the said rights and freedoms, enhancing and protecting them in Montenegro",

"It is not enough to don on a European suit to be European, this requires full dedication to the values which are the foundation of this EU to which we are striving, and one of these values is respect for diversity", warns director of Centre for Civic Education **Daliborka Uljarević**.

PRESIDENT OF THE CENTRE FOR RESEARCH AND POLICY MAKING FROM SKOPJE
 PROF DR ŽIDAS DASKALOVSKI

White Schengen for the middle class

President of the Centre for Research and Policy Making from Skopje Prof Dr Židas Daskalovski said in the interview for the *European Pulse* that visa liberalisation will bring most benefits to the middle classes in the West Balkan countries and will not lead to a mass emigration to EU member states.

"Our estimate is that few Macedonians and people from the West Balkans in general will go to work in EU illegally. The West is also experiencing a crisis, and many people returned from Italy, France and Germany to Macedonia because they couldn't find work.

These privileges will bring most benefits to the middle classes, for they are the ones who have passports and have travelled before, either as tourists or for study purposes", Daskalovski said.

According to him, only the most desperate ones, in the worst economic conditions, will try to emigrate, but this will not mean a big change, since they have also in the past sought and found ways to move



Židas Daskalovski

to the EU countries illegally.

Public opinion polls show that 90% of Macedonian citizens support membership in EU and NATO. How do you explain that?

Latest opinion polls show the rates of support even above 90%.

The explanation is simple – EU and NATO are synonymous with

good life. Such high support for EU and NATO membership certainly isn't because people know what EU is all about and what NATO means.

The effect is mostly psychological – people think that by joining the EU and NATO living standards and quality of life will immediately soar up in Macedonia. Macedonia is a poor country, the average wage is around 350 euros. They all hope they will live better, but if you ask our citizens what the EU means and how it works, they have no idea.

Montenegro is similar?

The situation is probably similar everywhere in the West Balkan region. People know little about EU, about how it works, but they believe it is good for them.

From Macedonian experience, what are your recommendations for Montenegro?

I believe you should be aggressive and shouldn't listen too much to

25% OF THE PARLIAMENT ARE WOMEN

● Among other things, your organisation also deals with gender equality. How many women are there in the Parliament of Macedonia and generally in high public positions?

We solved this issue by creating a law which states that at least one third of the candidates on the party lists must be women. In practice, this leads to about 20–25% of the MPs being women.

Although this is a percentage that is way above even some EU members, I believe this is neither a sufficient nor a genuine solution.

Parties have accepted gender equality because of EU's insistence, but internally they have not been democratised. You can see that by the fact that no party has a woman leader, there are very few women candidates in the local elections, and even if they are, none of them was ever elected a mayor. The same is in the business sector. In the larger and more important firms very few managers are women.

political recommendations coming from, say Berlin or Paris – "don't take the next step towards EU now, it's not the right moment".

You have your goal and you should push forward. There will always be some country that will oppose you, but the fact that somebody is blocking you doesn't mean you cannot continue with reforms.

Macedonia has the candidate status for almost four years now, and still did not get the date for the start of negotiations. What have you done in the meantime?

Progress reports contain the main guidelines for the Government. These reforms take longer in some sectors, shorter in others, but the fact is that our administration has the requisite technical capacity.

This was very clearly demonstrated in the case of visa liberalisation. When the Government got clear instructions on what should be done in order to get to the white Schengen list, which is in the interest of both Government and the citizens, it did it the best and fastest it could, and fulfilled the criteria before Serbia and Montenegro.

Wherever there are such clear criteria it is easier to implement

Whenever the EU sets clear criteria it is easier to implement reforms – the problem is when you face political criteria. For instance, EU insists that Macedonia should improve the climate of dialogue among the parties, but this is a fairly subjective matter

reforms – the problem is when you face political criteria. For instance, EU insists that Macedonia should improve the climate of dialogue among the parties. This is a fairly subjective matter, much like the independence of judiciary, fight against corruption and organised crime. Here it is much more difficult to produce measurable, tangible results.

Should we then conclude that Montenegro will be facing many obstacles on the road to EU, because

MEDIA RULED BY TYCOONS

● **What is the situation with freedom of expression in Macedonia? I'm asking because European Commission was very critical of Montenegrin authorities in this matter.**

We have quite a problem when it comes to the media and the EU insists that we should solve it. Most of the media, especially the electronic ones, are owned by tycoons with close links to political parties. The problem is how to solve the issues of freedom of expression and fair representation when the media is private.

Another problem is the Law on libel. Many journalists have lost court cases against politicians and other public figures and the fines are very high, around three thousand euros.

At the court it is up to the journalist to prove that the politician did something that was against the law, instead of the one who raises the charges proving that there were irregularities. That makes the journalists' position much more difficult, especially when there are comments.

most of Brussels has to say concerns problems related to corruption, independence of judiciary...?

All of us in the Western Balkans should realise that enlargement is a political process. The criteria and reforms that are being asked of us are one thing, politics is another.

Some countries can block us because of certain issues that have little to do with reality.

How can we judge realistically whether a country is fighting corruption well and sufficiently? In some countries the citizens are more

the dispute between your country and Greece about the name of Macedonia?

Some 95% of ethnic Macedonians are against changing the name, and among ethnic Albanians 95% would want to see this dispute resolved as soon as possible, to change the name, join NATO and start negotiations with EU.

Other citizens, Serbs, Roma, Bosniaks, Turks, Vlachs, are more divided on the issue, but most of them tend to support changing the name.

Therefore, within Macedonia itself we have a serious conflict about the name which can complicate the situation, especially if Greece decides to veto the beginning of negotiations with EU. Macedonian government insisted that we solve the problem in the way it was done between Croatia and Slovenia – to remove the name from the agenda for EU negotiations.

Greece, of course, by the very virtue of being already an EU member has the power not to accept this proposal, which makes the situation very difficult. It is impossible to say what will happen.

Similarly, we know which institutions should be there in order to make the judiciary independent, but whether they function in practice is quite another matter.

What will be the outcome of

V. ŽUGIĆ

EU'S APPROACH TO THE ISSUE OF EUROPEAN RELIGIOUS HERITAGE: THE EXAMPLE OF THE CONSTITUTIONAL TREATY

Europe and religious pluralism



At the Laeken Summit held in December 2001 heads of states and governments of EU member states



by Vladimir Pavićević

agreed to establish the Convent, which would begin its work in February 2002. It consisted of 105 members, and was headed by **Valéry Giscard d'Estaing**. Its mandate was clear and strictly defined: it was to create a draft Constitution for EU that would replace the treaties containing the principles of EU's functioning.

After a debate which lasted seventeen months, at the summit in Thessaloniki d'Estaing presented the leaders of EU member states with a draft Constitution for Europe. Everyone concerned about European integrations was curious and impatient to see the proposals for redrawing the institutional pillars of EU, the solutions for fundamental rights and citizenship status as well as the division of labour between Community institutions and member states. The attention of the European citizens was fixed on another, even greater and more intriguing dilemma: did the draft European Constitution contain any reference to the relevance of Christian heritage in the development of European idea.

Values

The debate on the future of Europe involves a discussion on the values and ideas that should be the basis project for the making of a single European economic, political, legal, cultural and educational space. The discussion on values

which have been wrought into the process of European integrations became especially heated in early 2003 when the then head of the Catholic Church Pope **John Paul II** said that Europe was founded upon common Christian roots which have defined its trajectory to this day. Since the Christian ideas were in some sense part of the building of Europe, the Church insisted that the Constitution of EU should recognise this common Christian heritage.

In addition to demanding the recognition of the importance of Christian heritage, the Pope suggested that churches and other religious bodies should be given a social status that would recognise the broader reach of their activities, beyond individual affini-

3. The last demand expressed something of a qualification, as it emphasised that the Church has no interest in establishing a theocracy, but rather in contributing to the creation of a public space for dialogue between churches in EU. In other words, the idea of the Church was not to create a society of believers of a religious community, but to provide the believers with access to the public space.

These demands of the Catholic Church were differently received in different member states. While France refused the idea of recognising the values of any religions community in the Constitution, insisting that the religious matters should be divided from the state and politics, a number of countries such

How can we reconcile the demands for recognition of Christian values in EU Constitution with the fact that Europe does not owe its development only to the Christian tradition of political and cultural thought, but also to a variety of experiences gathered from other religions?

ties of the believers. The proposal of the Church contained three basic demands:

1. The text of the Constitution should contain a clear religious reference, i.e. formal recognition of the religious influence on the development of Europe that would set the foundations for the official channels of communication and dialogue between the Church and the EU. In other words, the constitutional document of the EU was supposed to recognise the role of the churches and religious beliefs for further development of EU;
2. The best way to make space for the Christian heritage in the Constitution is a direct reference to God in the preamble. The Catholic Church's argument here followed the Laeken Declaration which urged all actors to join the constitutional debate;

as Spain, Italy and Poland supported Pope's initiative.

The debate on the values that ought to enter the Constitution was soon joined by the Greek Orthodox Church, which asked that the EU Constitution should express the recognition of European people of their common religious roots and the influence that Christian ideas had on the development of European continent.

Except for Vatican and Greek Orthodox Church, the lobby for introducing Christian values into the Constitution was joined by the centre right parties of Portugal, Spain, Italy and Poland, which tried to pressure their governments hoping to influence the opinion of the Convent.

Simultaneously with the demands coming from the Catholic and Greek Orthodox Churches, as well as the lead-



ers of European centre-right, the opponents raised very sharp objections to the idea. Their arguments hinged on three key elements:

- In no period of its development did the EU think of itself as a religious project. Moreover, its goals were always secular. Any invocation of the religious roots would mean denying the influence and importance of other religious communities in Europe, which would be in conflict with the basic goals set in the founding treaties.
- In many European countries there are minorities whose cultural code is not based on Christianity. Since the members of these groups acquired their citizenship rights within European political communities, a Christian veil over the new Europe would be in conflict with their understanding of Europe and their rights as its citizens.
- A large Muslim country, Turkey, is standing in the anteroom for European membership, and although it is unclear whether this country will ever join EU, some other states, such as Bosnia and Herzegovina and Albania, which also aspire to join EU, are also predominantly Muslim.
- A European Constitution was supposed to offer the broadest possible framework for citizens' identification with the European idea, as a clear statement of belonging to Europe.

For many of its citizens, this task could become difficult if they were also asked to identify with its religious content, i.e. those parts of the Constitution which refer to God and religion.

If we accept the fact that there are substantial minority identities in Europe which do not recognise Christianity as the dominant and most relevant cultural milieu, we should ask how it is possible at all to reconcile all differences that abound in Europe. If we then turn back to the case in question, the issue is as follows: how can we reconcile the demands for recognition of Christian values in EU Constitution with the fact that Europe does not owe its development only to the Christian tradition of political and cultural thought, but also to a variety of experiences gathered from different religious contexts. The key problem than, is indeed **HOW TO DEFINE EUROPE?**

Identity

The text of the European Constitution, signed by the heads of states and governments on 29 October 2004 in Rome, but never ratified, con-

Official recognition of the importance of religion in the political life of new Europe would lead us to great divisions and conflicts that would amount to powerful limitations on further development of Europe

tains a clause emphasising "cultural, religious and humanist heritage in Europe". Europe through its elected political representative, decided to leave out the mention of Christian heritage and Christian values in its constitution.

This leaves to explore the content of European identity. The decision by the ruling elites to choose a different meaning for Europe in its constitutional definition of identity speaks for their understanding of diversity of the European society and multiplicity of levels of interaction that exist between members of various groups. Basing this identity on Christianity would beg the question of how to relate to the non-Christians. The formula Unity in Diversity, which is the essential determinant of EU would they conceal a form of discrimination against all who do not feel they belong to the

Christian tradition. In that case Europeans would be living in a simulacrum, which would obscure the results and achievements of a learned, progressive Europe.

On the other hand, a Constitutional reference to religion would not only preserve Europe, but would contribute to divisions. Official recognition of the importance of religion in the political life of the new Europe would lead us to great divisions and conflicts that would amount to powerful limitations on further development of Europe.

The best way to include religious content in the text of the Constitution would be to emphasise the right of each EU citizen to exercise all rights and freedoms, including the right to freely express own religious or other beliefs and opinions. This formulation leaves enough space for all European citizens to freely manage their identity within the European framework.

Although Constitution is not a philosophical treaty, to some extent it should give an answer to the questions of identity, i.e. an attempt to answer the question: **WHO ARE WE?** The Constitution for Europe states that "we" are

citizens of Europe which is based on the heritage of all religious communities which make up Europe. This answer to the above question demonstrates that Europeans have understood clearly that identity is a variable category, that it is not fixed in stone. The most important trait of us as EU citizens should be an understanding of the complexity of the idea of Europe and openness towards the other. The first attempt at the Constitution for new Europe was to leave enough space to its citizens to adapt to the new challenges. This is perhaps precisely what constitutes Europe's unique identity: it is continuously reshaped in reference to others.

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

A love story

by Brano Mandić

Our prime minister is an economist, excellent, the minister of education is a professor, at the university, the minister of health is a doctor, like it should be, and the minister for minority rights – an Albanian!

Ferhat the Hetero inherited the office from **Fuad Nimani** and there's no messing it up: minority rights should be defended by minority!

That's a wonderful message to send out: minority rights are not a moral category, but an obligation of blood. We who remained in the majority should not fiddle with the complexities of others' right to decent life, for our life is decent by the very fact that we're majority and that in the event of a general massacre we'd certainly have a mathematical advantage. That's why a member of the minority can't be prime minister, and the

now, and he hates the homos.

He gets approving pats on the shoulder in his party and his neighbourhood. He's now the king of majority, a minority minister. Hetero Ferhat manages an impossible combination, but he still opposes mixed marriages. We can forgive him as much, for he's minority. He says that a Slovenian son in law can't be an Albanian patriot. When one **Tapušković** wrote something similar to Hetero Ferhat, he ended up in jail. Which, by the way, was one of the best decisions of this Government. I remember it fondly, moved to tears like a homo.

And now I'll try to move you too,

Whoever doesn't think that it's about time for an LGBT parade to walk down the streets of Podgorica isn't thinking bravely. The best would be if they would mingle with the workers of the aluminium plant and the steel mill, to make it all look like San Francisco of the last century. Trade unions and renegades together

rest of us can't be ministers for minorities. And we're all happily grabbing forward, into the metastasis of false tolerance, which is usually bred in the provinces for the sake of some higher benefit, in this case the European future of our beloved homeland.

That's why Hetero Ferhat could only be replaced in his ministerial armchair by a Croat, to ensure he will defend his own kind. For in Montenegro there's nobody who would defend the infidels. There's **Slobodan Pejović**, but they say he's crazy. Takes pictures with an umbrella. Lousy as a field officer, soothes his numerous complexes and brakes his own car windows. Slobodan Pejović is majority and therefore never mentioned by Hetero Ferhat. The Croats will have to wait quite a bit for their own minister, for Hetero Ferhat doesn't even dream of resigning. He's majority

with one very velvet tale.

I've been thinking these days of writing the saddest love story of contemporary Montenegro. It came by itself, I didn't copy it from Spanish while snivelling and I would urge you to listen to it now armed with a paper towel or with triple layered toilet paper which does

We who remained in majority should not fiddle with the complexities of others' right to decent life, for our life is decent by the very fact that we're majority and that in the event of a general massacre we'd certainly have a mathematical advantage. That's why a member of the minority can't be prime minister, and the rest of us can't be ministers for minorities

not offend the finish of our digestive tract.

Everything started sometime before the referendum. A young gay guy who likes older man is secretly in love with Hetero Ferhat, he's collecting his pic-



tures and cutting out his statements from the newspapers. He has no courage to approach him and thus suffers in silence. He is so unhappy that he breaks into tears whenever Lajmet starts on Channel 1. He loves truly, like only the single sex cowboys in Hollywood production can. He even became the voter of the Democratic Union of Albanians, although it doesn't run in his family. He cannot believe his ears, he is ramming up the volume and watching the naughty Hetero Ferhat whipping, hmmm, with his tongue, aaaahh, his fragile hopes (the beloved minister called him Steve, so we'll call him the same while we watch him furiously crumpling Pobjeda and cursing love, for unreturned love destroys, we all know that, whatever the pictures that inflame

our imagination).

His wounded soul is burning so hard in Steve that he decides to change his orientation. He stops voting for DUA and starts to go after women, fervent and passionate in his revenge. And so



Hetero Ferhat lost a voter, but cured one ill person. The turbo heqim of modern Montenegro and a living proof that public good comes before party interests – and not backwards. The story has a happy end and Steve has 13 children with his wife Huana, who has long ceased to wonder why her beloved in passionate moments softly whispers into her ear po, po, po!

According to the rules of happy-end, Hetero Ferhat is also not fired, but only gently reprimanded by the great prime minister. It was said that some people's rights should be protected, but not affirmed.

Affirmation is a word of Latin origin affirmation and means "confirmation, asserted, said under an oath". Translated from the dead language, it would mean: We protect the rights, but we don't assert it and we'll never say it under an oath". We don't swear by fags, to put it bluntly.

They can gather in parks and eye our ministers, but their hearts will be broken. If they have any, that is, for it's probably just a matter of pure animal instinct which we have to accept in the UN General Assembly, but at home we have to be realistic and live up to our moustached ancestors whom we keep in our testicles as an aphrodisiac and the last trump card without lying with the female human. She should, however, also look up to her moustached grandmothers and forget Hellenic nonsense about the island of Lesbos and other

islands such as Ada Bojana and come back home straight away 'cause her place is in the stove, and she doesn't need eyes anyway for she's not gonna goggle around, even if naturalism is our strategic economic sector.

Let all gayish people disappear in their holes so we can protect their rights better, for if we let them into the Parliament and the academia, it could appear that we're affirming their rights,

The reason Hetero Ferhat became minister in the first place is that he always knew how to calculate his chances on the political flee market and shift his positions accordingly. Few parties can boast of such experienced and clever leaders, and his statements can thus be called anything, except clumsy. Known as a man who always expresses himself clearly and precisely, the minister made the right calculation again. That's why he remained unscathed. No use complaining, perverts!

which we won't do.

Similarly, Kalamperović once advised Albanians to celebrate the state of Kosovo at home, for celebrations are always best spent among the family members, like one suspicious couple should best rent a movie and organise some green gay evening together, but first they should lock the door and lower the lights to make sure they're not seen by the neighbour from across the street who maybe can't get it up for his wife any more, but he knows well that once he was in full strength and that he never wasted the seed against custom, and he has it in for everything that goes on between two men and is not blackjack

or the holy secret of fraternising.

That's the lesson from our ministers: whether you're majority or minority, remember to keep good manners, which they demonstrate every day while guarding the peaceful sleep of our children, and the ancient books have told us how children come about: the woman's womb is the factory of life, according to the archbishop, and women was created from Adam's rib, and in that story there's no place for Steve and his perverse habits.

Whoever doesn't think that it's about time for an LGBT parade to walk down the streets of Podgorica isn't thinking bravely. The best would be if they would mingle with the workers of the aluminium plant and the steel mill, to make it all look like San Francisco of the last century. Trade unions and renegades together taking the power in their own hands, lead by Harvey Milk, who also got a very decent movie (without too many naughty scenes, so you can watch it as a fool-blooded political thriller)...

And Hetero Ferhat is just perfect for our ministry, an Albanian patriot, a ladies' man and it's even possible that the hordes of football hooligans might forgive him his religion when he's got

such solid views of the public interest. He became minister in the first place because he always knew how to calculate his chances on the political flee market and shift his positions accordingly. Few parties can boast of such experienced and clever leaders, and his statements can thus be called anything, except clumsy. Known as a man who always expresses himself clearly and precisely, the minister made the right calculation again. That's why he remained unscathed. No use complaining, perverts!

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

PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION REFORM IN MONTENEGRO IN THE LIGHT OF EUROPEAN INTEGRATIONS

How to recognise a good public servant

The process of Montenegro's integration into European Union requires a reformed public administration,



by Stevo Muk

capable of guaranteeing efficient services to its citizens and other subjects. The reform of public administration is the basic precondition for the adoption and implementation of *acquis communautaire*. Copenhagen and Madrid criteria envisage, among other, the "ability of a candidate to assume membership obligations and adequate administrative capacity for efficient adoption and implementation of *acquis*", as well as "preparing the ground for integration through harmonisation of administrative structures". Public administration is an internal issue for EU member states, but it is in EU's interest to ensure a comparable level of development in terms of quality and professionalism of national administrations. It is a way of guaranteeing even implementation of EU legislation by national administrative bodies.

There is no official EU legislation regulating public administration, but there is a set of common standards of the European administrative space which is sometimes considered its "informal *acquis*".

European administrative space denotes the common set of standards and practices within public administration, defined by the national law, and implemented through relevant procedures and mechanisms of responsibility. These principles include reliability and predictability – i.e. legal security of public administration's decisions, openness and transparency, i.e. the degree to which public administration is open to public scrutiny; accountability to citizens and other bodies; efficiency and effectiveness – i.e.

maintaining a satisfactory balance between resources and results.

The EU is becoming increasingly interested in creating a common or harmonised administrative space. Thus the Lisbon Treaty puts a greater emphasis on administrative cooperation between EU member states, offering that "the Union can support the efforts of its member states to improve their administrative capacities in order to implement EU legislation. Such activities can include facilitated exchange of information and public servants as well as supporting training programmes".

In the 2009 Progress Report for Montenegro European Commission notes some progress with regard to strengthening of the legislative framework for public administration and managing human resources, although there was no increase in human resources, due to the cost-cutting measures of the Government. European Commission, however, still believes that further efforts are needed to establish a professional, accountable, transparent public service, based on merit and free of political influences. Further

European administrative space denotes a common set of standards and practices within public administration, defined by the national law, and implemented through relevant procedures and mechanisms of responsibility. These principles include reliability and predictability, openness of public administration to public scrutiny and its accountability to citizens and other institutions

reforms are needed in the areas of financial control, public procurement and licences. To this end, there is a need to establish mechanisms of internal control on all levels of administration.

One of the most problematic areas detected by EC is the recruitment system.

Although the recruitment process in public administration is generally based on open calls EC finds that "the concept of recruitment and promotion based on merit isn't prescribed by the relevant documents, nor implemented in practice".

In mid-2008 Institute Alternative recommended the Government to set

clear criteria for professional development and promotions. For instance, in order to progress in his or her career, every public servant ought to collect a certain number of points, gathered through successfully completed trainings. There should be clear guidelines as to how many points can be earned by each seminar, and these should be based on their length, complexity, and examination procedures. The second criteria for promotions should be efficiency in the workplace, accompanied by clear evaluation mechanisms. In light of the importance of European integrations and the role of public administration in this process, Institute Alternative recommended establishment of a "standardised procedure of awards for public servant and employees working on the preparation of laws and policies necessary for accession to EU".

The reform of public administration has been going on in Montenegro for more than six years. The strategy for reform of public administration was adopted in March 2003. At the time, the then and now Prime Minister Milo Đukanović said that "...defining the strat-

egy for reform of public administration is one of the key tasks of this Government at the beginning of its term, just like its realisation will be the key goal of the all future efforts of this Government in the coming period. Modernisation of state administration, as well as public administration as a whole is one of the key pillars and starting points of the reform package. This is why this strategic document is of enormous importance for setting the directions goals and scope of public administration reform".

This strategic document applies for the period 2003–2010, which means that

the period of reform originally envisaged is drawing to an end. It is time to take a look at its implementation, i.e. open up the issues of detailed and profound evaluation of its achievements, as well as of the need to draft another strategy for the future.

An assessment of the success of the process so far should be able to answer questions such as: "How many measures originally envisaged by the Strategy have been implemented and to what extent? To what extent have the goals and objectives of the Strategy been fulfilled? Was the coordination model applied throughout the reform successful? What should be changed about coordination, monitoring and reporting on the implementation of the reform in the future? How are we to involve civil society organisations? It is also important to ask how much was invested by the Montenegrin government in the implementation of the strategy, and what percentage of the funding came from European Union and other donors, i.e. what kind of financial support can we count on in the future?

As a reminder, the key goals of the reform were "a significant transfer of responsibilities to lower systemic levels, in order to ensure greater flexibility of the administrative system, higher quality of implementation and introduction of certain control mechanism, as well as insistence on more efficient allocation of responsibilities on all levels, competition and choice in public services, development of public services and agencies that will be geared towards consumers, i.e. citizens and economic subjects, ensuring



isations (non-governmental and other) in this process should be self-evident. Željko Šturanović, minister of justice at the time this Strategy was adopted and later Prime Minister, said that reform "necessarily entails cooperation with the relevant subjects within the system of public administration, public institutions, local governments, civil society, experts and other subjects, as well as cooperation with international expert organisations, associations, agencies, and especially bilateral cooperation with countries in the region.

The key responsibility for further implementation of reforms lies with the Ministry of Interior Affairs and Public Administration which, after a reshuffling of portfolios, took over this sector from the Ministry of Justice. However, the very scope of the reform requires coordination and political support and dedication of the entire Government, as well as active

It is time to take a good look at the realisation of the Strategy for the Reform of Public Administration, adopted in Montenegro already in March 2003, and to initiate a detailed and profound evaluation of its achievements, including the assessment of the necessity of drafting another strategy for the near future

better management of human resources in public administration and improving the status of key public servants, optimum usage of the possibilities provided by modern information technologies, raising the quality of legal regulations and deregulation in some areas characterised with too much red tape, strengthening the guidance and monitoring functions of the system".

The role of citizens, i.e. civic organ-

participation of all public institutions and local government bodies.

For a public and expert discussion of the matter, it is necessary that the Government and Ministry of Interior and Public Administration make all documents, analyses and information on the implementation of reform public. Among the documents that could strengthen a competent public debate and public participation are certainly the analysis of the

reform of public administration, adopted by the Government in 2008, as well as the recently adopted Information and Conclusions on the matter.

One of the measures envisaged by the Strategy for 2009 is introduction of a system of regulatory impact analysis. Although comparatively speaking this is hardly a novelty, the EU has recently emphasised this process, first by defining "a strategy to simplify and improve regulatory environment" as one of competitiveness goals at the Summit in Lisbon, and then by setting simplification and improvement of regulatory environment and elaborating the analysis of relevant effects of regulatory changes from economic, social and environmental aspects as political obligations of member states at the European Council summits in Göteborg and Laeken. As for Montenegro, Regulatory Impact Analysis or analysis of effects of recently adopted regulation would be a good start for a more responsible approach to the existing and recent legislation, through analysis of main and side effects, assessment of the costs of implementation and offering the results of the analysis to the decision-makers and all interested parties.

For starters, it will be interesting to see the answers of the Government of Montenegro to the European Commission questionnaire in the chapter regarding the reform of public administration. Some of the ten EC question that relate to this area concern the degree of realisation of strategies and action plans for reform, observed shortcomings in the implementation of these documents, existence of detailed monitoring procedures for observance of the ethical code for public servants, disciplinary measures against public servants, transparency and regulation of the status and responsibilities of middle-rank public administration management, the role and achievements of inspectorates, degree of implementation of ombudsman's recommendations to public administration etc.

By refusing to publish answers to these and other questions, the Government has unfortunately failed to observe at least one of the said principles: openness and transparency.

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

A snug family home



Europe... before, now it seems strange: why did I find this word so big, so out of the reach, so grandiose, extraordinary, ungraspable...



by Nada Knežević

There were moments when I thought Europe must be the whole world, but the world where we don't belong and cannot belong.

Later, I started to hear words like "European integrations", "membership application", "European Union member state"... I heard that Hungary and Romania got to join this big Europe...

I started to think of Europe as some exclusive club which we could also join, if we fulfil the same conditions these other countries managed to fulfil.

Daily press, TV and shows about European Union have started to attract much of my attention. I was interested in talking to people who knew about EU, I would ask them questions and feel some kind of joy when they would answer me...

At the university, I would carefully follow all lectures about EU...

Every day I felt content for having learned more about the EU and felt closer and closer to it. Finally, the School of European Integrations contributed a great deal to my studies of EU. I had a chance to learn many useful and interesting things during the presentations of the best lectures who command an immense knowledge on the topic. The School was a good way to systematise what I have learned so far.

But it is well known, however, that not all people have the same opinion on all matters, nor the same attitudes, hopes and desires.

And so I learned that not everybody around me has the same attitude to Europe, nor toward the membership of our country in the EU. I know that people are not the same, and therefore their opinions also cannot be the same. I don't want that insist on persuading the others before they can learn and see for themselves. I wouldn't want to impose my opinions on other or to pressure them into having the same opinion. However, I would like all people to learn, to understand the matters at hand from

different angles and only then decide "for" or "against". I have learned that every "why" in life has a "because", that every "for" has its "against" and everything has good and bad sides. The EU is no different.

In today's world, it is very important to keep, to follow different social developments. European integrations are something that is happening to us now, and regardless of what you do for a living it is good to know at least the basics. I have also wondered whether people here know enough about European integrations and of the whole process of entering EU. Thinking that as it is all citizens have plenty of chances to hear about it on the TV, read in the papers or on the internet I never spent too much time worrying about it. Until one day I read an article which read "MANY MPs REFUSED VIJESTI'S QUESTIONNAIRE ON SAA". The subtitle ran "Clueless, but vote". I was intrigued and started talking about it to people

I believe that we need to become part of this great family, because in the family fold everything is cosier, safer, happier...

I knew, of various age, gender, profession, opinion. Unfortunately, it turned out most of them knew very little about EU, as if they were living in an own world, isolated from everything. On the other hand, I know of many researches, seminars, lectures, I know that people have a chance to learn and to get basic information. The problem seems to be either their complete lack of interest, or the way in which the information is diffused. Citizens in the North of Montenegro know less about it all. But the North of Montenegro is also supposed to join the EU, and I believe that we need to work on better ways to provide information, provide access to information, motivate people to participate in various programmes that offer very good instruction in the matters of European integration. If we are really to join EU, most citizens should know about it. Probably there are many adult people here who still see EU like I saw it a few years ago. We cannot afford to have uninformed citizens, who will not know the basic things, who will look at the EU accession with a dilemma, with mistrust, and without an opinion of their own. Or to let them vote without knowing what it is they are voting for?!

We all heard or, rather, learned already at the primary school in history classes about the past and some horrible events, great world wars and mass killings.

The reason this all happened was mostly that people were ignorant, that they let their dif-

ferences escalate into conflict, their interests drift apart. It is normal that every country wants the best for itself and for its people: politically, financially, that it's admired by others, that its needs and interests are met...

EU gives us an opportunity to exchange opinions, to be united in diversity, to satisfy our interests without hurting others', not to do to others what we don't want them to do to us.

This is why the system exists, this is why they are called member states, for it is understood that they are there in the EU to be closer to one another, to help each other if they can but never to harm.

Just like a happy family in a snug home, counting already 27 members.

This is how the entire world should work, this is how all countries members of EU, as well as those who are still not or do not want to be EU members should function, this is also how we should function as individuals...

This is what we are striving for. This is what we learn from EU's existence. I believe that we need to follow this road to EU, to become part of this great family, and once we're in the family – inside the family fold everything is cosier, safer, happier...

It is a great feeling to meet others (nations), to listen to them and understand them, to share.

It is necessary to expand our horizons, to be democratic and open, to accept and to give, to talk about all issues, without shame or reserve. Like the motto of the EU says: Unity in Diversity. I have underlined all advantages and virtues, there are certainly some disadvantages and difficulties as well. But isn't it easier to deal with difficulties as a team than as an individual?

I want myself and my people to see Europe, to travel to different places, meet people, cultures, everything good and bad of all member states. I hope that we will be coming from a MNE which will be a member state of EU. I will also be a member of this great family. For me, Europe will be no more something unattainable. I will be glad to introduce myself to people from other member states as somebody from another member state and a friend of theirs'. I will also be a part of all that and a part of Europe.

The author is a postgraduate student at the Faculty of Political Sciences in Podgorica. She attended VIII generation of European Integration School

Warmer buildings from 2020

By 2020, all construction companies are planning new buildings on the territory of EU or reconstruction of older ones will have to provide proofs of their energy efficiency, agreed representatives of European Parliament and EU member states.

Currently the buildings produce 36% of CO₂ emissions in EU and account for

40% of all energy consumption.

Representatives of the European Parliament and EU member states agreed to revise the current set of laws from 2002 on energy efficiency of buildings, in the framework of a larger EU plan to reduce harmful emissions. According to the latest agreement public edifices should set the example, and comply with the new targets at least two years earlier than others, by 2018.

The agreement also envisages "very significant" reliance on renewable energy sources. Each country should elaborate its own detailed energy efficiency standards since setting general norms that would match the needs and resources of each EU state would be too big of a burden on Brussels.



Champions of mistakes

European Court of Auditors found numerous irregularities in the member states' usage of the regional development funds, with the highest numbers found in Spain, Italy and Portugal.

Unlike in previous years, when it preferred not to disclose the identity of countries in which irregularities are found, in its 2008 report the Court of Auditors named the three member states which account for 80% of all irregularities.

By this, the Court does not even mean fraud, but simple errors and mistakes that arise unintentionally because of the complex procedures in handing out

the money for development of underdeveloped regions, which account for a lion's share of EU expenditures.

Thus the south Italian region of Puglia, which between 2007 and 2013 was eligible for 2.6 billion euros from the European Fund for Regional Development was rebuked on two accounts: not reporting irregularities and not correcting mistakes.

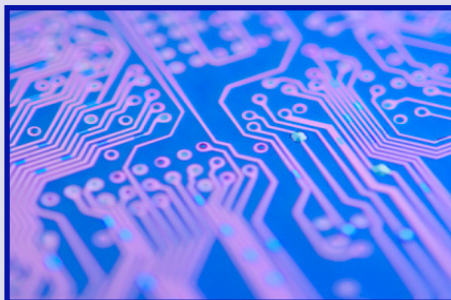
"Such events do not have to mean fraud. Most of the mistakes are made because of ambiguity of the rules and conflicts between national and European regulations", says the Court.

Nokia and VW generous with science

In spite of the economic crisis R&D investments by companies across the globe grew by 6.9% last year, shows the latest report by the European Commission.

The investment trend of EU companies remained almost unchanged and in 2008 it grew by 8.8%, compared to 8.1% in 2007. The rate of investment increase in R&D in the United States slowed down to 5.7% from 8.6% in 2007, and the highest increases were again found in Chinese (40%) and Indian (27.3%) companies.

Among the top ten firms by the



amounts invested in research and development there are two companies from EU – Volkswagen (5.93 billion euros) and Nokia (5.32 billion).

Visas for US

The United States of America will set strict conditions for the remaining five EU countries before abolishing the visa requirement, said the US state secretary for security **Janet Napolitano**.

Bulgaria, Cyprus, Greece, Poland and Romania have still not fulfilled the US requirements. Citizens of Belgium, Austria, UK, Denmark, Finland, France, Germany, Ireland, Italy, Luxembourg, Netherlands, Portugal, Spain and Sweden were among the first to be entitled to visa-free travel, back in 1986. The list which allows their citizens to stay in the US without a visa for up to 90 days was later joined by the Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Malta, Slovakia and Slovenia.

Elmar Brok, president of the parliamentary committee for US relations said that after Lisbon Treaty comes into force Washington should negotiate these issues directly with Brussels, instead of arranging it with each EU member state individually.

The end of on-line news?

The days when the European press was freely available online might be drawing to an end. Economic crisis diminished the revenues from advertising, and the media companies realised that they need to charge more for the content.

According to the poll by the Boston Consulting Group (BCG), European media groups could succeed in this more easily than their American counterparts. Almost 60% of the respondents in Germany, France, Spain, Finland and UK is ready to pay for on-line news, while across the Atlantic the number barely reaches 40%.

Prices against smoke

EU ministers of finance agreed last month to raise the minimum taxes on tobacco in order to combat smoking and cigarette smuggling. From the February first 2014 onwards the minimum tax will be raised from 0.064 euros to 0.09 euros per cigarette.

Cigarette prices vary significantly from one EU member to another – from 1.2 euros per box in Lithuania to more than six times that price in UK. Price differentials inspire motivate from East European countries with low cigarette prices to West European countries where the prices are much higher.

ADVANTAGES AND DISADVANTAGES OF EU MEMBERSHIP: POLAND FIVE YEARS AFTER ACCESSION

Better living standards, loss of labour force

by Prof Dr Maria
Karasinska-Fendler

Political dimension

With the accession to the European Union on 1 May 2004, Poland achieved its main strategic objective since the beginning of the political transformation in 1989.

The successful conclusion of Polish EU membership was and is indisputably an event of historical dimension both for Poland and Europe. With the end of the East-West conflict and the transformation of Poland from a Socialist, Soviet-dependent country into a democratic political system, the idea of becoming a member of the EU and NATO turned into reality. Furthermore, Polish support to continue Eastern enlargement was successful in cre-

military advantages: Both for the transformation towards a market economy and the rapid growth and modernization of all sectors of the economy (including the highly backward agricultural sector) as well as in order to guarantee trade, investment, and labour export.

In security terms a NATO-membership promised fullest security against any Russian military-political threat as well as direct access to U.S. policies. Membership in the EU was considered to be a political supplement or a sort of political reassurance that European NATO-members would fully support Polish security needs and interests in general and particularly vis-à-vis Russia.

EU membership also meant strengthening Poland's position on the international stage. Its geographic position, situating it between Germany and Russia

Four years later after Poland's accession to EU, the unemployment fell drastically to 11.4%, the average wage rose to 859 euros, and the amount of FDI almost tripled to 12.8 billion

ating the second round of enlargement, continuing further Eastern enlargement negotiations, and in establishing special relations between the EU and the Ukraine. At the same time, Poland worked to contribute to the development of the new type of the common EU-relationship with Russia.

Poland's motivation to join the EU was based on five principles:

In terms of norms and values, Poland perceived membership in the European Union as its legitimate and historical place. At the same time accession preparations served as an important element of the process of democracy building and in political transformation from a Socialist towards a Western democratic political system, assigning to the EU the role of an anchor in the political transformation and West-orientation.

On the other hand, in terms of interests, membership in the European Union had major economic, political and

enabled it to exploit its re-established national sovereignty and utilize the advantages of EU- and NATO-membership to better pursue its national interests.

In addition, Poland positioned itself as the most important and influential Central Eastern European country and as the promoter of the Eastern European interests in the EU and NATO.

After five years of membership in EU, Poland's position within the Union and its objectives concerning the future of European integration process are somewhat ambivalent. On the one hand, Poland supports further eastward enlargement of EU, especially in the case of Ukraine and Moldova, and perhaps in the future also Belarus. It also harbours significant ambition to become one of the most influential EU member states in the future. On the other hand, Poland insists on greater national sovereignty within and is reluctant to support initiatives for deeper integration in EU, especially as concerns



foreign and security policy.

Overall, Poland's membership in the European Union has been a crucial historical success for Poland's identity, its economic and military interests and its power. Transferring sovereignty towards the EU was regarded as a small price, compensated for by many advantages—including financial benefits as well as rehabilitating and legitimizing Poland as a major power in a Central Eastern Europe.

Economic dimension

Between May 1st and August of 2007 the first medium and long-term accession effects became evident, which was reflected in the economic growth level reaching 6.5%. Declining unemployment rates combined with increased household demand brought about the consumption growth of 6% per annum.

In 2003 the unemployment rate amounted to 20%, average salary was 537 euros, and inflow of Foreign Direct Investments was at the level of 3.7 billion euros. Four years later, the unemployment fell drastically to 11.4%, and average wage rose to 859 euros, and the amount of FDI almost tripled to 12.8 billion euros.

That means that after four years of EU membership unemployment dropped by almost a half and was combined with nominal salary rise by 58%. High inflow of FDI continues, and it is estimated that

approximately 1.2 million jobs have been created so far under its influence.

Social dimension

It is impossible to determine precisely the number of Poles working abroad. According to an estimation by the Central Statistical Office, in January 2007 almost 2 000 000 of Polish residents have lived in a foreign country for over two months, while approximately 1 100 000 left Poland after 1st of May 2004.

This massive outmigration has broad and very complex consequences. In the last several years there was a gradual switch from enthusiasm to serious concern and pointing to the threats stemming from the significant loss of population. The decline in population is visible mainly in terms of a decrease of young people in the economically productive age group,



flooded with EU products, foreigners did not dramatically increase their purchases of land.

On the other hand, inclusion of Polish farmers into the CAP forced revolutionary changes in relations between farmers and the financial and advisory institu-

Emigrants are mostly young, economically productive people, which contributes to the population ageing and increases the pressures on the pension system. At the same time, the outflow of young people diminishes the demographic reproduction potential, and has notable consequences for inter-family relations

which contributes to the population ageing and increases the pressures on the pension system.

At the same time, the outflow of young people diminishes the demographic reproduction potential, and has notable consequences for inter-family relations.

On the other hand, positive sides of migration are perceived in the "development" sphere – competence gained abroad may be "re-imported" and change local communities – and in terms of financial transfers of the migrants. The National Bank of Poland estimated at the beginning of 2008 that emigrants transferred over 20 billion zloty.

Agriculture

The first four years of Poland's membership in the EU were, on the whole, advantageous to Polish agriculture.

The beginnings of the CAP tools implementation were promising: relatively good adjustment to Community standards by Polish producers, general absorption of funds allocated to direct payments, extraordinary dynamics of exports to EU markets and rapid growth of investment in agriculture and food economy. Despite the fears expressed earlier, Poland's accession to the EU did not prove traumatic to Polish farmers; small holdings were not eliminated, the Polish market was not

and the simultaneous rationalization of procedures contributed to better performance. In many regions, the rate of absorption has doubled: in Lower Silesia the value of funds effectively transferred towards the beneficiaries has increased from 14% of the total allocation for the region to 30.4% only in the course of 2006.

The Europeanisation process driven by the implementation of the structural funds in Poland has had different outcomes at different levels of government.

The central government managed to maintain, and even increase its influence, in spite of all efforts towards decentralization and public administration reform, both because of the vagueness of the European Commission's recommendations in this area, as well as because of the lack of capacities of local governments to undertake the management of assistance programmes. However, the imposition of the Structural Fund framework has forced the regional authorities to learn and adjust their practices. Consequently, their capacity in terms of management of regional development policy has improved, which allows them to reinforce, to some extent, their position within the state. In the longer run, this process could contribute to genuine decentralization and greater reliance on local structures in the course of planning and implementing local projects.

Public opinion

A regular public opinion poll is conducted in Poland, which asks: "If on Sunday a new referendum on membership in the EU was to be held would you vote for or against accession to the EU? "

Throughout the four years of membership public support remained high, amounting to 78% Poles believe that their country won significant benefits by joining

Structural Funds

The implementation of the Structural Funds in Poland has on the one hand generated hope concerning its beneficial

Despite the fears expressed earlier, Poland's accession to the EU did not prove traumatic to Polish farmers; small holdings were not eliminated, the Polish market was not flooded with EU products, foreigners did not dramatically increase their purchases of land

influence on economic development as well as considerable mobilisation of beneficiaries and on the other hand, fears amongst experts concerning the numerous flaws in the system and the insufficient preparation of administrations.

The fears have indeed proven somewhat justified – the rate of absorption started to grow more rapidly only from summer 2006. With time, however, the participants acquired better knowledge of the process

EU, and expect positive effects of accession to continue also in the next 10–20 years. A positive evolution of these attitudes is especially visible within the agricultural sector, which was the stronghold of Euroscepticism in Poland before the accession.

Prof Dr Maria Karasinska-Fendler is Director of Research at the European Institute in Lodz, Poland

THE GOVERNMENT IN PODGORICA SHOULD OFFER MORE SUPPORT TO ONE OF THE MOST NEGLECTED AREAS OF ECONOMY

Fishing is a chance for Montenegro

EVROPSKI REPORTER

In EU countries fishing is a well established branch and often the main pillar of developing of



by Emil Kriještorac

many smaller communities, as well as countries. Fishing industry in Europe is the second biggest in the world, churning out 7.3 tons of fish every year.

However, income from fishing represents only 1% of EU's GDP, and employs only 270 000 professional or semi-professional fishermen.

Our catch is negligible, well below 500 tons per year, especially when compared to the other countries which could be considered relevant for Montenegro: Italians catch 200 000 tons of fish in the Adriatic every year, Croatians 20 000, although it is well known that Montenegro's side of the Adriatic has a lot more fish than the Italian side

The basic legal framework for managing the fisheries in EU was established by the Common Fisheries Policy (CFP). Initially it was part of the Common Agricultural Policy, and it was set up as a separate policy area with the accession of countries with significant fishing fleet and maritime resources (Greece, Spain, Portugal), and in order to tackle new specific problems, such as maintaining the levels of fish reserves and regulating international relations after the introduction of national eco-

nomic zones.

The Government of Montenegro recently adopted Law on sea fishing and mariculture, regulating this area in a satisfactory way which generally complies with EU regulations. The law is harmonised with EU standards as regards the protection and improvement of fish reserves is concerned, as well as management of sea life resources and organisation of the fish markets. Although this area could be of great interest for the overall economic development of Montenegro, commercial fishing is unfortunately not well developed.

Our catch is negligible, well below 500 tons per year, especially when compared to the other countries which could be considered relevant for Montenegro: Italians catch

200 000 tons of fish in the Adriatic every year, Croatians 20 000, although it is well known that Montenegro's side of the Adriatic has a lot more fish than the Italian side.

A recent research project conducted jointly by experts from the Institute for Marine Biology in Kotor and their colleagues from Ancona on two research ships in the territorial and epicontinental sea of Montenegro found that our part of the Adriatic holds enormous reserves of high-quality breeds of fish, espe-



cially at a depth below 200 metres, which Montenegrin anglers very rarely reach because of inadequate equipment.

A good illustration of the insufficient valorisation of this resource is the fact that sea fishing in Montenegro is conducted by only around ten ships longer than 14 metres, 11 ships between 8.1 and 13.9 metres and ten or so smaller vessels.

This is around the limit for seashore fishing, which is done by small vessels at less than 200 metres below the surface.

The efforts to valorise the unused potential of Montenegro in this area have met with generous support from EU, which agreed to finance the project "Support for fisheries in Montenegro" via European Agency for Development and Reconstruction.

The goal of this project was to assist the Government of Montenegro in implementing the National Strategy for Fisheries in line

with EU policies and practice.

The said National Strategy will be very important once we enter the negotiations phase with EU, because we must clearly define the national policy for fisheries, and our needs for sustainable development of the fishing sector, which are set independently by every coastal state, in order to define the negotiations platform and protect its national interests.

In that sense, Montenegro could learn from the example of Malta, which is known as one of the most skilled and successful countries when it comes to EU accession negotiations. Although it has only 400 000 inhabitants and 316 kilometres square of territory, Malta managed to negotiate 77 exceptions from the existing EU regulations.



negotiations between Croatia and EU, first of all because it concerns Adriatic, but also because of the position of Italy which, as one of the

A recent research project conducted jointly by experts from the Institute for Marine Biology in Kotor and their colleagues from Ancona on two research ships in the territorial and epicontinental sea of Montenegro found that our part of the Adriatic holds enormous reserves of high-quality breeds of fish, especially at a depth below 200 metres, which Montenegrin anglers very rarely reach because of inadequate equipment

By conducting a scientific research which established that in the area of the proclaimed fishing belt only a limited number of fishermen can be allowed access in order to prevent devastation of the maritime environment, Malta succeeded in retaining the declared protected sea area predominantly for its own fishermen.

It also agreed with EU that other country's ships can also fish in the Maltese seas, but that the strength of their engines cannot exceed 250 HP.

If we know that most Italian anglers run on engines of minimum 800 HP, this concession to the Maltese fishermen becomes even more significant.

As regards this area of integration, an important lesson for negotiations between Montenegro and EU will follow from the last stages of

founding members of EU, has the power to insist on the interests of its own fishermen to the detriment of other Adriatic states.

The importance of national interests in the area of fisheries is best illustrated by the fact that 25 ministers of agriculture and fisheries

Important lessons for negotiations between Montenegro and EU will follow from the last stages of negotiations between Croatia and EU, first of all because it concerns Adriatic, but also because of the position of Italy which, as one of the founding members of EU, has the power to insist on the interests of its own fishermen to the detriment of other Adriatic states

could not find agreement with European Commission for a very long time regarding the reform of fisheries and subsidies for this branch for the period 2007–2013.

Finally, the European Fishery Fund received 3.85 billion euros for this period, which can be spent on

priorities set by the member states based on their individual decisions.

Although the Common Fisheries Policy was established only in 1983, the first community measures in this sector were taken in the 1970s, setting the rules for access to fishing areas and markets of EU member states.

In 1992 CFP underwent the first reform, strengthening the rules on the control of the number of fishing ships and technical measures for the prevention of excessive catches.

The second reform was initiated already in 1998, and in March 2001 the EC published a Green Book on the future of Common Fisheries Policy, initiating a broad discussion on the preservation of living aquatic resources, limiting the fishing fleet, managing and monitoring the fish reserves, economic and social issues, protection of the natural heritage, aquaculture, as well as the Common Mediterranean Policy.

In May 2002 the Commission presented the first set of proposals and in December 2002 the Council of Ministers in charge of fisheries agreed on the first common package of measures, defined through regulations on the establishment of detailed rules and procedures for EU structural funds to the fisheries, as well as on the establishment of urgent EU-level measures for grad-

ual decrease of the fishing fleet as well as preservation and sustainable exploitation of living aquatic resources in the framework of CFP.

The author is a member of the board of presidents of the People's Party

From the Berlin Wall to walls in Montenegro



On Thursday 26 November Centre for Civic Education (CCE), in cooperation with Friedrich Ebert Foundation, organized a panel discussion on the topic "20 years since the fall of the Berlin Wall – Europe, Balkans, and Montenegro today?"

Speakers at the panel were **Dagmar Schmitt**, Deputy Ambassador of the Federal Republic of Germany in Montenegro, **Petra Blass Rafajlovski**, former Vice-President of Bundestag, now a political advisor for South East Europe, Dr. **Filip Kovačević**, professor at the University of Montenegro and **Darko Ivanović**, director and journalist. **Daliborka Uljarević**, executive director of CCE moderated the discussion.

The purpose of the panel was to commemorate the twentieth anniversary of the fall of the Berlin Wall and end to divisions in Europe, to discuss social, political and other changes that swept across Europe as a consequence of this event, and finally to ask what was the impact of this crucial event of the modern European history on the Balkans and Montenegro.

The panellists offered their views on

the importance of the fall of Berlin Wall for Germany and Europe, as well as for the former SFRY and Montenegro.

They discussed whether the fall of the Wall brought changes to the whole of Europe or only to some of its parts, whether there is still a wall between Eastern and Western Europe and whether the one time Iron Curtain was effectively replaced by a Schengen curtain.

The panel further analysed the situation in Montenegro 20 years after this event and discussed the main conditions and elements of transition towards democracy and rising awareness of human rights and freedoms.

The participants concluded that instead of walls falling new invisible barriers were erected in Montenegro which divide citizens into "suitable" and "unsuitable" and a cultural environment developed where diversity not easily accepted.

The event was attended by around 50 representatives of non-governmental organizations, media, political parties, institutions and universities.

Analytical approach to conflict resolution

Centre for Monitoring (CEMI), with support of FOSI ROM organised on 20 November a round table on "The Role and Importance of Think Tank Organisations in Democratisation of West Balkan Countries".

The event was opened by **Branka Todorović**, CEMI's programme director and **Sanja Elezović**, director of FOSI ROM. Speakers were **Zhidias Daskalovski** from Centre for Research and Policy Making in Skopje, **Zdravko Mijovčić** from EDA Development Agency in Banja Luka, **Stevo**

Muk from Institute Alternative and **Momčilo Radulović** from European Movement in Montenegro.

The round table hosted a number of participants representatives of NGOs and political parties in Montenegro. **Miloš Vučkanović**, CCE programme assistant participated on behalf of CCE.

The goal of this meeting was to outline recommendations for improving the status of think tank organizations in Montenegro.

NON-GOVERNMENTAL
ORGANISATIONS IN
EUROPEAN UNION



EUROPEAN TRADE UNION INSTITUTE

European Trade Union Institute is among the most prominent non-profit associations dealing with trade union and workers' rights. ETUI is based in Brussels, and its main goals are:

- conducting research, producing studies and monitoring European issues of strategic importance for the world of labour while building bridges between the academic and research community and the labour movement;
- promoting education and training activities, programmes and exchanges that strengthen a European Trade Union identity;
- providing technical support in the field of occupational health, safety and protection so as to promote a high level of health and safety protection for workers in Europe.

European Trade Union Institute employs more than 60 people whose work is partially supported by European Commission. It cooperates with a wide network of international partners.

ETUI's partners are organisations dealing with related issues, universities and research centres with whom they conduct joint studies on various aspects of labour law and trade union organisation. ETUI is also active as a lobby group in areas related to the European work and employment policies and is recognised as a successful organisation capable of exerting influence on policies created by EU institutions.

Through communication and lobbying with EU institutions European Trade Union Institute is fighting to improve labour conditions and work security in order achieve the best possible working conditions and quality of life for the workers.

More information about ETUI can be found at www.etui.org.

Prepared by: **Petar ĐUKANOVIĆ**

European and Montenegrin Challenges



In November there were two sessions of "European Fridays", a programme organised by CCE in cooperation with the Parliament of Montenegro.

The first session, organised on 6 November with the topic "Montenegro on the road to EU: goals fulfilled and future challenges" hosted **Vesko Garčević**, political director of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Montenegro. He emphasised the importance of visa liberalisation, which not only offers Montenegrin citizens the opportunity to travel to the countries members of the Schengen zone, but also demonstrates the readiness of administration to fulfil complex requirements coming from EU.

Noting that the road to EU accession is long and complex, Garčević explained that it is also a test of Montenegro's readiness to face the challenges of EU and its own development towards it. He especially focused on the process of answering the Questionnaire and what it meant for the administrative capacity, as well as on the importance of the experiences of other countries which Montenegro ought to learn from.

"We are in the final pre-candidate status. In other words, we graduated from high school, now we are preparing for some kind of entrance exam and then we enter the university. The fact that we are a small county is now seen by many who had doubts before as

an advantage. For a small country it is after all easier to transform and adopt new standards", Garčević said.

He denied that the signing of Article 98, by which Montenegro agrees not to deliver US citizens to the International Criminal Court, and which is against EU policies, could be detrimental to Montenegro's progress towards EU, emphasising that this issue was more a subject of public debate than a real obstacle for Montenegro. "I don't believe that the relations between EU and USA are such that this could cause us a problem. Differences between them are minimal, and they agree on all important principles, such as the rule of law, democracy...I believe that signing the Article 98 was a good move for Montenegro, and once we join NATO this article will anyway be put out of force, since NATO has different rules of protection", Garčević said.

The second session was held on 13 November on the issue of "Challenges in European Union after the signing of Lisbon agreement", and the guest was **Miodrag Lekić**, professor at the University of Rome and former Foreign Affairs Minister of Montenegro.

Lekić said the Lisbon Treaty was supportive of the association process of Western Balkans with EU, and presented a detailed analysis of the process of creation and adoption of this document, as well as of difficulties which marked this laborious process of reform.

"Lisbon Treaty replaced the Constitution for European Union and in spite of many compromises, numerous amendments of the original text in the last moment, a myriad of annexes – it represents a qualitatively new European treaty which provides for more efficient decision making, defines EU as a legal person, strengthens the role of the European Parliament, establishes new European institutions, enables further enlargements as well as the possibility of "leaving EU", Lekić explained, noting that probably the most important change is establishment of EU as a legal person.

Lekić also spoke about the changes in the organisational structure of EU brought about by the Lisbon treaty, which present a challenge to the EU and its members especially in the domain of foreign policy.

"European Union often met with blockades in crucial moments, when it was expected to act as a world power. It had no strength to communicate its message to US to refrain from the war in Iraq, and if failed to define its own position with regard to this process, as opinions on the war were quite divided. It is often said that the EU uses the "soft power" method, while the US relies on the "hard power", Lekić explained.

Festival of adult education

The Festival of Adult Education, which has been organised for several years by Centre for Civic Education, presented a series of activities aimed at promoting life-long learning.

In addition to a number of round tables, workshops, focus groups and promotions there were also lectures on the importance of civic education. **Petar Đukanović**, programme coordinator, held a lecture titled "Civic Democracy" on 23 November in Danilovgrad for representatives of local government, students of the local gymnasium and their professors. The lecture focused on different aspects of the concept of civic democracy, and possibilities for citizens' participation in political and social life of the local community and society in general.

The festival also launched publication "Education of adults in Montenegro". This important book presents an overview of the relevant regulations in the area of adult education, as well as detailed information on the existing licensed educational programmes for adults. The publication was welcomed as a valuable guide to all those interested in working on adult education. Petar Đukanović was present at the book launch on behalf of CCE.

Protection against domestic violence

Ministry of Human and Minority Rights organised on 11 November Forum for Dialogue with NGOs as a public discussion on the draft law on protection against domestic violence.

Speakers at the event were **Irena Bošković**, coordinator of Department for Gender Equality of the ministry of Human and Minority Rights, **Nada Drobnjak**, president of the Committee for Gender Equality in the Parliament of Montenegro, and **Branka Lakočević**, deputy minister of justice who is a member of the working group drafting the law on the protection against domestic violence in Montenegro.

Representatives of non-governmental organisations participated actively in the discussion and offered a number of suggestions and comments on the law. **Snežana Kaluđerović**, legal adviser in Centre for Civic Education, participated on behalf of CCE.

FOR THIS ISSUE WE RECOMMEND:

JUSTICE INITIATIVE FELLOWS PROGRAM AT CENTRAL EUROPEAN UNIVERSITY (2010 – 2012 SESSION)

The Open Society Justice Initiative, with Central European University (CEU), announces the Justice Initiative Fellows Program for 2010–2012. The aim of the program is to support and further develop a network of lawyers and activists working on human rights-related issues internationally. As of now more than 150 fellows have graduated from Justice Initiative's Fellowship programs, established in 1996.

The Justice Initiative Fellows Program is a two-year program of study and practical work experience. Up to 10 applicants will be selected in 2010 to participate in the program. Applicants from the following regions and countries are eligible: Central and Eastern Europe, the former Soviet Union, Africa, Asia, the Middle East, and Central/South America.

Applicants must be nominated by a national non-governmental organization concerned with human rights. The applicant must demonstrate a strong commitment to human rights, and have a university degree and a high degree of proficiency in English. Criteria for selection will include the applicant's experience, his/her potential to contribute to the protection and promotion of human rights, and the suitability of the applicant's proposed role in the nominating NGO. Upon selection, Fellows will be required to sign an agreement with the Justice Initiative committing themselves to the program for two years. The first year is spent at Central European University, the second in the applicant's home country, working with the nominating NGO.

The Justice Initiative Fellows will reside a total of one year in Hungary, at CEU Legal Studies Department. They will

undertake a degree program (M.A. or LL.M. in Human Rights, dependent on their undergraduate degree), in which they will be required to fulfill the requirements of the Human Rights Program at Central European University. During their stay at CEU the Fellows will also participate in a 3-month internship placement with leading NGOs in Europe from January until March.

Applicants must submit their applications online. They must meet the general CEU Admissions requirements, which can be viewed on (<http://www.ceu.hu/admissions>), as well as the CEU Legal Studies Department Requirements:

(http://web.ceu.hu/legal/prosp_students.html). In addition, applicants must include with their applications:

1. A nominating letter from an NGO
2. Proof of English proficiency
3. A statement of purpose for applying to the Justice Initiative Fellows program.
4. A proposal of project activities that the candidate plans to work on with the nominating NGO during the second year of the fellowship.

The DEADLINE for receiving applications at CEU is January 25, 2010.

For more information regarding this program please visit:

<http://web.ceu.hu/legal/OSJI.htm>

EU STUDIES AT THE UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS

The European Union Center at the University of Illinois at is announcing a new Master of Arts degree program in European Union Studies.

The University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign is a world leader in research and teaching, distinguished by the breadth of its programs, broad academic excellence, and internationally renowned faculty.

The program is designed for graduate and professional students adding expertise to their studies and for students seeking to enter business or government with a



master's degree. The European Union Center draws upon the expertise of faculty from departments across the University of Illinois campus, providing a broad range of disciplinary knowledge. Internships opportunities and graduate-level study abroad program exchanges are available. We strongly encourage students to have at least two years of college-level study of a language of the region at the outset of the program; The University of Illinois offers advanced training in a wide range of European languages. The European Union Center is a recipient of Title VI funds from the Department of Education and is able to award Foreign Language Area Studies (FLAS) scholarships to US citizens and permanent residents: <http://www.euc.illinois.edu/funding/flas/> Graduate student assistantships are also available on a competitive basis. The FLAS scholarship deadline is mid-February, 2010.

For more information contact Coordinator of the program, Laura Hastings at lhastings@illinois.edu. Additional information is also available at our website at <http://www.euc.illinois.edu/academic/program/>

**EIC Bulletin – European pulse is electronic magazine established within EIC programme, with the support of the Friedrich Ebert Stiftung.
The publisher is Centre for Civic Education.**

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

Editor in Chief: Vladan Žugić

Editorial Board: Vera Šćepanović, Daliborka Uljarević, Vladimir Pavićević, Dragan Stojović, Vladimir Vučinić, Petar Đukanović

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

English Language Editor: Maja Mugoša; Translation: Vera Šćepanović

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

EIC Bulletin – European pulse can be downloaded at the www.cgo-cce.org