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PATIENCE

A few days ago, a high official of one of the ruling parties said that many countries with greater administrative and other capacities could not boast of such achievements like those Montenegro has accomplished in the last two years with regard to European integrations, but that we should also not "hide the fact that not everything is rosy on the home front".

The assessment can be considered fairly realistic, even if it's somewhat contradictory.

Shouldn't internal reforms and European integrations go hand in hand?

At home, we have seen the consequences of slow privatisation come back with revenge, there is a pile of cases in which the activities of the prosecution and police indicate that in 2009 Montenegro made a step backwards with regard to the rule of law, while the government still turns a blind eye on crime and corruption.

On the other hand, during the last year Montenegrins got visa-free travel, the Council of EU ministers gave the green light to consider Montenegro's application, in spite of resistance on the part of some EU members, and its administration responded to the Questionnaire. Only a few days after submitting the answers Montenegro got 20 additional questions from the European Commission, relating to the free movement of capital.

If we know that in the cases of Croatia and Macedonia the Commission took several weeks to send additional questions before it completed its opinion on their applications. The questions are, then: were the answers bad, or are the winds that blow from Brussels to Montenegro about to change?

The answer to the first question will be known in a few months.

I don't believe the second one is possible.

Climate change in Brussels takes years. Different winds can be expected only once we get as close to EU as Croatia is now. That is when the Union will demand that internal reforms keep pace with integrations.

Until then, our years will be eaten away in vain.

This is why I want Montenegro to get the candidate status in 2010.

Lisbon agreement comes into force (1 December) – reviving the plan to reform European Union institutions and strengthen its role on the world stage. The goal of the reform treaty is to provide stronger leadership, a more efficient foreign policy and an easier system of decision making within the European bloc. Among the most important innovations of the treaty are the position of the president of the European Council and High Representative for Foreign Policy, as well as a stronger role for the European Parliament.

Same assessment (6 December) – The Council of EU ministers congratulated Montenegro on its progress in European reforms and implementation of the trade agreement with EU, but emphasised that "Montenegro must step up the efforts to strengthen the rule of law, including independent judiciary, and to demonstrate consistent results in the struggle against organised crime and corruption". "Strengthening the administrative capacities in order to genuinely implement the laws is still the key challenge for Montenegro", read the conclusions of the ministers of EU-27, adding that "further efforts are needed to ensure freedom of expression, especially with regard to the media."

Đukanović asking for more money (8 December) – Prime Minister Milo Đukanović said in Brussels that it was realistic to expect the 2010–2020 decade to be marked by accession of West Balkan countries to EU and added that the EU should send these countries a clear sign of its commitment by assigning more funds for enlargement in the next budgetary period.

Answers to Brussels (9 December) – Prime Minister Milo Đukanović submitted the answers to the European Commission Questionnaire to the enlargement commissioner **Olli Rehn**. The answers are bound in 12 books on a total of 4 433 pages.

Criticism of EC and ambassadors (15 December) – Representatives of EU diplomatic missions to Podgorica were severely criticised for turning a blind eye on deviations in the Montenegrin society, ignoring cases of drastic violations of human rights and contributing in their statements to relativisation of wrongdoings in Montenegro. Professor **Milan Popović** said that "in the last year or two the European Commission became a part of Montenegro's problems, not of their solution", supporting "essentially the most negative forces in Montenegro".

No visas for EU (18 December) – Montenegrin, Serbian and Macedonian citizens who own biometric passports can travel to the Schengen zone freely, as the decision of the Council of EU on visa liberalisation came into force.



Already new questions (25 December) – European Commission sent 21 new questions to Montenegro to clarify certain points of the Questionnaire concerning free movements of capital, said Minister for European Integrations **Gordana Đurović**. She said the deadline to submit the new answers was 1 February.

A VIEW FROM EU

Competition works wonders, even in Western Balkans

After almost two decades of isolation, since 19 December citizens of Macedonia, Montenegro and Serbia can



by Gerald Knaus and
Alexandra Stigmayer

travel without visas to almost all countries of eU.

The visa requirement can be very counterproductive for the EU members-in-waiting. It hampered business and created a psychological barrier that made citizens sceptical about a European future.

The EU is also getting a lot in return. As a condition of visa-free travel, the Balkan countries had to carry out far-reaching reforms in the areas of border control, passport security and the fight against organised crime, corruption and illegal migration. These measures make all of Europe safer.

However, Albania, Bosnia and Herzegovina and Kosovo are not yet part of this happy group.

With its international status still unresolved, Kosovo is the most burning issue. Until very recently, there was even no prospect of visa liberalisation for Kosovo. But last October, the Commission promised a "visa dialogue" with the perspective of eventual liberalisation, conditional on the necessary reforms. However, unlike for the other Western Balkan countries, the EU did not announce a visa roadmap setting out all the reforms that Kosovo will have to undertake. The process was left vaguer.

There are obvious reasons for beating around the bush. The Commission did not want to alienate those EU members

that have declined to recognise Kosovo's independence, and who might be concerned that a visa dialogue amounted to implicit recognition, or would even open the floodgates to illegal migration.

Still, these concerns are not justified.

First, the experience with the other Balkan countries shows that a clear process centred on roadmaps with defined benchmarks has produced the swiftest reforms.

Second, visa liberalisation for Kosovo can be entirely status neutral. After all, the Commission is currently in talks with Taiwan about abolishing the visa requirement, showing that international recognition and visa policy are two quite separate issues.

The Council of Ministers could also accelerate the process of abolishing the visa requirement for Albania and Bosnia. When the EU proposed scrapping visas for Serbia, Montenegro and Macedonia last July, Albania and Bosnia were still dragging their feet on the conditions.

Since then, however, they have made huge progress and will soon have

Visa liberalisation process created some very healthy competition among the five participating countries. When Albania and Bosnia realised last summer that they were lagging behind their neighbours, they redoubled their efforts. There are lessons here that can be used for the wider Balkan enlargement process

ticked all the boxes. The question is thus no longer whether they will qualify for visa-free travel next year, but when next year.

There is everything to be gained from an early decision to preserve the momentum and ensure that Albanians and Bosnians do not feel discriminated against. The EU foreign ministers could set a target date for the start of visa-free travel well before the summer vacation, May or June 2010.

In the meantime, Serbia, Montenegro and Macedonia have to make sure that visa-free travel for the Balkans

remains a success story. They must continue to press ahead with the roadmap reforms, leaving no doubt as to their continuing commitment to meeting EU standards.

They could also publicise the positive benefits of visa freedom. Is the number of Western Balkan students in the EU increasing? Is trade with the EU flourishing? Are there more cross-cultural events?

The visa liberalisation process has been an excellent example of EU soft power at work. There were very clear conditions, a rigorous process with milestones and deadlines, and a reachable, juicy carrot at the end. It created some very healthy competition among the five participating countries. When Albania and Bosnia realised last summer that they were lagging behind their neighbours, they redoubled their efforts.

There are lessons here that can be used for the wider Balkan enlargement process. Treating all countries alike in a single process, but rewarding them for their objective performance in a strict,

but fair fashion, is the best way to foster national efforts to meet the demanding accession criteria. Transparent, merit-based competition works wonders, even in the Balkans. This is the kind of Balkan rivalry that citizens of the region – and across Europe – can benefit from. In fact, there cannot be enough of it.

Gerald Knaus is the Chairman, and Alexandra Stigmayer a Senior Analyst, of the European Stability Initiative, a think-tank that has closely followed the visa liberalisation process for the Western Balkans

MONTENEGRO LOBBYING FOR ITS INTERESTS IN BRUSSELS

Easier with lobbyists

While in Montenegro the very notion of lobbying is shrou-



by Mirela Rebronja

ded in mystery which the Government itself supports and which gives the whole thing negative undertones, Brussels has seen the number of interest groups multiply from one day to another, all with the single goal –

OPEN AN OFFICE IN BRUSSELS

Kaščelan believes that Montenegro should focus more on business lobbying, and recommends opening an office in Brussels with the function of an economic mission.

"Montenegrin Chamber of Commerce should take up a more active role in lobbying for Montenegro's interests, as a representative of country's businesses", says president of the Lobbyist Society of Serbia.

According to him, the Chamber of Commerce does not have to wait for a decision by Montenegrin officials, but can take an active role in promoting economic capacities of the country.

"It is important to know that every year in Brussels, under lobbyists' influence, economic quotas are discussed for every country of the region which serve as guidelines to businesses", he explained.

to influence decision-making.

Hardly anything is known about Montenegro's lobbying in Brussels and other international centres. Only recently, thanks to the transparency and legislation of the US ministry of justice, we learned that half a million euros has been paid out of Montenegro's budget to one American consultancy to lobby

In Montenegro there is quite some scepticism and mistrust towards lobbying. In practice there is always some animosity on the part of certain public representatives towards professional lobbyists – they are always conceited enough to believe that the state hires a lobby group because one of them wasn't doing his or her job well", says Bojan Šarkić

for Montenegro's membership in NATO.

Montenegrin Foreign Affairs Ministry, cornered by the non-

governmental sector promised that it would publish the list of those advocating Montenegro's interests in Brussels, but the promise remained a promise.

On the other hand, lobbying in EU is on the rise. The reason is that the decision-making process on EU level has become directly relevant not only for the member states, but virtually for

all members of the society.

Lobbying is important for the potential candidate countries, and it will be of great importance



Bojan Šarkić

photo VIJESTI

LONG TERM LOBBYING MORE EFFICIENT, BUT COSTLY

For successful lobbying it is important to have a clear goal, a precisely defined issue which one wishes to influence.

It is important that the message and the approach are consistent and coherent from the beginning to the end of the process, with well supported, strong arguments. Besides, one should know in advance which persons or institutions can be influenced. In order to create a successful strategy the most important part of the process is collecting detailed information on all actors in the decision process.

Lobbyists are good at finding their way through the labyrinths of Brussels' administration, and among the complex and not at all naive links between representatives of the European political and financial scene.

They know very well that even lower-ranking administrators often have much authority in the preparation and implementation phase of very decision and this is where they can sometimes play the most important, relevant and consequential role.

Lobbying can take place in different ways and on various levels, but also in different time frames, that is, it can be short-term or long term lobbying.

Advocates of short-term lobbying believe it is unnecessary to lobby continuously, i.e. that it is enough to become active only in certain situations and on certain issues. This strategy can, however, cut both ways. On the one hand, it is a big question whether you can influence a decision in the relevant moment if nobody has ever heard about the problem of your company, subject or state. Still, advocates of short-term lobbying believe that this is why lobbying agencies exist, and that this is anyway the way they work.

On the other hand, advocates of long-term lobbying insist that it is always useful to maintain contacts with decision-makers, even if you don't have a concrete issue at a given moment. This opens up the doors and opportunities to activate the right contacts and seize the right moments as they arise.

President of the Lobbyist Society of Serbia **Balša Kaščelan** says that the system of long-term lobbying is attractive and "seems to be of higher quality and is probably more successful" but is also significantly more expensive.

"This manner of lobbying requires serious financial investments and establishment of specialised offices in the vicinity of Brussels administration", explained Kaščelan in the interview for *European Pulse*.

He believes that in today's world the interests of companies, and especially those of states, cannot be promoted from one case to another.



photo VIJESTI

Balša Kaščelan

for Montenegro in the next year or two. If the European Commission adopts a positive opinion on Montenegro's membership application, then the Council of Ministers first has to give Montenegro the status of a candidate for membership and then decide on the date to start accession negotiations. Such decisions are taken unanimously – in other words, all 27 members have to vote "yes", and that takes lobbying, both in Brussels and in other European capitals.

A former Montenegrin diplomat in Brussels, **Bojan Šarkić**, who is currently heading a lobbying consultancy, says that Montenegro needs to show readiness and decisiveness to lobby for its interests on various levels. "Given the long chain of various issues, some political, some real and some merely technical, Montenegro needs to try to be permanently on the "agenda" of Brussels", says Šarkić, adding that he has in mind the European Commission, the Council and the European Parliament, but also some very influential non-governmental organisations, think tanks, media and the entire administration in Brussels.

"In this phase between answering additional questions of the Questionnaire and opening up negotiations with EU, Montenegro has to pay special attention to its activities in Brussels", Šarkić emphasised.

In the interview for *European Pulse*, Šarkić said that it is very important to know that, as far as he is informed, all issues, problems and projects related to EU

have been dealt with through direct contacts with EU or through bilateral exchanges with some of the member states.

This is why, he explains, it is difficult to say that Montenegro has been "lobbying" in the real sense of the word, as it mainly represented and advocated its interests through its public institutions.

At best, he says, there were some individual interventions, but without "hiring professional lobbying groups".

However, Šarkić also admits that so far there was hardly any need for that, but adds that in the upcoming period there



It is very to know that so far all issues, problems and projects related to EU have been dealt with through direct contacts with EU or through bilateral exchanges with some of the member states. This is why it is difficult to say that Montenegro has been "lobbying" in the real sense of the word", explained the former Montenegrin diplomat

should be more reliance on lobbyists.

Šarkić warns that it is not good that in spite of the obvious usefulness and necessity of lobbying there is still a sense of scepticism and mistrust in Montenegro regarding this issue.

"In practice there is always some animosity on the part of certain public representatives towards professional lobbyists, who are always conceited enough to believe that the "state hires" a lobbying group because one of them wasn't doing his or her job well", warns the former Montenegrin diplomat.

He believes that this is not only wrong but also dangerous. According to Šarkić, it is better to ensure that all interested parties are working in the same direction and emphasised that for the small countries like Montenegro "such arrangements are necessary, logical and finally very efficient".

LAW ON LOBBYING NEEDED

Lobbyists' profession if believed out of ignorance to be related to corruption, although the truth is something completely different, at least in theory.

In theory, the main goal of lobbying activities is precisely to do away with corruption on all levels, and to develop stringent professional and ethical standards of advocacy, be it on behalf of countries, companies or organisations.

However, there are many lobby groups and associations, and they all have very different goals. Everyone is eager to promote their own interests – from workers in tourist sector to bankers, owners of small and medium enterprises, to oil moguls or agricultural associations.

In this sea of lobby groups there are certainly some whose practices tend towards corruption.

In order to avoid this, lobbyists and their associations insist that all countries should adopt a special law on lobbying.

The law defines the limits of a lobbyist's activity, as well as mechanisms through which they can pursue their goals. The Lobbyist Society of Serbia is advocating adoption of a similar law in Serbia – they emphasise that no country in the region has yet adopted a law of this kind, but that it is high time that more attention is given to such activities.

Montenegrin civil sector has also initiated such regulations on several occasions, but the decision makers did not seem interested in pursuing this issue further.

A FRUITFUL YEAR FOR MONTENEGRO AS REGARDS EU AND NATO INTEGRATIONS

Warning successes



If the EU and NATO decisions were to go by, Montenegro in 2009 would be a indeed a



by Neđeljko Rudović

European success story.

Not only has Brussels sent the Questionnaire to Podgorica, in order to evaluate Montenegro's readiness to become a candidate for EU membership, but the Government in return succeeded in delivering all answers within the original deadlines. Then on the 30 November the Council of EU abolished the visa requirement for citizens of Montenegro, and soon afterwards the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation accepted Montenegro's request to move one ladder up towards eventual membership in NATO, by admitting it to the Membership Action Plan (MAP). The next step is already full membership in the most powerful military alliance in the world. This is the summary of Euro-Atlantic integrations in Montenegro in 2009, which could hardly be wished for a year ago even by the biggest optimists, and it is no wonder that the Government officials now feel that they have excellent arguments to fight off the criticism of the opposition and civil society activists.

For indeed, why would the EU and NATO pamper Montenegro if it were true that it is a safe shelter for criminals and an oasis of corruption? This argument, which the prime minister Milo Đukanović is particularly fond of, has its weight and at the first glance it seems convincing to those whose only knowledge of European integrations derives from daily news. However, much of what goes on under the surface gives us

a very different image of Montenegro, as country where a powerful ruling party is abusing the state apparatus and trying to eliminate its opponents. It is also a country where privileged companies, individuals and media with close connection to the authorities thrive, while others, who point out the social problems, are either silenced or discriminated, or submitted to a "treatment" by the judiciary which makes sure to remind us regularly that Montenegro is still a country without the rule of law.

This would not be such a problem if it weren't ignored by the authorities who instead try to convince the public that crime and corruption are no worse in Montenegro than in other countries of the region. This forcing on of rosy glasses only makes the atmosphere darker, delaying the moment Montenegro can

We should understand the successes of 2009 as a chance to make serious steps forward and fashion Montenegro in the image of prosperous EU member states, and not as an argument against the critics of the government

step under the stage lights from which nothing can be hidden. Only if we face our shortcomings boldly and move to correct them can we really make a genuine step towards Europe.

If we survey the opinions of Brussels' officials about the situation in Montenegro, it seems that the real battle for the European values is still ahead of us and that once the membership negotiations begin Podgorica will have to engage in some profound changes if it wishes to keep the membership in the "elite club" as its strategic orientation.

For instance, the latest Progress Report expresses "concerns about freedom of expression in Montenegro". The reasons for concern lie in the threatening statements authorities use when they speak about the role of the media and NGOs, which prompted the Commission to recommend to the Government "constructive cooperation with civil society representatives" and insist that it

quickly resolves the question of procedures and competencies for allocation of frequencies, in other words, indirectly warning the authorities to stop obstructing TV "Vijesti"...

The most remarkable, perhaps, is the repeated emphasis of high-level corruption, political influence on the judiciary, weak administrative capacities, money laundering... summed up in a very characteristic assessment: "There is still need for greater political will in fighting corruption, especially high-level corruption".

Reasons for this finding are obvious, especially if we compare Montenegro to other countries in the region. Unlike them, in Montenegro there was not a single corruption case yet that would involve anyone from the ruling establishment – not even a deputy minister, let alone a minister. The corruption verdicts usually befall the policemen who took ten-euro bribes from the drivers.

In addition to this, Montenegro still

lacks human and financial resources in public administration, strong and independent regulatory and monitoring bodies, financial supervision of political parties and conflict of interests, while organised crime "remains a cause for serious concern, undermining the rule of law and business environment".

This is why we should understand the successes in 2009 as a chance to make serious steps forward and fashion Montenegro in the image of prosperous EU member states, and not as an argument against the critics of the government.

This could indeed be the real reason for all the rewards coming from EU and NATO. This, and the real-political concerns of EU and USA, which focus on Serbia, Kosovo and BiH. Let's get this straight: four years ago, they also decided to reward Macedonia, but this country is still waiting to begin membership negotiations with EU.

EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR OF DOCUMENTA – CENTRE FOR DEALING WITH THE PAST FROM ZAGREB VESNA TERŠELIČ

If Croatia had dealt with its past we would have already been in EU

Whether dealing with the past and trials for war crimes which happened on its territory or elsewhere will become an issue in Montenegro in terms of further European integration will depend on other factors that take place in the context of negotiations with European Union, says executive director of the Zagreb based centre for dealing with the past DOCUMENTA Vesna Teršelič in the interview for *European Pulse*.

"In the case of Croatia, cooperation with the International Criminal Tribunal for former Yugoslavia (ICTY) was among the EU conditions for accession. ICTY did its part of the work by raising the charges. The second part now needs to be done by Croatian judiciary, like it will have to be done by the Montenegrin judiciary.

Whether dealing with the past and processing of war crimes will become an issue for Montenegro in terms of further European integration will depend on other factors

When you once open up a war crimes trial it is difficult to tell how many other issues and crimes will resurface. The same can be expected in Montenegro

that will come into play during negotiations between Montenegro and EU. In the Croatian chapter on judiciary reform "cooperation with ICTY" was removed and replaced by "integrity of domestic trials for war crimes", said Teršelič.

- Did the process of dealing



Vesna Teršelič

with the past, i.e. war crime trials, slow down Croatia on its road to EU?

There was some feet dragging around charges against Mirko Norac, as well as the crimes in Ovčar... This had some direct effects on slowing down the integration process, and if it weren't for

these episodes we would probably be in the EU by now.

- What is the current situation in Croatia with regard to dealing with the past?

In Croatia we saw the first big case for war crimes against Norac and others in 2001. At the time

100 000 people gathered at the support protest in Split, but already when the verdict was read out at the County Court in Rijeka, the number of those protesting in front of the court went down to less than 1000. Today we have no protests at the trials.

I believe that for the society, Croatian, Montenegrin, and every other in this region, it is extremely important to have these trials, although we who work in human rights organisations are beginning to realise that not all crimes can be dealt with in trials.

That is why we initiated the RECOM, a regional commission for truth-telling and truth-seeking on war crimes and human rights vio-

lations in former Yugoslavia.

● **Why do you think that not all crimes can be brought to trials?**

What we know for Croatia is that out of 703 reported crimes, 402 are still under investigation. In other words, they are still in the hands of the police and are being held against unknown perpetrators.

On the other hand, once we open up a process for a war crime, it is difficult to tell how many will still appear.

● **Do you think that, once the cases are open up and profoundly investigated, more so-called "sub-cases" of war crimes will still surface in Montenegro?**

I would say it should be expected.

In Croatia we are carefully following the trial for crimes in



Morinj and this is something that the Croatian public recognises as

In Croatia, we are carefully following the trial for crimes committed in Morinj. This is something that is recognised as a positive development by the Croatian public

positive development.

● **What do you expect from**

the European Union on the issue of war crimes?

I believe that for all countries of this region it would be useful to have a condition by EU formulated as "integrity of domestic trials for war crimes", because that is also a good way to insist on speeding up investigation of those cases that have not been investigated and processed. The biggest burden of the consequences of the war is on those who suffered the most. I believe that this burden needs to be responsibly distributed. The EU should also be responsible.

● **What would be the goal of this Regional truth-seeking commission on war crimes and serious violations of human rights in former Yugoslavia?**

Establishment of the regional commission for truth-telling and truth-seeking on war crimes and serious violations of human rights in former Yugoslavia is of great importance for shedding light on the wars and related events in the entire region.

We found that we need to give more space to the voice of the victims, additional space to establish some facts about crimes which the courts cannot or will not process.

The Commission could produce a report containing the names of the victims, circumstances of their suffering, a list of violations... This report could then be used to inform the future court cases, journalists and finally the young people. I believe this is a worthwhile undertaking.

V. ŽUGIĆ

FACTS LIMIT THE SPACE FOR MANIPULATION

● **What is your opinion on the statements of certain European politicians, such as Olli Rehn, that Montenegro should not return to the past, but should rather look to the future? That is more or less what he answered when asked about the role of some of the current Montenegrin leaders in the attack on Dubrovnik and generally in the events surrounding the collapse of Yugoslavia?**

There are many European politicians, especially from Scandinavian countries – such as, for instance, **Karl Bildt**, who often emphasised the need to close the pages on history and turn to future.

But how?

I don't see a more serious test of responsibility of a politician in Croatia or any other former Yugoslav country than his or her attitude to war crimes and violence. I believe this is a crucial question.

We have to learn from the way we dealt with the crimes of the World War II, as well as the crimes in the early post-war years. At the time nobody insisted on the facts, in fact the facts were manipulated, which in the final count paved the way for and sharpened the conflicts on the territory of former Yugoslavia. European Union members have different experiences when it comes to dealing with the past.

Germany went through this process successfully, partly because of their own experiences of the war, partly under the pressure of the Allies.

On the other hand there is Spain which never managed such a process. It is still trying to process what is left from the Civil War. They are the only country which in the XX century said: "Our solution is to keep quiet about it".

I believe it is much healthier to seek out the facts, because that limits the space for manipulations.

WESTERN BALKANS AND NATO

Why do we need NATO?

After the fall of the Berlin Wall the question of the changing relationship of European states with organisations



by Vladimir Pavićević

that survived the Cold War gained in importance. The new security architecture in Europe implied elimination of alliances that linked the former communist countries. The West European countries, as victors of the Cold War conflict in the meantime tried to maintain all organisations created by them. Thus the question of NATO's relevance in post-cold war period came into focus.

In spite of the Warsaw pact being formally dissolved in 1991, its Western counterpart, NATO, remained. Former communist countries expressed their interest in becoming part of this alliance, thus confirming their commitment to joining Euro-Atlantic integrations. The North American Treaty Organisations responded by establishing a special programme, Partnership for Peace, to serve as a preparatory stage for East European countries wishing to join NATO.

The importance of Euro-Atlantic integrations for the final political stabilisation of the West Balkan region is a frequently asked question. After the failure of grand nationalist projects of the 1990s the only alternative turned out to be exactly the one that the authoritarian Balkan leaders rejected after the fall of communism – an entry into the Euro-Atlantic structures which have the potential to provide a framework for all countries of the region to best pursue their own interests. The question is, therefore, whether the political elites of the region

will be able to reach a stable consensus not only on the necessity of membership in the NATO alliance, but also about the commitments to implement the reforms that pave the way for membership in this large alliance of democratic countries.

At the moment, there is a sense of a lack of enthusiasm and political will in certain West Balkan countries to continue the process of Euro-Atlantic integrations. Although it has been a member of the Partnership for Peace since 2006, Serbia has not yet established a representative mission to NATO. In the dominant discourse on Euro-Atlantic integrations in Serbia NATO is still a taboo: Serbia has declared military neutrality, and although this concept is very hard to sustain, it still influences the direction of Belgrade's security policy.

Military neutrality cannot be a satisfactory replacement of NATO member-

ship in Serbia. The declaration of neutrality, which is defined in a single article of a resolution which does not speak directly to foreign policy or security issues testifies to the frivolous approach to the matter and unsustainability of military neutrality in Serbia. Declaration of neutrality is not an expression of a carefully determined security situation of Serbia and carefully formulated foreign and security policy. Neutrality understood as a way to conceal animosity towards one security action in the region (NATO) is not likely to be respected by other actors or gain even the minimum of credibility. This is reflected in the fact that not a single country so far has recognised neutrality of the Republic of Serbia, as is customary in international relations, like it

happened in the case of traditionally neutral countries such as Sweden and Switzerland.

On the other side of Drina, the efforts of Bosnia and Herzegovina to join MAP bore no fruit. What is most worrying about the delay in the BiH progress towards Euro-Atlantic integrations are the reactions coming from Banja Luka. Membership in any club requires that members obey the rules of the club. If an applicant fails to implement all the reforms that would result in greater trust of other members and in gaining the image of a reliable partner, the entry will be postponed. This is why the reactions of Prime Minister **Dodik** on account of rapprochement between Bosnia and Herzegovina and NATO appear exceptionally inappropriate.

The case of Macedonia is interesting in another way. The invitation to join

Let us remember that in the course of the nineties Montenegro was completely isolated from international politics and that it had no chance to demonstrate its democratic capacities. The decision to join a military alliance of developed democratic states would therefore represent an important symbolic gesture in affirming its democratic potentials

NATO has been postponed until the resolution of the name-related conflict between Macedonia and Greece, its southern neighbour and member of European Union and North American Treaty Organisation.

After the most recent meeting of the council of ministers of NATO member states, we also received some good news regarding Montenegro's progress towards Euro-Atlantic integration. Montenegro received the action plan which opens up the way for receiving the status of full NATO member. Albania and Croatia are already members.

Euro-Atlantic perspective of West Balkan countries urges a clearer definition of the reasons behind NATO membership for these states.

By joining NATO, they would secure for themselves greater political stability and a firm foundation to build friendly relations with neighbouring countries and European and world powers. As countries aiming towards Euro-Atlantic integrations, they would thus recognise the fact that NATO is an alliance of Western democracies and that 21 EU member states are already part of it. These two transnational organisations are complementary and closely related according to the provisions of the EU Common Foreign and Security Policy. NATO is in charge of defence on the European territory, of which the West Balkan countries hope to become part. Thus membership in NATO would be a key step for Montenegro leading to return to Europe.

Let us remember that throughout the 1990s Montenegro was entirely excluded from all international politics and that its democratic capacities haven't had a chance to develop sufficiently. A decision to join a military alliance of developed

Small countries such as the Czech Republic have even profited from their membership in NATO: while they contributed some 2% of their GDP for the military purposes, they received 1.5 times that amount back from NATO

democratic countries would thus represent a very significant symbolic step in building up its democratic potential.

All countries of the former Eastern bloc have joined the NATO before joining European Union. If Montenegro has set the EU membership as its foreign policy priority, the road to it leads via membership in the NATO alliance. Although there are no formal requirements or obstacles in this sense, it is essentially in the interest of Montenegro to speed up European integrations, and one way to do that is to send clear messages of its readiness to transform and approach Western political and security structures. Membership in NATO would be a decisive incentive in terms of integration processes, and would add some content to Montenegro's efforts to present itself as a responsible, democratic partner.

By joining NATO Montenegro would also ensure that its security is guaranteed by the most powerful military alliance on Earth. It is common sense that NATO is the best framework for Montenegro to implement its security



goals.

NATO membership also brings greater economic stability and growth of foreign investments. The fact that a country is member of NATO testifies to its full political and economic stability, encouraging investors to bring their businesses to the country. Experiences of East

European countries which went through the transition in the 1990s shows that foreign direct investments soared after they joined NATO: FDI in Romania grew by 141% after its accession to the Alliance in 2004. By joining this collective defence system, the country's military also has a chance to specialise and professionalise and thus relieve the national budget. Staying out of NATO would drastically increase the costs of defence, and it is clear that Montenegro, for instance, couldn't financially bear out the costs of its own security.

Seen this way, membership in the NATO is also financially beneficial. In spite of certain prejudices, military modernisation does not mean greater costs on the budget – the existing examples show that exactly the opposite is the case, and that small states, such as the Czech Republic, even profited from membership. While Czech Republic spent 2% of its GDP on military, it received 1.5 times as much from the common NATO coffers.

With this picture of the region's

progress towards Brussels in mind, the next question is what to do to speed up this process. Just like in the case of EU integrations the pace at which reforms will be implemented depends on the will of political elites to initiate and see through the important reforms. A rhetorical commitment of West Balkan elites to the necessity of reforms is often blocked by the incapacity and reluctance of these same elites to undertake the steps that could cause even the slightest disturbance of political waters. Thus NATO in Serbia is still seen not as a defence alliance of western democracies which links European countries to their big American ally, but as an organisation disaster that struck **Milošević's** regime in 1999.

There is another interesting phenomenon we can observe in Serbia, and it concerns a wide and in many ways contradictory coalition gathered in the anti-NATO bloc. On the one hand, we find here the radical as well as mainstream nationalists, who will never, they say "forgive NATO for the 1999 bombing campaign". However, we also find there a significant group of left wing intellectuals who have nothing in common with the rest of the anti-NATO coalition. However, supporting the premises of anti-globalism they see NATO as an imperialist power propagating market economy. It is an important task to return this group, which fervently opposes nationalism, back into the fold of Euro-Atlantic coalition, in Serbia as well as elsewhere.

Integration into Euro-Atlantic structures should also be seen in a wider context: during a long-term process of definite rejection of the nationalistic heritage it is not enough to offer symbolic gestures and statements, although that too is necessary in order to regain trust among the peoples of the Western Balkans. It is absolutely necessary that all of these countries should again find themselves in the same political, security and economic framework provided by EU and NATO. In that sense, without membership in these two organisations, we cannot even expect to see the full effects of transitional justice.

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

Just not on the head...

by Brano Mandić

They tie you up, they take off your shoes and they beat you soles with clubs. Excuse me? The soles, absolutely, never turn blue. Then they plug in your testicles, sober you up with icy water from Ivanova korita and beat you up until you've pissed vermilion, they cut some sign into your shoulder with soldering iron and suddenly you're **Dustin Hoffman**, you see a dentist in front of you and you already know the end of the story...

Or, when they cut in a five-pointed star into the forehead of a little partisan, or when **Tom** the cat slides down a tree trunk with terrible screeching, cutting it into half like a banana with his concealed genitals while his legs spring up to his ears – all that must hurt a lot. Ear inflammation, gastritis, childbirth, fractures,

It is not the same if on the street somebody beats up a university professor or a football hooligan with a swastika tattoo. Or a professor who's also a hooligan with a swastika tattoo. But if violence happens on Police's premises, we are obliged to cast away these differences and, no cynicism intended, treat the taxpayer as a client of the administration which handcuffed him

breakages, cold wounds, hangnails, migrains, ulcer attacks, sticks and clubs... People are touched by pain, also when somebody gets his melon cracked. Even **Berlusconi's** popularity shot up since that beating. Still, some poundings hit us more than others. It is a democratic decision of the public to feel pity for somebody and seek justice for his pains or to simply wave it away as a story of no importance, a twist from some tasteless reality show.

Why is **Aleksandar Pejanović** a perfect object to be kicked around for 48 hours by the policemen and then let in front of the cameras as if nothing ever happened? Pejanović is a good choice because he's not



exactly a first-class charmer, to put it lightly. He's a chap who slid into some weird religious fanaticism, a former cop and on top of it a boxer, ladies and gentlemen, a kid from the

papers that we don't like to think about. Like we don't like to go out on weekends because it's crowded and we'll stink of smoke and we avoid eating sweets after 6 pm. Who cares about the bold guy from the dangerous quarter Baston, we think and we turn back to sophisticated debates about democracy and other demons.

Everywhere in the world there's a market for victims, paraded by the media according to their editorial policies and genre. It is not the same if on the street somebody beats up a university professor or a football hooligan with a swastika tattoo. Or a

streets with dodgy habits, who stormed the Parliament, Taliban-style, because of Resolution 1244.

Let's say, not an ideal son in law.

If we let pass this thing with Pejanović, we gave them the permission to continue the same way, we gave back the club which they for a second dropped in front of the cameras. Of course, there are pathological bullies hiding under every uniform. I can easily imagine a violent French fire fighter, a Bobby gone wild, and easier of all a Montenegrin cop, issuing from the tradition of the commander L. from Bar, famous for his pronouncement: "I will shoot with a machine gun everybody who's not in favour of Momir and Milo!"

That is precisely why it was hard to expect many democratically oriented individuals to identify with this intriguing persona. Just the opposite, his Golgotha is more an exotic story

professor who's also a hooligan with a swastika tattoo. But if violence happens on Police's premises, we are obliged to cast away these differences and, no cynicism intended, treat the

taxpayer as a client of the administration which handcuffed him.

A man powerless and tied before a uniformed bearer of force ought to be among the key icons of the modern times. A reminder and a road sign on that road to Europe which this medium is grossly concerned with.

When they bring us in, we all have the same rights, lies the law, and because of this deceit the case of Aleksandar Pejanović is a key test, not of humanity but of principles. If we don't care about what happened to him, we have no right to complain when a drunk cop beats us up next on the street in front of our girlfriend or takes us to the station for no reason.

Montenegrin police ought to face the crimes it perpetrated against its citizens for the last twenty years. I remember raids when you can't decide whether you drank too much or the Italians returned, crazier than in the history textbooks. In vain has

A man powerless and tied before a uniformed bearer of force ought to be among the key icons of the modern times. A reminder and a road sign on that road to Europe which this medium is grossly concerned with

the police improved somewhat lately and they don't just hit whoever and randomly invade student pubs in full armoury, for me they are still a loosely watched gang of armed people quick to violence, because they can. If we let pass this thing with Pejanović, we gave them the permission to continue the same way, we gave back the club which they for a second dropped in front of the cameras. Of course, there are pathological bullies hiding under every uniform. I can easily imagine a violent French fire fighter, a Bobby gone wild, and easier of all a Montenegrin cop, issuing from the tradition of the commander L. from Bar, famous for his famous pronouncement: "I will shoot with a machine gun everybody who's not in favour of Momir and Milo!".

You don't have to be too well read to see police torture as one of



the key causes of violence on the streets of Paris, or leaf through newspaper reports on crimes of various "evil colonels". Here, however, we are talking about public, by all media revealed torture, approved directly from the police throne occupied by

one former specialist, who can probably still bench throw respectable weights.

And while this head of police democratically warms up in various parliamentary committees, a miracle happened, an almost unbelievable

The statements by policeman Stanković are all the more valuable. His two statements deserve to be written above the entrance of the Police Academy in Danilovgrad

twist in the plot: there came a hero, named **Goran Stanković** who said publically what we all know: the police is making it up, of course there was no internal control, and at a meeting with "the main boss" they agreed to drag on with Pejanović's trial forever, like it is anyway customary in this country.

It is weird that a witness like Stanković appeared. It is especially weird to those of us who forgot about policeman **Muratbašić**. You remem-

ber, that was the guy who lost his job because he talked about police campaigning for certain parties ahead of the elections. And, nothing happened. This time we should not let the public turn anaemic again when somebody with guts comes up.

Then again, when we check who is the "public" in Montenegro, who speaks in its name and on behalf of common sense, it is no wonder that the victims and the heroes melt away before the bright portraits of bullies. In this environment, the statements by policeman Stanković are all the more valuable. His two statements deserve to be written above the entrance of the Police Academy in Danilovgrad. Let us remember, and let it be written here, that the top of the Montenegrin police underestimated the courage of individuals. Believe it or not.

First statement: "After the public learned about the beating of Pejanović, on the 4 November last year in the Security Centre in Podgorica the superiors of the detention security sector called in eight policemen and told them to fill out the forms. They were all told – write down he came in with these injuries and that nobody went into his cell".

Second statement: "I was called personally by my commander to meet him in a bar somewhere in Podgorica, all in connection with this event. I am an ill man and I told him

that I don't go to any bars, least of all to talk about this... He came to my house and he stayed there for three hours, trying to find out what kind of statement I will give. I respect everybody, but I won't give up my honour...He didn't find out anything. In my opinion, he left disappointed, without accomplishing what he came for".

Amin.

The author is a journalist of the

NEW LAWS ON ARMY AND DEFENCE – MILITARY INTELLIGENCE BY AGENCY FOR NATIONAL SECURITY

Still no law on the control of secret services



In late December, the Parliament of Montenegro adopted two pieces of legislation



by Stevo Muk

regarding defence and security – the Law on Defence and the Law on amendments to the Law on Army.

The laws were adopted after almost a year of delays and heated political debate between the MPs of the government and opposition and after the Government withdrew its proposal from December 2008 and submitted new versions of the law, which were again changed during parliamentary debate under the pressure from the opposition parties and MPs of the smaller partner in the ruling coalition, Social-Democratic Party.

The key dilemmas and differences were linked to definition of intelligence, counter-intelligence and security services, their organisation and mechanisms of monitoring.

From 2007 onwards there has been a Department for Security

In late December, the Parliament of Montenegro adopted two pieces of legislation regarding defence and security – the Law on Defence and the Law on amendments to the Law on Army

Affairs, Communication and Cryptoprotection by the Ministry of Defence, consisting of 19 employees. The functioning of this department, which the president of the Movement for Changes **Nebojša Medojević** claimed was "phantom"

and that it has been collecting data without legal authority to do so, was a cause for an initiative to call a control hearing of the minister of defence **Boro Vučinić**, but the ruling majority in the Committee for Defence and Security rejected the proposal, while the minister of defence rejected all accusations about illegal functioning of this department during his presentation of the Ministry's annual report to the Committee.

The proposal to amend the Law on Defence in December 2008 prescribed that intelligence and counter-intelligence affairs regarding defence should be concerned with collecting,

The key dilemmas and differences were linked to definition of intelligence, counter-intelligence and security services, their organisation and mechanisms of control

sorting and analysing all information relevant for the defence interests of Montenegro, and to register and archive such data, with a special focus on monitoring and assessing military and security situations in other states as well as capacities of these states; collecting and evaluating the data on the situation on the territory where the Montenegrin Army is involved as part of international forces; as well as locating, researching and documenting activities of for-

foreign intelligence services and other foreign organisations and persons directed against the Ministry's or Army's security.

The proposal also defined security related affairs under defence policy as involving collection, documen-

tation and analysis of data on terrorist and other subversive actions of individuals or groups directed against security interests of Montenegro; collection, documentation and analysis of data on crimes against the constitutional order and security of Montenegro, crimes against humanity and other issues protected under international law, as well as on other heavy offences with elements of organised crime, when perpetrators are persons employed by the Ministry, persons serving the Army or if the crimes had been directed against the Ministry or the Army; security checks of persons when entering employment, schooling or

when being assigned to certain jobs or duties within the Ministry and the Army; expert planning of the activities of the Military Police. In conducting these activities, the Ministry was supposed to cooperate with the administrative unit in charge of police affairs and with the Agency for National Security. The same proposal prescribed that persons conducting intelligence, counter-intelligence and security work, appointed by the Minister, should secretly collect data through mechanisms and methods prescribed and regulated by the Agency for National Security. In defining and executing these activities, the Minister would have the authority prescribed for the director of the Agency for National Security.

According to the adopted Law on Defence, intelligence and counter-intelligence affairs related to defence will be in charge of the

Agency for National Security, while security matters will remain a prerogative of the Ministry of Defence.

The Law stipulates that intelligence and counter-intelligence affairs should be organised within Agency for National Security and conducted as prescribed by the Law on Agency for National Security and the related legal acts. Data regarding defence will be processed by the Agency and then submitted by the Director of ANS to the minister in the form of reports and evaluations, and if they contain data on the Army they should also be submitted to the Headquarters of the Montenegrin Army.

However, the law does not contain a precise definition of intelligence and counter-intelligence affairs, but leaves the implementation mechanisms, as well as types of data and the ways they are collected and processed to be defined by a ministerial decree with approval of the Government. The opposition MPs obviously had objections to such general definition of this area.

As for security affairs related to defence, the new law on defence defines these as relating to collection of data on crimes with elements of organised crime directed against the Ministry or the Army, or when the perpetrators are employees of the Ministry or persons serving the Army;

The Government and the parliamentary majority believe that security and defence have been to a large extent reformed and modernised, de-politicised and put under effective control of the Parliament and other institutions. The opposition believes that the defence and security institutions, especially the Agency for National Security, are being used as a tool to fulfil political interests of the ruling coalition, and that the Parliaments' ability to exercise its controlling function has been obstructed by the MPs of the parliamentary majority

protection of the Ministry, Army, Directorate for the protection of secret information, objects and spaces used by the ministry and the army, security protection of the Minister, director of the army head-



quarters and leading personnel in the Ministry, security checks for employment, education and appointment to certain jobs or duties within the Ministry and the Army and expert planning of the activities of military

However, the fact is that Montenegro still does not have a full legal framework governing parliamentary control of the security and defence sectors

police.

During the parliamentary discussion representatives of the Government rejected an amendment by SDP requiring the minister of Defence to submit a report on the security affairs conducted by the Department for Military and Security Affairs, in

addition to his regular annual report on the situation of the Army.

The parliament adopted another amendment by SDP, establishing the right of the Parliament to monitor the Army via special working body. This

resolved an earlier dilemma created by the Government when it suggested that the Parliament of Montenegro should exercise democratic control of the Army through its Committee on Defence and Security, while the Minister should be obliged to submit special reports upon request of the Committee, in addition to the regular annual report on the state of the Army.

Discussion on these two legal acts sparked much debate on various issues regarding democratic and civil control over defence and security bodies.

The Government and the parliamentary majority believe that the sector of security and defence has been to a large extent reformed and modernised, de-politicised and put under effective control of the Parliament and other institutions. The opposition believes that the defence

and security institutions, especially the Agency for National Security, are being used as a tool to fulfil political interests of the ruling coalition, and that the Parliaments' ability to exercise its controlling function has been obstructed by the MPs of the parliamentary majority.

However, the fact is that Montenegro still does not have a full legal framework governing parliamentary control of the security and defence sector. The basic law defining parliamentary control in this area is yet to be adopted, after the Parliament of Montenegro asked for a revised draft in December 2008. An effective legal act in this field should be a priority for the legislator in the upcoming period.

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

Virtual European Reality

I was born in Titograd, the capital of tiny Montenegro in the big SFRY. I started primary school in the early 1990s, and



by Milica Novaković

the city of my birth suddenly changed its name to Podgorica. The country also changed its name, and I became the citizen of FR Yugoslavia.

This period remained in my memory as times when us, the children, played with money, and my grandfather's pension was worth as much as a chewing gum.

At the age of 13 I boldly claimed not to be afraid of the bombs that NATO was "sending", in spite of the terrifying sound of the siren which interrupted our lectures on daily basis. Insufficiently aware of the collapse of my country, I pretended to be brave, and watched from my balcony the airplanes dropping bombs on the airport in Golubovci.

I graduated from the Faculty of Political Science last year as a citizen of the "youngest independent state". I still live and work in this country, and I hope that I will spend the rest of my life in the EU and in a better Montenegro.

Not a single day goes by without the media reporting something on EU and, of course, on our own country which is "making progress and implementing" European standards. The word is always of some progress or other in various areas.

But does anybody in the Government wonder whether the citizens feel that their lives have also changed as a consequence of these, more suggested than executed, transformations? I doubt it... At least I don't feel it.

Violations and neglect of human rights, discrimination in all forms, corruption, crime... are our daily bread. It seems to me that the citizens are tired of empty words, which are anyway redundant...

Dear Gentlemen from the Government, we want results!

I don't want our laws to remain on paper. I don't want to see in a "European Montenegro" 20 policemen beating up 3 minors, or youngsters from someone's bodyguard kicking a Roma woman with a child in her arms... I don't want to go for medical checkups with an envelope and a bottle of whiskey in my hands... I don't want my children to bribe their way to success in life... I don't want party membership to be the only access to a better future.

And so goes Montenegro towards EU, and nothing changes apart from statistics.

Our judiciary is in chaos, same with health and economy... the opposition barely exists, and there is no real pressure on the Government to do its job. We still have a lot of work to do, but there's no

I don't want to go for medical checkups with an envelope and a bottle of whiskey in my hands... I don't want my children to bribe their way to success in life... I don't want party membership to be the only access to a better future...

sign of action. The citizens are another obstacle in the way of fulfilling the standards imposed by Europe... Bah, who will change the (lack of) culture and primitivism of the citizens of Montenegro – that will take decades, another generation and continuous education.

The long-awaited and almost accomplished visa liberalisation "overjoyed" Montenegrins. Media has been buzzing about the advantages of visa-free travel for days, but unlike the euphoric Government, most of the citizens remained indifferent.

Why? Most of the opinion pollers who scouted the streets for citizens happy to travel abroad got answers like "travelling is for those with money", "I barely make enough to feed my family, let alone to travel" etc. Perhaps the leaders expected a different answer?

With a gross average wage of 456 euros (according to the latest data by MONSTAT for November 2009), you can at best make a trip to the neighbouring Bosnia, Serbia, or Croatia, and maybe you will even be lucky enough to make it all the way to Slovenia. Naturally, hours,

sometimes days of waiting in line for "EU approved" IDs and travel documents will only "ease" your travelling plans. And if you want to pay a visit to Rome, Paris, Barcelona, Madrid or Vienna, you will have to be saving money for months and counting every cent you spend

If as much as a single thought crosses your mind of being able to afford a plane trip to one of the more attractive European destinations from your "average wage", abandon the idea immediately. Our only and, of course, monopolistic, airline, offers the citizens of Montenegro the highest fares in Europe, and the offer often includes several days of stay in European airports on which the Montenegrins have to wait for the next trip back to homeland.

EU offers many opportunities, especially to young people, and I really want to

be a citizen of Europe – in a Montenegro which fulfils at least to a certain extent all of the criteria of membership. Just like the others of my generation, I would like to travel, work, learn more and live in a country which respects the freedom of expression and in which we don't have to fear that enjoying this right will get us into trouble.

I also want to be a citizen of EU because of the respect of human rights and basic freedoms which are guaranteed by numerous conventions and declarations, and which, it seems, remain unknown to the citizens of Montenegro.

And then there's democracy, rule of law, tolerance and dialogue, economic security, right to work and social protection, social justice, respect for the laws and standards to be implemented...

In spite of my pessimism in the first part of this article, I vote for Europe – for a better future!

The author is a journalist in daily "Vijesti". She attended IX generation of European Integrations School

Source anonymity is the law

European court of human rights recently recognised the journalists' right to protect their anonymous sources, reports *France presse*.

Four British papers – *Financial Times*, *Independent*, *Guardian* and *Times*, as well as the news agency *Reuters* turned to the court in Strasbourg after the British courts ordered them to submit confidential documents to the Belgian beer producer Interbrew. These documents would enable Interbrew to identify



the source of information which was leaked to the media about the planned takeover of the South African Breweries (SAB).

ECHR judges unanimously ruled that the request to submit these documents is a violation of the right to free expression, under Article 10 of the European Convention of Human Rights.

A journalist of the *Financial Times* published in late 2001 a copy of a document from an anonymous source on Interbrew's plans to take over SAB. The article appeared on the Internet and was reprinted by *Times*, *Guardian*, *Independent* and *Reuters*, causing a sharp increase in the price of SAB's shares, from 2 to 44 million in only two days.

London court had earlier ruled in Interbrew's favour, judging that the protection of the source was less important from the company's claims to justice.

Corrupt politicians

Citizens of European Union believe that their countries' politicians are corrupt, and this opinion has been on the rise, shows a Eurobarometer poll.

More than 80% of EU citizens said that corruption was widespread in institutions on all levels: 83% are certain this is the case with the national institutions, 81% believes the corruption is present in the regional, and 81% in local institutions. This is a significant increase compared to the 2007 Eurobarometer poll, when 70% of the respondents said that their countries' institutions were corrupt. In some countries the corruption has been a reality for

a long time. In Italy 89% of the respondents say it has been undermining their institutions, 2% more than in 2007.

The impression that the phenomenon has been on the rise is the strongest in Finland, where the perception of corruption among the citizens increased by 32% compared to 2007, and on Malta where the increase was 23%.

In the new member states, the citizens are on average even more likely to believe their institutions corrupt: in Slovenia, Lithuania and Czech Republic 96% of the respondents think this way, in Greece as many as 98%.

No thrift with public money

German federal parliament, Bundestag, wants to prevent future MPs from spending the taxpayers' money to buy golden fountain pens and similar luxury objects. According to the Bundestag administration, only in the first ten months of this year 115



MPs bought 396 golden fountain pens of the Montblanc brand for 68 800. On the initiative of the Bundestag president Norbert Lammert, the decision was made to found a special commission for drafting regulations to prevent MPs from buying golden fountain pens, elegant briefcases or expensive vacuum cleaners in the future.

A Bundestag MP has a basic salary of 7 668 euros, as well as additional funds to cover daily expenses of 3 868 euros per month, non-taxable. In addition to this, the MPs have a right to spend 12 000 euros annually for the procurement of office stationery, which includes paper, printers, fountain-pens, briefcases, vacuum cleaners, coffee machines, as well as sweets.

Sweet parents' home

In Europe, Bulgarian, Slovenian and Slovak men are most likely to stay in their parents' home for the longest time (31.5 years), shows a study on the youth life-style published by the European Commission.

The average age for the young people to leave the parental home varies significantly between the member states, although the men are everywhere more likely to stay at home than women.

According to the 2007 data, men are the quickest to leave their parents' home in Finland (age 23.1), followed by France and Netherlands.



Chinese to build a road in EU

Chinese companies will have a chance to build on the territory of European Union for the first time, after the Polish government gave the construction contract for two sections of the highway A2 connecting Warsaw and Berlin to China Overseas Engineering Group Company (COVEC).

The company should complete 49 kilometres of the road worth 27.5 million euros by 2012, when Poland together with Ukraine will be hosting the European football championship. About a third of the costs will be financed from EU funds.

No love for asylum seekers

EU member states have rejected a majority of asylum applications, announced the European statistical bureau.

Out of 280 000 only 76 000 was approved. France, which is a more generous host country than Germany, UK or Italy, responded positively to 11 470 out of 56 000 applications.

The four countries that have sent the highest number of asylum seekers to EU are Iraq (16.640), Somalia (9.520), Russia (7 740) and Afghanistan (5 000).

ADVANTAGES AND DISADVANTAGES OF EU MEMBERSHIP: MALTA, FIVE YEARS AFTER ACCESSION

Small states are economically safer inside EU

by Prof Dr Roderick Pace

Barely five years have passed since the 2004 EU enlargement, which is hardly enough time to allow for a thorough assessment of all the effects of membership. For this reason, I will limit myself to what is reasonably verifiable and point to issues that need to be watched or analysed further in the future.

Let us first remember the discussions that were aired in the run up to Malta's EU membership. The public opinion was generally divided between the two opposing sides advocating "positive" and "negative" effects of the membership – the negative side it was stressed that membership would lead to the erosion of sovereignty, to a loss of identity and would create problems because EU law made no exceptions for small states, since it was based on the notion of "one size fits all", regardless of individual members needs and capacities. On the economic front, it was stressed that consumer prices would increase, EU surplus labour would displace Maltese workers in the domestic market and house prices would increase. The removal of protectionist tariffs would wipe out the indigenous manufacturing base and lead to unemployment, while the removal of state subsidies would lead to the closure of the shipyards.

Those campaigning in favour of membership depicted the EU as a set of opportunities which could be exploited to Malta's advantage, provided that the right set of national policies were put in place. The suc-

In the years before membership, Malta's rate of economic growth began to slow down, but rebounded soon after accession, reaching an average of 3.5% per annum, despite the massive increase in energy prices. This is of great importance for Malta, which imports 100% of its energy

cess of membership would increase the welfare of the Maltese citizens. They stressed that membership would enhance Malta's security and moor Malta to the West. They argued that the removal of protectionism would lead to increased economic efficiency and attract foreign direct investment; that access to the cohesion funds would allow Malta the opportunity to close the economic development gap between it and the more advanced EU countries over a shorter time span; there would be more opportunities for students to study overseas etc.

What of all these predictions came true?

Economic Performance

It can be stated that on the whole, the Maltese economy has performed well since membership. However, it is difficult to say to what extent this is an effect of membership – first of all because economic restructuring process and the adoption of the "acquis communautaire" started well before membership, as a result of the process of rapprochement dating since 1970, when Malta had first signed the EU Association Agreement. According to a report published by the World Bank in 2008, Malta is among 13 countries of the world which have shown a remarkable sustained economic growth in the post World War II period. Some could say that after accession to EU Malta simply continued on the long beaten track.

In the years before membership, Malta's rate of economic growth began to slow down, but rebounded soon after accession, reaching an average of 3.5% per annum, despite the massive increase in the world price of petroleum products. This is of great importance for Malta, which imports 100% of its energy. In addition, about 57% of Malta's water needs are also produced by desalination which is powered by imported fossil fuels.

Part of the explanation for the 2003–2004 economic slowdown, lies in the economic reforms, which were being implemented to ensure that Malta adopted the *acquis communautaire*, such as the removal of protectionist tariffs, liberalisation and privatisation

in certain sectors. However, after to three years of adjustment, Malta experienced significant expansion underpinned by foreign direct investment (FDI) and export diversification. This reflected new export-oriented activities such as pharmaceuticals, on-line gaming, and financial and business services.

An important illustration are changes in the air transport sector: the arrival of low-cost airlines was one of the first tangible results of EU membership. Years before, it was precipitated by public pressure to ease the air travel monopoly enjoyed by the national airline



AirMalta and facilitate travel. The government finally gave in, partly under the pressure from EU, partly in order to revive tourism which at the time was experiencing difficulties. Although this meant severe losses for the national company, the citizens of Malta drew significant benefits from these developments: not only were they now able to travel more cheaply and easily, but the economy experienced a higher influx of tourists, with the result that unemployment now stands at less than 4%.

In an economically integrated world, small states can hardly survive and develop in closed, protected economic enclaves. To an extent, this is a great opportunity for them: although tiny and without political influence, some small states were able to build up significant reputation and influence in economic term. Luxembourg, Singapore and Malta, for instance, have built up their prosperity by expanding their exports of goods and services to the rest of the world. However, as the case of the impact of the current financial crisis on Iceland shows, this openness also has its dangers, as small states cannot protect themselves from the impact of external economic factors.

Although they can never avoid these dangers of openness, such countries can strengthen their resilience against its negative effects. The Maltese economy is very open, and its vulnerability to external shocks is only augmented by its energy dependency. However, as an EU member state Malta enjoys the benefit of being part of a powerful world trading bloc, which can negotiate better terms of trade and protect itself against unfair trading practices. As a member of the

euro-zone it benefits enormously from a stable exchange rate regime since the bulk of Malta's trade takes place with the other EU partners. Euro is a guarantee that Malta's currency can never come under severe pressure as was the case with the Icelandic kroner in the recent crisis. Hence the loss of monetary independence entailed by joining European Monetary Union (EMU) is compensated by the longer-term guarantee of some level of protection against the worse turbulence emanating from the world economy.

In sum, in spite of the fact that Malta has always been doing relatively well, we can safely say that this country has benefited from becoming a part of EU also in economic terms.

Political developments

EU membership has led to a general improvement in public governance and policies, particularly where the strengthening of the regulatory framework is concerned (health and safety, environmental rules, consumer rights, fair competition, gender rights, subsidies etc.). It has also led to modernisation of laws in various sectors, to improvements in the collection and collation of statistics and to other improvements in the administration of the country. Some of these changes have given rise to public disgruntlement but after the initial murmuring, people seem to accept them. There is still some criticism of the reforms, but it mostly comes from fringes of the political spectrum.

Some social sectors were better prepared for changes. Organizations of civil society and NGOs are more aware of their new-found rights under EU law and are becoming increasingly bolder in their actions often linking their activities with those of their European counterparts or Europe-wide organizations. Under such conditions the political environment is bound to change: politicians are aware that they are no more the only politi-

Since EU accession Malta has seen an increase in the number of independent authorities and monitoring bodies (competition, telecommunications, health etc), some of which are still trying to find their way. The importance of parliamentary oversight of their work has never been greater but the working structures of the House of Representatives have been slow to adjust to the new circumstances

cal agents, but they have to share their space with a number of new actors. NGOs with very sharp and focused objectives, such as those in the environmental field, lobby the EU institutions such as the European Parliament and the Commission when they see that their own Government is not implementing properly some directive which is essential to the well-functioning of their sector. Thus, gradually, the level of implementation of EU norms is

improving – though the fundamental changes which such improvements bring to the quality of life of the citizens are not always immediately apparent. In the midst of all this the national debate remains stunted in the sense that the EU is rarely debated except where matters of public concern are involved such as in the case of immigration (for instance, the Constitutional Treaty and the Lisbon Treaty were both ratified unanimously by the Maltese House of Representatives without much controversy).

A certain challenge in the sense of effective organisation of public governance is the sudden increase in the number of independent authorities and monitoring bodies (competition, telecoms, health and safety

The arrival of cheap airlines was one of the first tangible results of EU membership. Maltese citizens have benefited from this in several ways: they are able to travel more cheaply and easily, and the number of tourists also increased

etc.), most of which are still trying to find their way. Some are undermanned and this negatively impinges on their effectiveness; others like the Malta Environmental Protection Agency (MEPA), are too big and constitute a 'state within a state'. The importance of parliamentary oversight of their work has never been greater but the working structures of the House of Representatives canter along slowly, and their reforms will be necessary in order to maintain democratic control of the various authorities and bodies which wield some kind of power.

Public Opinion

Before membership, Malta was the most Eurosceptical amongst the applicant countries but public opinion has turned more and more in favour of EU membership, and is now well above European average. It helped that following the 2003 referendum and

election, the Malta Labour Party switched its policy on membership, thus producing a situation in which both main political parties (the only ones represented in the House of Representatives) support EU membership.

When we come to public perceptions of the most important issues facing the country, inflation tops the league as the main preoccupation, together with immigration and environmental protection. Unlike the rest of

the EU, Maltese citizens are not particularly concerned about foreign policy and security, and they have less reason to worry about unemployment and economic situation in general. EU institutions enjoy a lot of confidence from Maltese citizens, and they often trust them more than their own government.

Challenges Ahead

The goals which Malta needs to attain over the next decade and more are all in one way or another intertwined with the EU, either because they arise out of the membership obligations or because they can only be realised with the help of the EU, or both. Given Malta's external dependence on external energy the foremost challenge at the

moment is how to manage the switch to alternative energy resources and increase energy efficiency. The success of this policy will also enhance the islands' resilience to external shock and help them meet their carbon dioxide emission targets.

For Malta, being a small and densely populated island, achieving the environmental challenges also requires maintaining the momentum of urban waste recycling, which has come a long way as a result of membership and with EU funding. Finally, the latest report on the Lisbon strategy puts Malta on the bottom of the league in the EU-27 with regard to competitiveness based on education, and flexibility of the workforce, implementation of newer and more efficient "green" technologies and in general development and innovation of new technologies and innovation society. In 2008 report, Malta ranked 18 on a cumulative index of all these criteria, ahead of Greece, Italy and most East European countries but far behind the developed countries of Western Europe.

No country, big or small, cannot be sure that it will stay on track of stable economic development and prosperity, but for all reasons listed above small states are more vulnerable and exposed to external pressures. For a small country like Malta the membership in the EU is a way to build up on its strengths and become more resilient to external economic shocks. After five years of membership in EU, we can say that Malta came a long way in introducing important changes in this field, but is still far from fulfilling all the goals and expectations it had before accession.

The author is director of the Research Centre of the University of Malta

RESULTS OF THE CENTRE FOR MONITORING (CEMI) STUDY ON CORRUPTION IN MONTENEGRO

The electorate knows that corruption is widespread

Optimism and belief that Montenegro is "going the right way" is shared by six in ten citizens of Montenegro, which is very high compared to other countries in the region, shows the study conducted by Centre for Monitoring (CEMI). The authors added that the positive attitude was most pronounced among the supporters of the government, but is much less prevalent among the supporters of opposition parties and citizens who declare themselves to be of Serbian nationality.

The poll was conducted between 27 November and 2 December 2009 on 1 090 respondents, with support of Open Society Institute – Think Tank Trust from Budapest.

The results show that citizens of Montenegro, as those of other countries in the region, are concerned about the same five key problems in their society: living standards (23%), corruption and bribe (15%), unemployment (14%), economic crisis (11%) and crime (9%).

CEMI, whose main purpose in this poll was to test citizens' attitudes



towards corruption, believes that such high ranking of corruption-related concerns demonstrates that the citizens have formed a strong perception of corruption as widespread and deeply rooted.

According to the poll, a small majority of citizens (40%:29%) believes that corruption has been declining in the last three years.

However, a much bigger share

Seven in ten respondents believe that corruption "pays off", i.e. that relying on bribe, private connections and exchange of favours leads to the desired goal

(59%) of the respondents believe that corruption is widespread, against 16% who think it is a minor phenomenon, indicating divisions over the question of corruption even among the supporters of the overnment.

The study showed that citizens usually ascribe the spread of corruption to four categories of causes. The first, most often mentioned, is the widespread poverty and low wages of public servants. The second category of answers seeks the reasons in the general moral crisis and corruptible human nature, while the third blames the government and the political system, badly designed legislation or even the lack of the rule of law. Finally, some respondents find the reasons for corruption in inefficient courts and in the lack of clear administrative control.

According to CEMI, citizens of Montenegro are perfectly aware of the scope and depth of corruption and recognise corruption practices not only in the giving and taking of bribes, but

also in the use of privileged positions and personal connections, exchange of favours, abuse of office and setting up of advantageous deals for themselves or their friends and family.

The only dilemma in this respect relates to taking smaller gifts as awards for services.

The best illustration of the current situation, however, is the finding that seven in ten respondents believe that corruption "pays off", i.e. that giving bribe, using connections and exchanging favours leads to the desired goal.

Around half of the citizens would give bribe or pull their connections or offer exchange of favours in order to have better medical service or to get a job.

Between 1/3 and 1/5 of the respondents would be ready to rely on corruption in order to solve a housing problem, avoid paying a traffic fine, sway the judge in a court case or to avoid paying customs.

At the same time, for every respondent who would do one of these things, there is 10 to 15% more of those who know of somebody else who has done so. The biggest difference arises with regard to getting better grades for their children or helping them to pass exams: 38% of the respondents know of somebody else who has done it, but only 15% of them would be ready to do so themselves.

"Consequently, the assessment of institutions' ability to fight corruption is way below the general confidence in these institutions, and less than half the general belief that Montenegro in principle is doing well", concludes CEMI.

V.Ž.

COURTS AND CUSTOMS THE MOST CORRUPT

Montenegrin citizens, much like their counterparts in other countries of the region, see the level of corruption among public institutions in the following ranking: customs, judiciary, health, police, tax administration, parties, private businesses, local governments, real estate bureau, Government and Parliament.

In the same way, the most corrupt public servants are the customs officers, followed by doctors, mayors, policemen, directors of public agencies, certain ministers and their deputies and finally the MPs.

Opinions are divided on university professors and deans, while soldiers are believed to be the least corrupt.

EUROPEAN SOLUTIONS FOR LIVESTOCK BREEDING MOSTLY INCLUDED IN THE NEW MONTENEGRIN LAW

Livestock breeders ought to be trained

EVROPSKI REPORTER

Montenegrin livestock breeders will have to go through a special programme in order to be able to breed animals, keep track of every



by Marija Mirjačić

step they take in this work, keep animals in stables which must be technically fully equipped. Besides, they will not be allowed to feed animals hormone-enriched food to accelerate their growth and the production of meat, milk and eggs, they will have to dispose of waste in special areas properly equipped for this purpose...

These are the most important European rules introduced by the new law on livestock breeding, which is currently being discussed in the parliament. European

legislation has been transposed into this law in several segments: modes and conditions of livestock breeding, adoption and implementation of breeding and selection programme, preservation of the genetic resources in livestock breeding, exchange of breeding animals and genetic material...

The draft law stipulates that all breeders must have the minimum knowledge of breeding and handling animals, protection of their health, feeding and quality of animal-based products and processing of manure. The trainings of livestock breeders will be organised according to the programme designed by the Ministry of agriculture.

Dr Milan Marković, member of the working group in charge of drafting the law said in the interview for European Reporter that many things have changed since the last Law on measures for improvement of livestock breeding was adopted 17 years ago, and that new measures have become necessary in this branch of agriculture.

"The share of the public sector in livestock breeding has almost disappeared, and consequently the role of organisations and



institutions dealing with this sector has been changed. The system of subsidies to this sector from the public funds has also changed, and new measures have been introduced – payments per head in the stock of cattle, sheep and goats, with the goal of improving the usage of the available resources of natural meadows and pastures and contributing to development of rural areas. While in the past only a few public farms were entitled to support, today the subsidies are targeted at several thousand users across Montenegro", Marković said. He adds that in drafting the new law the working group relied on the experiences of Slovenia, Croatia and Macedonia.

Marković explains that in the upcoming period Montenegro ought to concentrate on strengthening the sustainable food-processing capacities in meat and dairy industries, which are the engine of development of primary agricultural production. "It is a good thing that major retailers are also relying more on domestic production, since experiences from EU suggest that they play a crucial role in the development of local production. I believe that the consumers' awareness is also improving in the positive direction, with their preferences shifting towards domestically produced items. In the future we must focus on raising competitiveness of the sector, primarily through modernisation of production. It is absolutely necessary to continue and step up the investments in livestock breeding infrastructure, equipment, breeding stock, production of animal feed and correct usage of pastures, distribution networks and market infrastructure", Marković said.

LEARN FROM AUSTRIA AND SLOVENIA

Marković explains that in certain aspects of breeding small ruminants (sheep and goats) Montenegro is similar to Mediterranean countries (or parts of these countries), such as Italy, Spain and France.

"They also focus on exploiting the available pastures by breeding flocks of several dozen to several hundreds of sheep and goats, with an emphasis on local breeds. In cattle breeding, however, we should probably try to learn from Austria and Slovenia, both in terms of the composition of certain breeds in the overall stock and in terms of the size of farms. The main three breeds in these countries are Simmental, Holstein and brown cattle, just like in Montenegro, but their shares in the total population are very different. The average size of the farm, in terms of the number of cattle is around 15 in Austria and 10 in Slovenia", Marković explained.

He said that in terms of average number of cattle per farm these countries are well behind the Netherlands (more than 70 animals per farm), Denmark, which is now close to 100 animals per farm or UK, which has 100 animals on average.

"The situation is very different and heterogeneity is much smaller in pork and poultry production, as these are mainly industrial branches of livestock breeding", Marković explained.

Regional approach for the future



From consultations in Podgorica

On 17 December 2009 in Podgorica Centre for Civic Education (CCE), as a member of CORECOM, organised National Consultations with intellectuals on the Initiative for establishment of a Regional Commission for truth-seeking and truth-telling about war crimes and other human rights violations on the territory of former SFRY (RECOM). Consultations were opened by **Daliborka Uljarević**, executive director of CCE who said that the establishment of RECOM is a way to take the region from its past into the future. She added that in Montenegro there was for a long time systematic avoidance of the need to face the past, but that some progress was made, although a lot remains to be done. She explained that the existing mechanisms in the countries of the region and on the international level were extremely valuable, but obviously insufficient to see this process through to the very end. Uljarević emphasised that there is much manipulation with the number of victims and missing persons, through ethnic and other interpretations, which helps neither to alleviate the suffering of the victims nor to establish democracy in countries of the region.

Vesna Teršelič, director of NGO Documenta from Zagreb, said that in the process of reconciliation with the past regional approach is the "absolute principle", because the decisive steps need to be taken together. She emphasised the importance of approaching the situation in which many of the citizens of our countries have found themselves, by revealing the facts in an objective manner. She added that the victims have been marginalised in all countries of the region regardless of ethnic belonging, pointing out that 120 000 people have been killed in the wars, and 16 000 are still missing. Teršelič

outlined the results of previous consultations, presenting the opinions and proposals offered to date about the elements and activities of RECOM.

Dragan M. Popović, regional coordinator of the Initiative for RECOM from the Humanitarian Law Centre presented the positive experiences of others in finding out facts about the past and in that context outlined the goals of the truth-seeking commissions, their mandates, structures and approach to the perpetrators of crimes, and spoke about the concept of reconciliation. Going back to the region, he reminded that according to the estimate of the State Prosecutor of Bosnia and Herzegovina, there are between 7 000 and 10 000 perpetrators of war crimes, while the ICTY only raised 161 charges against war criminals since its establishment in 1993.

Consultations were attended by a large number of Montenegrin intellectuals who, in the course of long, fruitful discussion, agreed that RECOM is necessary as an extra-judicial, investigative body, and is a very important complement to the trials, since it is impossible for the courts to process all war crimes thoroughly and within a reasonable timeframe, nor can they be expected to establish all facts on about war suffering in an unambiguous, meaningful manner.

Opinions differed on the mandate and composition of RECOM, but most participants agreed that the Commission should also deal with those who planned the war operations, and that it should also broaden the notion of the victim. It was particularly emphasised that the educational system and the media can and must serve as important channels of communication and support for the idea of RECOM.

NON-GOVERNMENTAL
ORGANISATIONS IN
EUROPEAN UNION



EUROPE
EDUCATIONAL
EXCHANGE /
YOUTH FOR
UNDERSTANDING

EEE YFU was founded as an umbrella organization gathering youth organization active across the EU.

Youth for understanding is a non-profit organization which organises exchange programs for students aged from 15 to 18 in more than 50 countries all around Europe. Today, YFU is strong in all aspects of the organization and ready to provide knowledge and experience to all NGO's that want to create long lasting exchange programs.

The organisation focuses on:

- Promotion of the significance of intercultural exchange programs;
- Promotion of the work and visibility of member organizations;
- Facilitating cooperation and networking among its members;
- Providing different types of trainings aimed at upgrading the skills and capacities of the employed and volunteers;
- Providing different services to member organizations;
- Organisation of different activities such as seminars, workshops and projects which cover a wide spectrum of topics ranging from islamophobia to intercultural learning;

YFU believes that the experience of exchange and education gained during the stay in exchange programs is a very good opportunity for young people to understand cultural differences which enrich European societies.

During their exchange period abroad every participant can count on support and counseling service.

After the end of the program former participant can stay within the organization and continue to contribute to the work of YFU on the voluntary basis.

Everyone interested in the activities of YFU can get additional information on current job opportunities and internships at www.eee-yfu.org.

Prepared by: **Petar ĐUKANOVIĆ**

Education for democracy

A graduation ceremony on 15 December 2009 in Podgorica, marked the end of the XIV generation of Democracy School. The School is organised by CCE, with support of Friedrich Ebert Stiftung (FES).

The participants received their diplomas from Dr **Radovan Radonjić**, the leader of the School, and **Daliborka Uljarević**, executive director of CCE. During the ceremony the organisers emphasised that democracy is continuously learned and that education on democracy and ways of achieving it is a great contribution to overcoming the challenges which are undermining our society.

The programme of Democracy School offers socially active citizens who want to make a personal contribution to development of democracy in Montenegro an opportunity to expand, complement and

further their knowledge in communication with renown professors and experts from various academic and other institutions and organisations from country and abroad.

Out of 90 applications the organisers selected 26 participants who successfully completed Democracy School: **Blagota Tatar, Jelisaveta Blagojević, Ivana Vulić, Dražen Petrić, Anita Brajović, Božidar Vlačić, Ognjen Gvozdenović, Ratko Jovanović, Tamara Čurović, Ana Kostić, Bojana Živković, Branko Đurović, Milica Milonjić, Jelena Stojanović, Ahmet Zajmović, Bojan Lalović, Duško Šušlavčević, Emir Kalač, Marija Bošković, Jelena Petrović, Miloš Žižić, Nikolina Jakšić, Radovan Perović, Tijana Čorosić, Valentino Ljulđuraj and Milena Bubanja.**

The next generation of the School is planned for March 2010.

Civil society in the process of European integrations

European Economic and Social Committee (ECOSOC), with support of the European Commission, started the first generation of a winter school whose goal is to strengthen cooperation between civil society organisations in the Western Balkans. The first school took place in Brussels between 14 and 18 December 2009.

As part of this project, 20 participants from all countries of the region had a chance to attend lectures, debates and open discussions and exchange opinions and proposals on the mechanisms to improve cooperation between civil sector organisations on the national, as well as on the regional level, and learn about the functioning of EU institutions.

During the five-day programme the participants touched upon a number of

problems and issues facing the representatives of the civil sector in the process of harmonisation with European standards, and offered some solutions to the existing problems. As the countries of the region find themselves on various stages of European integrations, this was also a chance to exchange information and experiences between colleagues from different countries.

The participants also visited the European Parliament during the plenary session of the Economic and Social Committee.

In the end of the programme, the organisers collected proposals for better cooperation in the region from all participants. Montenegrin non-governmental sector was represented by **Mirela Rebronja**, CCE's programme associate.

European integrations and transitional justice

On 1 December 2009 Centre for the Study of Global Governance (London School of Economics) and Centre for Humanitarian Law, with support of the European Commission, organised a conference titled: "European Integrations and Transitional Justice: Perspective and Strategies for Establishment of Restorative Justice in the Western Balkans".

The goal of the conference was to raise awareness among the representatives of EU institutions about extra-judicial mechanisms of transitional justice and to offer a platform for civil society organisa-

tions in the Western Balkans to influence EU policy making in the matters of transitional justice, and especially in providing support to the regional approach to establishing facts on the recent past.

The conference was opened by **Nataša Kandić**, director of CHL, and **Pierre Mirel**, direct of the Western Balkans department in DG Enlargement. From Montenegro, **Daliborka Uljarević**, executive director of CCE and **Tea Gorjanc Prelević**, programme editor in Human Rights Action participated at the conference.

Cooperation among regional young leaders

Belgrade Summit 2009, organised between 4 and 6 December 2009 by the Youth Initiative for Human Rights Serbia brought together 300 participants from all over the world – young political leaders and civil society activists from Western Balkans, Eurasia and EU, representatives of institutions, member states, US officials as well as human rights activists from all over the world.

The goal of the summit was to create a platform for continuous dialogue and cooperation among young, socially active peoples in the matters of current politics in the Balkan region, but also between them and EU decision makers. The summit was opened by high officials of EU, member states, Serbia as well as representatives of donor organisations.

The Summit resulted in a "Belgrade Declaration", which asks the governments in the region to apply all mechanisms of transitional justice, to fight against all forms of discrimination, to actively promote the culture of diversity, to implement the laws they adopted and allow more active participation of young people in the public life, and especially to support the establishment of the Regional commission for truth-seeking and truth-telling about war crimes on the territory of former Yugoslavia (RECOM).

Ana Vujošević, CCE's programme associated, participated in this event on behalf of CCE.

Code of Good Practice

On 12 November 2009 in Ljubljana Slovenian Centre for Development of NGOs organised international conference of non-governmental organisations "Civic Participation in Europe", with support of the Council of Europe (CoE) and Ministry of Public Administration of Slovenia.

The main goal of the conference was to promote the Code of Good Practice, which supports greater participation of civil society representatives in the decision-making process on all levels. The Code was previously adopted by a conference of international NGOs of CoE on 1.10.2009, and approved on 21.10.2009 by the Committee of Ministers as a reference document for CoE.

No to violence against women

On 4 and 5 December, in the framework of their Campaign 16 days of action against violence towards women, NGOs Anima from Kotor and NVO NOVA – Centre for feminist culture from Podgorica organised a round table "Women's movement: against poverty, for the politics of peace" and a performance "Women's Montenegro ragtime for a step forward". The events focused on the peace politics, women's movement and its future work on eliminating violence against women. **Dragana Otašević**, CCE's project associate, participated on behalf of CCE.

FOR THIS ISSUE WE RECOMMEND:

COMPETITION: A NEW SYMBOL FOR EUROPE

Deadline: 28 February 2010

Field: Graphic and Design

Language: English

The current European flag with its twelve identical yellow stars placed in a circle on a blue field, was designed in 1955. Since then Europe has changed. About 30 million people from Middle Eastern, African and Asian origins are living and working in Europe. Besides these new cultures, the inter European immigration creates a new mix of cultures as well. In the last 50 years Europe has become a very fine maze of identities.

What is the identity of this cultural, economical and dynamic Europe with its diversity in cultures, languages, traditions and beliefs? And what is the perception on Europe, from within and from the outside? How would a new symbol for Europe look like? Should it be one symbol? Or more?

Designers are invited to send in their design for a new symbol for Europe. 12 submissions will be selected by an international jury and will be printed on flags. These flags will be shown during the first edition of Design and Government in 2010 in Den Haag and Berlin. All designers, young and old, professional and students, can enter as individuals or as groups. The number of submissions is unlimited.

For more information please visit <http://www.designdenhaag.eu/en/node/128>

DOCTORAL STUDENT IN ECONOMICS AND SOCIAL SCIENCES

Deadline: 1 April 2010

The Graduate Center of Economic and Social Research at the German Institute for Economic Research (DIW Berlin) welcomes applications from highly qualified post-graduated students from all over the world to attend its structured doctoral training program in economics and social sciences.

Applicants must hold a MA degree or a diploma in economics, business and administration or social sciences in order to apply. Degrees from other related fields (such as civil engineering or statistics) also fulfil the admission requirements of the program. Students with a degree in economics follow the economic

track that leads to a PhD in economics; students with a degree in sociology follow a social science track which leads to a PhD in sociology. There is a number of core courses that both groups of students will attend.

The German Institute of Economic Research DIW Berlin is one of the leading economic research institutes in Germany. We are an independent, non-profit institute involved in economic research, service and policy advice. We co-operate closely with universities in Berlin and Brandenburg and in international academic networks.

The goal of Graduate Center's activities is to provide outstanding doctoral students with a research environment and a training structure that will develop their talents in an accordingly exemplary manner. It leads them to a deep understanding of economic and social processes and offers them the opportunity to apply their knowledge within the professional research environment of one of the leading economic think tanks in Germany. The 3-year program follows a dual training approach. It offers:

- * high-level core and field courses in the first year
- * one research internship in Berlin
- * a 3 month stay in Washington DC including advanced courses by US-based scholars and research activities at international renowned think tanks
- * on-the-job training within research projects of the DIW Berlin in the 2. and 3. year.

After successfully finishing the programme students have submitted a number of papers to refereed scientific journals. They will receive a certificate confirming participation together with a doctoral degree.

The Graduate Center offers a scholarship of €1000 per month in the first year to each doctoral student admitted. After successful completion of the first year the doctoral students are assigned to the research departments of the Institute. Research positions are offered depending on the volume of research projects under work.

More information on <http://www.diw.de/gc>

EUROPEAN CHARLEMAGNE YOUTH PRIZE

The annual European Charlemagne Youth Prize was launched. The prize, now in its third year, targets young people who have been



involved with projects helping to promote understanding between peoples from different European countries. The deadline for submitting projects is 22 January 2010.

The European Charlemagne Youth Prize, which is jointly organised by the European Parliament and the Foundation of the International Charlemagne Prize of Aachen, is granted to projects undertaken by people between 16 and 30 years old. The winning projects should serve as role models for young people living in Europe and offer practical examples of Europeans living together as one community. Youth exchange programmes, artistic and Internet projects with a European dimension are amongst the projects selected. Total prize money of 10,000 Euros. The three winning projects will be awarded funding of €5,000, €3,000, and €2,000 respectively. They will also be invited to visit the European Parliament. The best three projects will then be selected in two steps.

First phase: national juries consisting of at least two MEPs and one representative of a youth organisation will select a national winner from each of the 27 EU Member States by 5 March 2010.

Second phase: A European jury, consisting of three MEPs, the President of the European Parliament and four representatives of the Foundation of the International Charlemagne Prize of Aachen, will select the winner from the 27 projects submitted by national juries by 8 April 2010.

For more detail information please visit http://youth-partnership.coe.int/youth-partnership/news/news_115.html.

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