



FOCUS OF THIS ISSUE

Can government separate
the property of the party
from that of state

INTERVIEW
Director of the
Belgrade Academy
of Diplomacy
and Security
Dr Andreja Savić

ANALYSES
Consequences of
the growing
suspicion that
underground is
influencing
Montenegrin
authorities

EU CHALLENGES
Slovenia – five
years after EU
accession



CAPACITIES

The case of Šarić revealed at least two things that will slow down Montenegro's European integrations, at any moment that Brussels or an EU member state finds it necessary. They are the lack of political will to fight organised crime and the lack of administrative capacities.

It seems that the lack of administrative capacities, in spite of having become a buzzword, needs some explanation.

Agency for National Security (ANS) gave a positive opinion certifying that **Darko Šarić**, accused for international crime of cocaine smuggling, is no security threat to Montenegro, which was one of the conditions for the Ministry of Interior Affairs and Public Administration (MIAPA) to issue him a guarantee for getting a Montenegrin passport, under condition that he gives up Serbian citizenship.

It seems that MIAPA didn't need any guarantees from Šarić that he doesn't have citizenship of another country, although the Law on Montenegrin citizenship makes no difference between Serbian and any other citizenship, including Slovak.

In the meantime, the Police Directorate, which has Šarić under a special regime of monitoring since 1993, had the information about his Slovak passport and knew what ANS didn't know, that is, that Šarić is a highly dangerous individual because of his links with criminal organisations from the neighbouring countries.

Further, MIAPA's intelligence shows that Šarić is resident in Pljevlja, whereas the Police Directorate claims that he is in Belgrade.

Finally, the police announced that some ten days before the international wanted circular was published Šarić had already illegally crossed the border, with the explanation that this part of the border is very "porous" and difficult to monitor.

This, just to clarify things, is the same border police whose capacities, among other things, earned Montenegro access to the EU's White Schengen list. **V.Ž.**

Montenegro the first after Croatia (10 February) – Montenegro will be the first country after Croatia to become a full member of EU, said deputy Prime Minister and Foreign Affairs Minister of Luxembourg **Jean Aselborn**, who was in Podgorica at a meeting with his Montenegrin counterpart **Milan Roćen**.

200 000 EUR to translate the Questionnaire (11 February) – On request of Centre for Civic Education (CCE), Ministry of European Integrations announced that it hired 117 people to translate the Questionnaire, and paid 137.840,20 EUR for their services. "In addition to this, there were 68 proof-readers, to whom we paid 68.895,85 EUR. The total budget for translations was thus 206.736,05 EUR. We received a donation from the Norwegian government for this project, which was 200.000 EUR, which means that almost the entire cost of translation was covered by the donation, and only 6.736,05 EUR came from the Montenegrin Budget", said MEI.

EU to support the civil sector (11 February) – EU started a project of technical support for civil society organisations (TACSO), which offers technical assistance to non-governmental organisations. Head of EU Delegation in Montenegro **Leopold Maurer** said that the goal of TACSO was to help NGOs to overcome technical problems in the course of project implementation. Minister of European Integration **Gordana Đurović** said that civil society will be informed about all opportunities for applying to European funds. TACSO, which is to begin in August and last two years, targets the countries of the Western Balkans and Turkey, and has a total budget of 6.7 million euro.

The first control (16 February) – The first EC expert mission for human rights began its five-day visit to Montenegro, in the framework of a consultation process which is the next step after the submission of answer to the Questionnaire. This is the first of several missions that were announced by EC as part of the preparation of the opinion on Montenegro's application for membership in EU.

Balkan tops the list (17 February) – High EU representative for foreign and security policy **Catherine Ashton** said in anticipation of her visit to Sarajevo, Belgrade and Priština, that the West Balkan region was among the top EU priorities when it comes to foreign policy.

Reduce grey economy (17 February) – Montenegro needs to step up its efforts to reduce informal economy and increase the capacities of tax administration, focusing on tax collection, control and risk analysis, said the head of EC Delegation in Podgorica, Leopold Maurer, at the presentation of the project "Improves capacities for more efficiency and functionality in the work of Tax Administration".



Catherine Ashton

Montenegro to work on freedom of the media (21 February) – Director of the European Commission DG Enlargement **Michael Leigh** told Montenegro that it needs to work on establishing efficient and independent judiciary, fight corruption and organised crime, and protect human rights and freedom of the media if it wishes to get a positive Opinion and begin negotiations for membership in the EU. "These are the questions that will be discussed in the Opinion, and it is important for Montenegro to meet European standards in these areas", Leigh said after the meeting on "Political dialogue EU–Montenegro", where Montenegrin side was represented by the Foreign Affairs Minister Milan Roćen.

Possible sanctions? (27 February) – Illegal migration from Montenegro is a cause of concern in the EU, and MP of the European Parliament **Hannes Swoboda** proposed suspension of visa-free travel in case of continued abuse, announced Montenegrin daily "Dan", citing Austrian "Der Kurier". According to the paper, specialised agencies of EU member states found that thousands of citizens of Montenegro, Serbia and Macedonia used the possibility of visa-free travel to countries members of the Schengen zone and are now illegally living and working in EU. Swoboda, an MEP of the socialist coalition, called for sanctions in case abuses continue.

A VIEW FROM EU

Rocky roads to Brussels



The late **Karl W. Deutsch**, a renowned political scientist, is probably best remembered for having introduced, some decades ago, the concept of the "secu-



by **Gerasimos Tsourapas** and
Theodore Couloumbis

community". Given his careful study of the Allies' failed 1919 attempts at achieving peace through the weakening and isolation of Germany, Prague-born Mr Deutsch proposed that it is only through successful regional integration or, more ambitiously, through independent states' unification that "men some day might abolish war."

While the application of the security community framework to the European Union has not ceased to fascinate scholars, there can be little doubt that, as far as the Western Balkans is concerned, the progress of regional integration leaves a lot to be desired. This is particularly true in the neglected transport sector, which could potentially serve as the area's most potent catalyst towards growth and stability.

Accustomed to enjoying an extensive transport network, West Europeans tend to forget that efficient transport routes are not simply a prerequisite to growth – they have historically been linked to genuine social and economic development.

European seaports, the foundations of the Age of Discovery, generated the building of canal systems and, later on, the construction of railways which underpinned the Industrial Revolution and paved the way for the invention of the combustion engine. Through time a vast road and rail network has been put in place in the developed regions of the world since the early days of the 20th century. Indeed, today's globalised world would have been less 'flat' without labyrinthine transport networks.

Europeans frequently overlook that not everyone in their continent enjoys a high level of transport services. In fact, in the only remaining region that is undoubtedly

"European" and yet a few years away from joining the EU, transport integration does not appear high on the Western Balkans' agenda.

Government budgets are unable to fund the planning, construction and maintenance of regional road networks, resulting in congested or dangerous routes, and leading some to doubt the completion of even highly publicised projects, such as the Albania-Kosovo Highway.

National airlines are competing with one another when they should be entering into strategic partnerships, taking advantage of the region's small size and potential for co-operation. High ticket prices and heavy government subsidies result in limited air traffic which, annually, for a region of 26 million inhabitants, is one fifth that of Vienna's airport alone.

There is no commercial rail track link-

Intraregional transport integration in the Western Balkans is necessary to pave the way for these countries for future membership in EU

ing Albania to neighboring countries. Montenegro is only connected to Serbia, while Skopje remains unconnected to Sofia. This means that to move cargo from Tirana to Sofia, through Skopje, by rail (a distance of fewer than 350km), one would have to use a 3-hour train to Shkodra, switch for Podgorica, take the 8-hour train to Belgrade, switch to the 9-hour train ride to Skopje, take the 5-hour train to Thessaloniki, change to the 6-hour train to Sofia, and hope nothing unplanned happens along the way.

Why aren't we doing more to address regional transport deficiencies?

Lack of adequate funding, for one, prevents the simultaneous construction of rail, road, air and maritime facilities in the entire region. From a Brussels perspective, the development of a comprehensive transport policy for the area has been an onerous task. This is mainly due to the fact that some Balkan countries are already EU members, a few others have been granted official candidate status and access to meaningful funding, while others still have only recently declared independence. On the local level, inefficient prioritisation procedures have not allowed for the early completion of the area's most vital projects.

Ethnic rivalries, corruption and pure inefficiency have also undermined efforts towards regional transport integration.

There is growing concern about the need of increased transport integration in the Western Balkans. The benefits of transport efficiency have already been recognized in Brussels, which points out that transport accounts for "about 7 percent of GDP and more than 5 percent of total employment in the EU." In the Western Balkans, improved transport routes would mean that the high trade balance deficits that torment the region would be reduced, given that efficient transport infrastructure would result in increased factor mobility, higher levels of output, and better market accessibility. As a result, lower commodity prices, new employment opportunities, and faster GDP growth would follow, not to mention better conditions for the develop-

ment of tourism.

This doesn't mean that transport integration constitutes a panacea for all the area's troubles. Nor are there quick fixes towards this goal. The fact, however, remains that question of transport infrastructure development should be higher up on the agenda of both Brussels and the Western Balkans' political leaderships. Of course, other initiatives are also important, such as the visa-liberalisation process or the establishment of free-trade areas, but efficient cross-country transport is a sine qua non for the region's progress and for European integration. In other words, what good is it cheering for Montenegro's achievement of visa-free travel to the EU, when a Montenegrin cannot even get to Belgrade without much money or much hassle?

In sum, intraregional transport integration in the Western Balkans is necessary to pave the way for these countries for future membership in EU.

Gerasimos Tsourapas is Researcher at the Hellenic Centre for European Studies (EKEM). Theodore Couloumbis is Professor Emeritus at the University of Athens (SOURCE: EUobserver)

THE GOVERNMENT BEGINS TO SEPARATE THE PROPERTY OF THE PARTY FROM THE PROPERTY OF THE STATE

Started with the "two coffins"

From mid-February the ruling Democratic Party of Socialists (DPS) will be shorter



by Mirela Rebronja

for a hefty 800 million euros per year which it used to get on account of renting its property to the Government of Montenegro.

The seat of the Montenegrin Government was recently moved to a new building which, in a certain way, begins the process of separating party and state property, which has been the constant reproach by the European Commission and OSCE.

Their demands are important for, if this process is ever completed, that will dispel a lot of shadows surrounding the Montenegrin electoral process – for years now the opposition has been complaining that it is financially disadvantaged, as DPS can use public property (which it acquired the right to manage when the courts declared DPS the heir to the former Social-Political Organisations – SPO) to its party purposes.

The first legal separation of the property of the party from that of state began in June 2009 when the Parliament adopted the Law on state property.

In its latest Progress Report on Montenegro, European Commission said that the law provides adequate framework for separating state from party property, but emphasised that

the real test will be implementation.

According to the Law on state property, the property of former SPO should not be treated in the same way as the property of the former League of Communists of Montenegro, Socialist Council of the Working People of Montenegro and the Council of Montenegrin Socialist Youth.

Article 73 of the Law envisages a comprehensive inventory and evaluation of the property, followed by balanced distribution of this property through further regulations to the parties which have representatives in the state or local parliaments, for the

duration of their mandate.

Property Administration, which is responsible for most of this work, has completed the inventory of the property of former SPO in most municipalities.

The next thing is to compare their inventory with the register of the Real Estate Directorate, in order to arrive at a complete list of owners, as not all property belonged to the League of Communists. Once the evaluation and registration of the property is completed, the Government will issue a directive regulating the use of such real estate as state property.

The demands of EC and OSCE are important from the standpoint of free and fair elections. Opposition and the civil sector have warned for many years now that the opponents of the government are in an unequal position, as DPS, which got the right to manage state property as a legal successor of the former Social-Political Organisations (SPO), used this property for the narrow party purposes



Neven Cošović

Vice-president of the Socialist People's Party **Neven Gošović** said in the interview with the European Pulse that the problem is not with the law, which is clearly formulated and does not allow for ambiguous interpretations.

Dissatisfaction in the opposition stems from the disregard for the Law by those in power.

"The Government was supposed to appoint an Ombudsman for the legal and property interests of Montenegro within 3 months since the coming into force of this law, i.e. by August 2009, and this only happened in December", said Gošović, adding that this is just one of the examples of the governments' disregard for the law.

Another example, according to him, is the fact that the 2010 budget allocated 10 000 euros to the office of the Ombudsman, which is supposed to cover the yearly wages of the employees as well as the costs of all activities.

"The Government was also supposed to adopt a directive on the inventory procedures for the state-owned property by September 2009, but nothing happened yet", he said.



Vlado Dedović

Gošović reminds that OSCE recommendations insisted on a division between acting on behalf of the

Vice-president of SNP Neven Gošović says that the problem is not the law, which is clearly formulated and does not allow for ambiguous interpretations, but with the Government which does not respect obligations set by the Law on state property

Government and on behalf of a political party, which includes a separate law that would forbid the par-

ties to use state property and resources more generally for their campaigns.

In implementing the decisions prescribed by this law, the most difficult task will go to the Property Administration which is in charge of inventory and evaluation.

Director of this Administration and member of the DPS presidency **Mevludin Nuhodžić** recently said that it will not be easy to fulfil all obligations stipulated by the Law on State Property of Montenegro, pointing out the examples of other countries of the region in which this process took several years.

Gošović welcomes the first step of the Government to implement the Law on state property. "Bearing in mind that the Government of Montenegro recently moved to a new building, we can expect them to finally fulfil their legal obligations", he said.

Coordinator of the legal pro-

DPS LOSES PSYCHOLOGICAL ADVANTAGE

In addition to having a stable source of financing, DPS had other benefits from being a "landlord" to the Government, to which it rented the building popularly known as "the two coffins", says the coordinator of the legal programme in Centre for Monitoring (CEMI) Vlado Dedović. He believes that this relationship only contributed to identification of party with the state in Montenegro.

"The symbolism of the coexistence of the Government and the ruling party "under the same roof" is one of the reasons which makes it difficult for ordinary citizens to distinguish between the state and the party – in terms of both property and function", Dedović emphasised.

Adding to this, according to him, is the fact that important campaign meetings, as well as post-election gatherings, i.e. the celebrations of the ruling party, used to be held in this building.

"The last such example was the campaign for the presidential elections in April 2008. The candidate of the ruling party and the current president of Montenegro **Filip Vujanović** held the last campaign convention in the very building of the Government of Montenegro, which drew protests from other presidential candidates", he said.

gramme in Centre for Monitoring (CEMI) **Vlado Dedović** believes that one of the key problems facing Montenegrin society for almost twenty years is "illegal appropriation, use and management of property of the former social-political organisations and institutions by some political structures in Montenegro".

"In this way they acquired significant funds and other benefits, as well as an easy access to a party infrastructure reaching into all parts of the country. At the same time, other political parties were forced to limit their expansion within the boundaries set by the funding they received according to the Law on the financing of political parties. We can therefore say that to a large extent that most elections to date in Montenegro – both parliamentary and presidential – were a contest between very unequal opponents", Dedović emphasised.

The use of state property was an issue that regularly came up during election campaigns, and non-governmental organisations kept warning about the possible abuse of public resources by the ruling parties, which gave them an unfair advantage over other participants in the elections.

Post-electoral reports of many



photo VIJESTI

Former Government building

NGOs found violations of the laws and abuse of state property, especially with regard to the use of government vehicles and buildings where the campaign meetings were held.

Director of the Property Administration and member of the DPS Presidency Mevludin Nuhodžić said it will not be easy to fulfil all requirements of the Law on state property of Montenegro, pointing out the experiences of other countries in the region, which took years to complete this process

Dedović said that it is a general conclusion that there was abuse of public administrative capacities in the

electoral processes in Montenegro.

He adds that "this is something that became an integral part of every election campaign, and which has casted a long shadow on other ele-

ments of the electoral process, which have been conducted in line with the basic principles of democracy".

Dedović announced that in the future CEMI will dedicate special attention to improving and advancing legislation that would regulate all aspects of the possible abuse of state property. He added that in the upcoming local elections, to be held in 2010, CEMI will focus on monitoring abuse of administrative resources.

Implementation of the Law on state property has not been developing according to the legally prescribed timetable, which makes many opposition parties and civil society organisations suspect that DPS, i.e. the Government, is not genuinely committed to giving up on state property.

WHO SHOULD BE IN CHARGE OF PROPERTY

Croatia has a long record of looking for the right model for managing the state property inherited from the times of socialism.

The property is currently managed by the Central state agency for the management of public property, Croatian privatisation fund and Agency for trade and ownership of real estate.

However, in January 2010 there was the initiative to establish a separate agency to manage state property, which would be dedicated to economic principles and would bring all the state property under one authority.

This, according to the Croatian media, is an attempt to establish a unified, effective model of management which would enable also enable new investments. The model to be used in Montenegro will be announced once all the property has been registered and the process further defined through additional regulation.

AFTER GROWING SUSPICION THAT THE UNDERGROUND IS GUIDING THE HAND OF THE STATE

We need new energy

Early 2010 saw Montenegro again in the focus of attention, this time not beca-



by Neđeljko Rudović

use of the Questionnaire, the answers, or the news from Brussels regarding our candidacy for the membership in EU, but because of suspicions that it's sheltering the criminals who are being sought even by the United States of America.

Although the existence of a powerful narco-clan with headquarters in Kotor whose task was to launder illegally earned money was a public secret for some years, and in spite of the fact that certain **Darko Šarić**, by know a world famous figure, has been on the files of the Montenegrin police since 1993, Šarić himself felt safe in Montenegro.

This is evident from the fact that the Agency for National Security sent a guarantee to the Ministry of Interior Affairs and Public Administration in December 2009, clearing his request to acquire Montenegrin citizenship – which is a blatant violation of the laws and regulations on citizenship, which stipulate that no member of a criminal organization, or a person suspected of connections with criminal groups, can become citizen of Montenegro. His closest collaborators, who are being sought by Serbia, were briefly imprisoned in Spuž, but were let out in no time, on grounds of insufficient evidence. Serbia didn't want to send them to Podgorica, and

Montenegrin judiciary explained that there were no legal grounds for keeping them in detention. Montenegro also couldn't possibly hand them over to Serbia, as its Constitution forbids it to deliver its citizens to other states.

The question is – how can both Serbia and USA have evidence that Montenegro was the seat of a narco-clan which traded in cocaine from South America to Europe and US, while Montenegro has no clue about it? Is it possible that nobody from the Montenegrin police and secret service got a whiff of it? Or was it rather that they tolerated the "business" because some people in the government, and especially in the secret service, were profiting from this same "business"? And if we know that the clan was also doing business with a certain Montenegrin bank which is partly owned by the prime minister, it is easily imaginable that someone, aware of the dismal state of Montenegrin economy, thought that cocaine money could be used to help the population get along, like it was the case in the 1990s, when pensions

In order to erase this awful impression that the state is run by somebody who is more concerned about building a private empire than the rule of law, something big needs to happen. The police must rise up to the task, and the prosecution mustn't wait for the approval of their political bosses to get down to work. If none of that happens, it will be clear that Montenegro needs new energy and people without mortgages

and salaries were paid out of tobacco-smuggling revenues.

And if this is the case, than we can better understand all these horrible accusations launched by the opposition about Montenegro being a "safe criminal haven" and a "captured state", in which the underground is really in power and democratic insti-



tutions only serve as decoration.

If this is not the case, than the state must demonstrate as quickly as possible that it is not being held hostage by the criminals.

In order to erase this awful impression that the state is run by somebody who is more concerned about building a private empire than about building a state in which everybody who wishes to play by the rules can earn him or herself happiness, wealth and prosperity, something big needs to happen. The police must rise up to the task, and the prosecution cannot just stand aside waiting for the approval of their political bosses to get down to work. If none of that hap-

pens, it will be clear that Montenegro needs new energy and people without mortgages. That, or ending up in a deep hole as a voluntary victim of the monsters of the underground. Stories about European integration will become ridiculous, and Montenegro will be just a marionette of the Boss and the cartel around him.

DIRECTOR OF THE BELGRADE ACADEMY FOR DIPLOMACY AND SECURITY AND FORMER DIRECTOR OF SIA, PROFESSOR DR ANDREJA SAVIĆ

For EU the "Šarić case" is a matter of regional cooperation

Director of the Belgrade Academy for Diplomacy and Security, professor Dr **Andreja Savić** says that European Union will assess the behaviour of Montenegro and Serbia in the "Šarić case" through the lens of regional cooperation, which, he explained, is the absolute priority for EU.

"I believe that this case will certainly be processed by EU through adequate working bodies. The standards are very rigorous, the need for regional and continent-wide cooperation is an absolute priority. This is a problem whose resolution is in the common interest of the state of Serbia and Montenegro", says Savić, who was the last chief of the Department of National Security between 2001 and 2003 and the first director of the Security and Information Agency (SIA) in Serbia.

He didn't want to talk about the case of Šarić because, as he said, we should wait for the results of the police and prosecution before we draw conclusions.

"In any case, I believe this is something that is currently undermining the image of Montenegro as a

I believe that the "Šarić case" will certainly be processed by EU through adequate working bodies. The standards are very rigorous, the need for regional and continent-wide cooperation is an absolute priority

democratic, independent states, but I don't think this is just Montenegro's problem – it is a case with many transnational elements, and a global problem for the entire international community", said Savić in the interview for *European Pulse*.

He adds that he is not happy that



Andreja Savić

this affair, in some way, added more strain to the political tensions between Serbia and Montenegro.

"This is a problem, because only good political and, most of all, professional cooperation can be expected to tackle global security problems", Savić said.

● **Is it right to say that the EU currently emphasises the concept of civil security?**

Indeed, civil security is a priority in the last few years and in the era of globalisation. What does this mean? The traditional approach to military doctrines, like in the times of **von Clausewitz** has become obsolete.

You will notice that all strategies and doctrines of national security and

defence rely on a single universal paradigm – challenges, risks and threats to security. Now the most acute threats are terrorism and organised crime.

In this context, the civil sector can wield a lot of pressure on the political authorities in EU member states. This has to be accepted to a large extent, as the civil society acts as a corrective to political processes.

● **What are the elements of the concept of contemporary civil security?**

In my opinion, it is a two-level concept.

On the one hand, it means decentralisation, i.e. transfer of certain security issues from public to the private sector. Here we are not only talking about agencies for physical and technical security. This is an entire industrial cluster of private security which serves to relieve the public budgets of the financial burden of

security which is outsourced to multinational corporations. There are many examples of it: security in airports, harbours etc.

The other level is the rise of civil control in EU member states, which have been developed and promoted through the parliamentary structures.

● **In its reports on Montenegro European Commission keeps repeating that parliamentary control must be developed and strengthened. What is the key to successful civil control and monitoring of security forces?**

Here the main factor is the role and influence of political authorities in a certain moment in a given country.

The control will be effective and developed only to the extent that the government wants to render this sector transparent and more accessible.

I believe that in all countries of this region, although to a different degree, the question of parliamentary control is still suffering the first measles.

● **What do you think about the assessment of some experts who say that the key to successful civil control is in the implementation of a special**

EU institutions in charge of security, and here we should also include the judiciary, are still in the making. They develop quite slowly, but it is happening. For instance, Europol is doing quite well, which can be seen in the patterns of financing – last year Europol had a bigger budget than Interpol

law on the budget of security forces, which helps monitoring how much money they get and how it is spent?

This is a sensitive issue.

On the one hand, you must protect the main values of a state and a society, on the other hand, you need to make things more transparent.

There should be a measure of balance between these two requirements.

● **Does the Lisbon treaty bring some novelties in the domain of security?**

Security issues have somehow remained on the level of the common foreign and security policy since

Maastricht.

This is a very important pillar of EU and it must be said that the institutions which are relevant for security (and here I also mean the judiciary) are still in the process of being

Parliamentary control of security forces will only be developed and effective to the extent that the government wants to render this sector transparent and more accessible

formed. They develop quite slowly, but it is happening.

● **For example?**

For instance, there is Europol, which is a counterpart to Interpol, and which is doing quite well. This is evident from the patterns of financing – last year Europol had a bigger budget than Interpol.

This means that the states of Western Europe, primarily the members of the Schengen zone, have realised that they must rise up to the new challenges, risks and threats to security. Certainly one of the priorities in this regard is illegal immigration of people with all the accompanying phenomena such as trafficking in human being and drugs, trade in

human organs, organised crime. There are also other issues such as high-tech crime, which relies on the latest technologies in criminal activities. These are some of the priorities and Europol is in the position to develop into a highly respectable institution.

I would add that the EU member states which finance and use Europol are all at the same time members of Interpol.

There is also the system of judiciary which works within the framework of the community law. I believe that both Eurojust and the European Court of Justice are becoming stronger.

My impression is that this securi-

ty system is developing in the right direction, gradually strengthening its institutions and broadening the scope of regulation within the community law to all relevant procedures.

There are some reservations,

however, regarding the attitude of USA to the growing security sector in EU.

● **What does that mean?**

I mean the relationship between NATO on the one hand and EU institutions, combat forces, peace missions etc on the other. This is certainly something to think about, as the NATO is now entering an identity crisis.

They established an advisory working group, led by Madeleine Albright, which was supposed to offer a new formula for NATO. Since it was established in 1949, NATO underwent the first radical transformation in 1999 during attack on the former Yugoslavia. Eleven years have passed since then, and NATO is again searching for a new formula to justify its survival as a military alliance.

It has several options.

At a recent conference in Munich there were some proposals to make NATO an instrument of the Organisation of United Nations. This was also supported by the Secretary General of UN, but was immediately rejected by the German defence minister.

This shows that the relations between EU and NATO are far from clear. Besides, we should remember that there is quite some political pressure in Western Europe to remove some 220 nuclear missiles that were stationed in NATO bases in Germany, Belgium, Italy, and even in Turkey. This tells us about the attitude of the majority public opinion in these countries towards some political options.

V. ŽUGIĆ

WHO PRESERVED AND TRANSMITTED THE CIVILISATIONAL ACHIEVEMENTS OF GREECE AND ROME TO THE NEW EUROPE

Byzantium - the bridge between old and new Europe

It is a widespread myth in today's popular culture that the period from the fall of the Western Roman



by Miloš Vukanović

Empire in 476 until the beginning of the renaissance in the 14th century represents the darkest period of European history. Known among historians as the middle ages, these times were marked by a lack of order, wars and pressures from the Catholic Church, which limited cultural development of these times. However, if we turn to the far East of the European continent, we will find a very different picture.

Eastern Roman Empire, better known as Byzantium, was for the most part spared the destruction by barbarian tribes, and succeeded in preserving most of its territories.

Similarly, almost all big cities of the Roman empire (apart from Rome itself) were situated on its territory – Thessalonica, Nikkej, Iconium, Antioch, Edessa, Jerusalem, Alexandria and many others will become vibrant metropolises which will preserve and build on the knowledge of the ancient East, Greece and Rome.

At the time when London, Paris and Berlin were but military outposts, Constantinople was a metropolis with more than a hundred thousand inhabitants, the grandiose church of Aga Sophia, Aqueduct, Hippodrome and dozens of palaces. This empire, until its capital was captured by the Ottoman forces in 1453, will be the guardian of knowledge which in the West was all but lost.

After the fall of Rome the Eastern Roman Empire comprised of the territories

of the Balkans, Near East, Levant, Egypt, northern Libya, as well as all the islands on the Mediterranean Sea. The inhabitants of these parts called themselves Romeis, and their empire Roman. Western contemporaries called them Greeks, and the term "Byzantium" was only introduced by modern historiography, after the Greek colony Byzantium which laid foundations for Constantinople.

In the beginning the official language in Byzantium was Latin, but it was soon replaced by Greek, which was the language of majority of the population. The ethnic structure of the empire was extremely varied, but centuries of Hellenisation, first under Alexander the Great and later by the Romans, resulted in a fairly homogenous culture. Finally,

At the time when darkness reigned across all countries of today's European West, the Eastern Roman Empire preserved the cultural heritage and knowledge of the ancient Greece and Rome to be rediscovered by Europeans

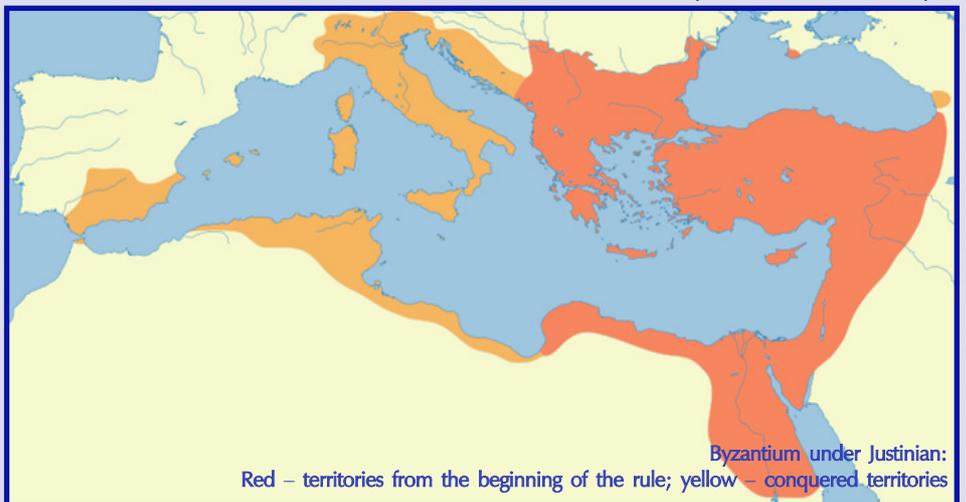
there was the unifying factor of Christianity which was faster to spread and take root in the East Mediterranean than in the West.

The ancient Greek and Roman culture was preserved in these parts. With time, under the eastern, mostly Persian influence, and after the great schism of 1054, a new Byzantine – orthodox civilisation emerged. As a bridge between the East and the West for almost a thousand

years it merged together philosophical, artistic as well as moral principles of the two worlds. The Byzantine Emperor was a typical despot of the Eastern world, but the culture of his empire was an enchanting offspring of Hellenism incorporated into Eastern Christianity. The knowledge of the ancient Europe, as well as that of the ancient East, was kept in the libraries of the Byzantine cities, waiting for the Franks, Venetians, the Papal seat and the Arabs to discover it.

From its origins Byzantium was forced to constantly fight on two fronts: Eastern and western. Perhaps the Empire would have lived longer and be more prosperous, if it wasn't for several historical coincidences. For centuries, as soon as the empire managed to defend itself

from one enemy, another would appear. In the west the Germanic tribes were succeeded by the Slavs, Avars, Bulgarians, Cumans, Normans, while the eastern front brought in waves of Persians, Arabs, and various Turkic tribes until the Ottomans. To make things worse, even those who came to help in the fight against the "infidels" turned against Byzantium, intoxicated by its immense wealth. The conquest of Constantinople





in 1024 by the Crusaders will be the biggest blow ever dealt to the Empire. From then until its final downfall Byzantium will remain a pale shadow of itself and will continue to survive only because of the political intrigues and thick walls of its capital.

Bearing in mind all the wars and the constant loss of territories, it is hard to imagine that this state managed to survive for so long, and on occasion even to rise and prosper.

Byzantium experienced its biggest expansion under **Justinian** (527–565) who, in an attempt to restore the Roman

first is its cultural and technological development which gave a huge advantage to the successor of the Roman Empire ahead of the neighbouring barbarian peoples. The second is its position between Asia and Europe, which meant that Byzantium was in control of the trade routes between the two continents, with its capital being the biggest market of the world. The third factor was its developed military and administrative system. In contrast to the feudal regime in the west, Byzantium developed a special system of themes. Themes were military administrative units lead by an imperial deputy.

Even in its last days before the fall of Constantinople, when the Ottoman armies prepared to bring down the walls that for almost a thousand years have resisted invaders, missionaries and diplomats of the Holy See were taking books from the Byzantine libraries to the west, using Byzantium for the one last time as a bridge between the ancient and new Europe which was just about to be born

Empire went as far as to conquer northern Africa, Italy, and parts of Spain, and to defend its eastern borders from the Persians. The church of St. Sophia was also created under his rule, as well as the famous legal codices (*Corpus iuris civilis*). However, repeated wars and internal uprisings (such as the rebellion of Nikkei) weakened the empire, which also facilitated the breakthrough and the settlement of Slavs in the Balkans. After a series of wars, and internal unrests in both the East and the West, the second expansion of the Empire came with the Emperor **Basil II** (976–1025). He will succeed in restoring many territories in the Balkans and in the Middle East. However, after his death, the conflict between his heirs and the attacks of Normans and Turks ushered in a phase of decline that was to last for almost half a millennium.

In order to understand the ability of Byzantium to survive for so long, we should bear in mind several factors. The

However, the military commander of the theme did not answer to the deputy of his theme, but directly to the emperor.

However, the most important specificity of this system was the fact that the local population, was free, although it had to serve the army and pay taxes in return for being allowed to work the land. It is believed that this system contributed to Byzantium's longevity. In addition to this, after the conquests local population was often transferred to other parts of the empire, which facilitated cultural assimilation and incorporation into the imperial army.

Except for the external attacks, Byzantium also had to deal with many internal problems. Frequent wars inevitably led to higher taxes. It is well known that the territories of Levant and Egypt (Jerusalem and Alexandria) literally welcomed Arabs as their liberators from the torture of Byzantine tax collectors. Financial crashes and widespread embez-

zlement shook the empire on several occasions, and social unrests became frequent throughout the centuries.

During 6th, 7th and partly the 8th century Byzantium was in the throgs of a civil war caused by iconoclasm. Iconoclasts were a religious movement which fought to remove icons, frescoes, sculptures, relics and other religious representations from the religious rituals. Although iconoclasm was eventually eradicated, the conflict was at times so heated that the empire nearly split into two.

In addition to all this, we should also not forget numerous dynastic and clerical conflicts. Finally, in the last few centuries of its existence, Byzantium was reduced to Constantinople, and an ever smaller number of territories in the Balkans and the Middle East, and where the people and the economy will be barely surviving while the construction of monasteries grew well out of proportion.

The cultural impact of Byzantium on contemporary Europe is immeasurable. In addition to providing civilisational foundation to almost all countries of the Balkans and Eastern Europe, progress made by the Western Europe in the late middle ages and during Renaissance will be based to a large extent on the knowledge brought from Byzantium by the Crusades, missionaries and traders. Balkan states have grown out of the roots of Sclavinias, the earliest Slavic states which appeared under the influence of the Byzantine administrative system, and they owe their literacy and first cultural achievements to the missionaries from the Empire on the Bosphorus. Similar influences can be traced to the beginnings of the states of Russians and Ukrainians.

At the time when darkness reigned across all countries of today's European West, the Eastern Roman Empire preserved the cultural heritage and knowledge of the ancient Greece and Rome to be rediscovered by Europeans. Even in its last days before the fall of Constantinople, when the Ottoman armies prepared to bring down the walls that for almost a thousand years have resisted invaders, missionaries and diplomats of the Holy See were taking books from the Byzantine libraries to the west, using Byzantium for the one last time as a bridge between the ancient and new Europe which was just about to be born.

The author is a programme associate in Centre for Civic Education

Family war

by Brano Mandić

1.

It makes you nauseated, or at least gives you hiccups to hear these banner bearers, and if tomorrow they are to carry my wedding colours through the village, I would still ask them, half-jokingly, as it becomes the best man: "Gentlemen, drop it!".

One speaker said he lost, that is, sacrificed his youth for Montenegro.

It's pretty sad to lose a youth. What should be done for the people who admit that they have lost this, certainly overestimated age, but necessary for the formation of a healthy, responsible individual. You know, there are people who start taking heroin or get addicted to hotline at the age of 40, just because they lost their youth. Even if it were for the country – their environment still suffers.

For the time being we can only say one thing: somebody needs this second stage of state-building. Now we must defend the country, again against Serbia, and we should all bravely croak at the ancient oppressor who is only waiting for the guard at East River to fall asleep to clamber up and remove our boastful beloved

So those who lost their youth for Montenegro are now gathering in protests like they just came out of a time machine or one of Baletić's movies. Complete with the priest in the first row to bless the flock and the sulk.

It bodes for a major turn of events, this rise of patriots, for their noise is always a cover-up for some monumental implosion which must not be heard, this time possibly the final split within DPS itself, something I will never quite believe in.

For the time being we can only say one thing: somebody needs this second stage of state-building. Now we must defend the country, again against Serbia, and we should all bravely croak at the ancient oppressor who is only waiting for the guard at East River to fall asleep to clamber up

and remove our boastful beloved.

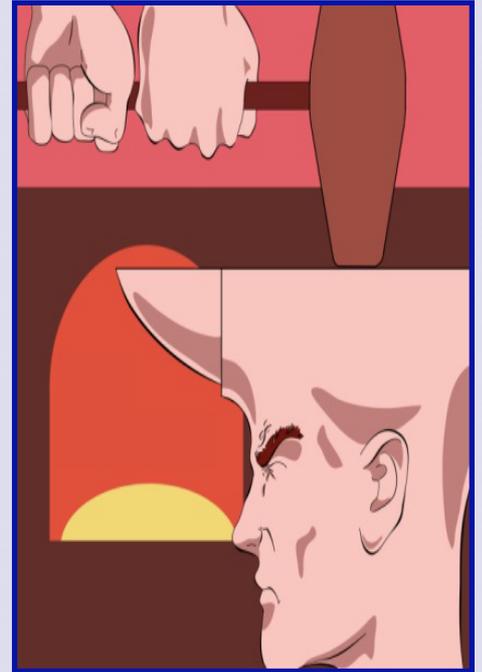
Woe to us who still have the guts to feel young, for we know what awaits us! Partisans and meddlers crying over their youth which they laid down at the altar of the fatherland is possibly the vilest thing I heard in the last few years of my existence. And, may I add, I have not given a single day of my life to Montenegro, nor do I intend something so ridiculous. If I had, I would be keeping quiet and writing memoirs. Or I would have killed myself to end such a wasteful existence.

How dangerous do you need to be for yourself and the surroundings to swallow the national trope, in the Balkans, after all the wars and pacts. Where, how do they make these zealots, how is it possible that they are all made after the same mould, wherever in the world you encounter them? You recognise them by bulging eyes

and a permanently knotted brow, or a face set in imitation of Duke. The said company in trance is usually male, as a decent gathering of warriors must be. In addition to loving their country, they want it to be officially recognised. The

The latest attack on Nebojša Medojević is, of course, is more serious. There is ever less money and many people are getting nervous. Besides, there's always the custom law to protect them. Avenging family pride is an excellent alibi to beat up somebody on the street

dream of our heroes is to establish a special little cast of deserving individuals who would receive pensions for their patriotism and be entitled to a VIP societal role. Something like priests of Maltese knights, public masons of independence or something of that order.



2.

Nebojša Medojević was attacked for mentioning the name of businessmen Mićunović from Nikšić in a negative context and once again he was hit or rushed at in the street.

We all sometimes wished to drag out the president or prime minister by their ears, to trample the president of the Parliament or to beat up the leader of the opposition. It is only human, and simple, to have an urge to limit someone's power with a whack or a kick in the backside. We call it minimalism and it's always chick. Especially in the times when everything is rife with conspiracies and spins – you simply ambush your guy in front of the building and slap!

There's nothing controversial about

this, except for the fact that similar troubles always and again befall Medojević. He turned out to be the man who keeps talking about crime and corruption and at the same time keeps losing votes, which is either a worrying paradox or a logical thing, I'm still not sure. But that is not important:



let us remember that on the day of the elections a man, owner of a copy-shop, next to the ballot box, threw himself at Medojević and called him names.

The latest incident, of course, is more serious. There is ever less money and many people are getting nervous. Besides, there's always the custom law to protect them. Avenging family pride is an excellent alibi to beat up somebody on the street and have every Montenegrin uncle give you props, pat you on the back and so on.

Negative energy is on the rise and it has to break out in some rituals. The police gets it out at least in writing rabble-rousing communiques. That's European police with European Veljović at its helm. But, what do we do with businessmen? The police will protect us all, if we behave. As for Medojević, he needs to get the support of the public. He has the right to speak, even if he makes a terrible blunder and is corrected by the minister of agriculture, in front of all cameras, until it hurts.

Medojević likes to talk, but that is his sacred right which must be defended. Shall we?

3.

The conclusion is terrifying: a family war in Montenegro, until the final request of independence! We are beyond civil wars. Uncles against nephews, nieces

We're all waiting for something big to happen, this thing cannot be but an intro, and the PM also joined the collective holding of breath, with the hundred and fifteenth announcement of his withdrawal from politics. It might be that politics will withdraw before him on a wave of some new violence. Let's just hope that our American and European friends will never allow it, for Montenegro's sake!

against daughters in law and vicious brothers in law. The best would be for the family war to flare up around such an eternal topic like adoration of the national symbols. For instance, the cousin from the mother's side didn't sing the last two lines of the anthem. That pissed off one step brother of an influential father and husband. And so it goes, until all three branches of the family three are on fire, the flames reach across and the whole village catches...

The first thing is to recognise the traitors and collaborators of foreign intelligence agencies. Paranoia is a great narrative machine. Everything can be suspicious if we suspect it. The media will

always be there to blow the thing out of proportions, and there we have a hot summer. There's too many morbid stories circulating on daily basis. The case of Šarić is already enough to make the smart and the rich think twice. There's nothing to be done until the classical crime story is rolled into a national-political-historical plot about conspiracy against our statehood interests. A big business that was going well suddenly collapsed and that's that. What will be the consequences for the economy of Pljevlja, the former fiefdom of the accused remains to be seen. Hopefully the dissatisfied masses of Pljevlja will lock themselves into the nightclub "Municipium" and refuse to come out unless Šarić is declared innocent. But not before they get a guarantee from the Prime Minister, like the miners did.

Every strike that ends with a song is a farce. That's why the miners are back in the pit, but this time round nobody cares. Simply, an ordinary citizen cannot cope with this amount of information which nobody is willing to connect into a logical scenario.

The opposition failed for at least ten times, and we expect it to continue doing so. The awakening of nation-

alists from the beginning of this story, the family-clan homogenisation and poverty are the three things that twist our stomachs. We're all waiting for something big to happen, this thing cannot be but an intro, and the PM also joined the collective holding of breath, with the hundred and fifteenth announcement of his withdrawal from politics. It might be that politics will withdraw before him on a wave of some new violence. Let's just hope that our American and European friends will never allow it, for Montenegro's sake!

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

RESULTS OF THE OPINION POLL ON CITIZENS' ATTITUDES TO CORRUPTION IN EDUCATION

Market for diplomas

The corruption is widespread in the Montenegrin education sector, shows a research on the opinions and experiences of citizens with corruption in this area: its spread, causes, manifestations and ways in which it could be limited.

More than half of the respondents believe that corruption is widespread (29%) or at least present (26%). On the other hand, 2/5 of the respondents believe that corruption in education is marginal.

These are the results of a research conducted between 20 January and 2 February 2010 on a sample of 1000 respondents. The study is part of a project conducted by Centre for Monitoring (CEMI) and Centre for Civic Education (CCE) and supported by the Embassy of the Federal Republic of Germany.

The results of the poll were presented by **Zlatko Vujović**, president of the managing board of CEMI, **Daliborka Uljarević**, executive director of CCE, and Dr **Zoran Stojiljković**, coordinator of the research and professor at Political Science Departments in Belgrade and Podgorica.

Divided opinions on the extent of corruption can be partly explained by different perceptions of corruption on different levels of education. While in primary (70%:9%) and secondary education (50%:16%) the corruption is per-



(38%:27%).

The authors of the research conclude that only higher education is really perceived as a guarantee of the desired social position, and is therefore a more

Interestingly, the perception of the extent of corruption in education appears to be determined by the respondents' party affiliation

likely target of corruption. Exposure to the market and rapid increase in the number of new higher education institutions further exacerbates the risks of corruption.

Between 1/5 and 1/3 of the citizens know of cases when the professors asked for sexual favours, or about the existence of informal price lists for grades, extortions of particular services for the teachers or bribe. At the same time, there is extensive practice of pressures and threats directed at professors through political channels, and, especially, resorting to mediation by influential third persons" states the research

ceived as marginal, in universities and other higher education institutions, especially the private ones, it is thought to be a widespread, dominant phenomenon

According to the research, a majority of citizens believe the corruption to be a marginal factor on entering primary and secondary education.

"With decreasing availability of certain goods or services the risk of corruption grows. Awards and stipends, places in student dorms, and especially enrolment in preferred programmes are all situations that offer space for corruption", states the report.

As regards manifestations of corruption in education, its more "benign" forms are also the most common – such as using family and political ties to improve one's performance.

"On the other hand, a majority of respondents believe that professors asking for money or services in exchange for better grades, or parents putting pressure on teachers are more exception than the rule. What is also interesting is that party affiliation influences the perception of the extent of corruption in education. Supporters of opposition parties and the non-voters are more likely to believe that family and party relations and favouritism towards certain students to be wide-

spread", states the research.

More critical towards corruption are also those respondents who have a student in the family.

"Personal experiences with and knowledge about corruption cases are a lot more precise and realistic than the general impressions about corruption and its spread. Between 1/5 and 1/3 of the citizens know of cases when the professors asked for sexual favours, or about the existence of informal price lists for grades, extortions of particular services for the teachers or bribe. At the same time, there is extensive practice of pressures and threats directed at professors through political channels, and, especial-

**TABLE:
FORMS OF CORRUPTION
IN EDUCATION**

	N	Does not happen	Happens very rarely	Happens occasionally	Happens	Is very common	Don't know	Sum -	Sum +	Total
Parents pressuring the teachers in primary and secondary schools	1000	16.5	22.1	21.2	22.4	07.6	10.1	38.6	30.0	100%
Different treatment of students, unjustified favouritism or discrimination against certain students by teachers or professors	1000	10.7	21.2	25.1	24.4	08.2	10.3	31.9	32.7	
Giving certain students better grades than deserved	1000	08.0	16.6	20.7	31.8	15.3	07.6	24.6	47.1	
Teachers accepting money, gifts or requesting services in exchange for giving students higher grades, allowing them to pass the exams or "helping" them in other ways	1000	16.4	22.3	21.6	20.7	06.1	12.9	38.7	26.8	
Use of family or political connections in education with the aim of improving grades or passing exams	1000	09.4	16.5	18.5	30.9	16.9	07.7	25.9	47.8	

ly, resorting to mediation by influential third persons" states the research.

Except for the interference of third persons, each of the manifestations noted above is somewhat more widespread in higher education. The infamous record is held by the practice of conditioning students' pass or fail at the exam by them having bought the book of the professor in question, which is familiar to 2/5 of the respondents.

The extent of corruption in education is well documented by 14%, or one in seven respondents, admitting that they have used personal connections to secure a better grade or a pass at the

local educational authorities, Ministry of Science and Education on the one hand, Directorate for Anti-Corruption Initiative and Police on the other, and NGOs on the third side. It is indicative that non-governmental organisations have been gaining citizens' trust in this regard, evidenced by the finding that the same number (11%) of respondents opted to report such cases to NGOs as to the Ministry of Science and Education.

Finally, the vulnerability of the educational process to corruption is perhaps best indicated by the belief of almost half of the respondents (44%) that it is possible to "buy" a diploma of certain schools

when compared to other sectors.

Montenegrin citizens are very divided on the issue of the possibility for reducing corruption in education while 31% of them believe that it is possible to reduce corruption significantly, or at least to some extent, almost 2/5 are sceptical about any possibility for change.

The respondents hold responsible for corruption in education mostly the Ministry, school and university administration, the general educational system and the current legal framework. Somewhat less responsible are the teachers themselves. The second set of reasons indicated in the research is the general moral and economic crisis which also sucked in some individuals from the educational system. Finally, the citizens do not amnesty the political elite, nor those parents who think that everything can be achieved with enough money and influence and are even ready to threaten teachers.

"Although the identification of responsibility for corruption is diffused, the responsibility for its elimination seems to be very clear to most respondents. According to them, this is primarily the job for the Government and the Ministry of Science and education. The second level consists of the Police and Directorate for anti-corruption initiative. Finally, part of the "job" should be done by the local schools and professors, parents and the NGO sector. Only though the synergy of these actors can we make substantial progress in eradicating corruption in Montenegrin education", concludes the study.

The respondents often did not know where to report the cases of corruption in education (36%) or are wavering between local educational authorities, Ministry of Science and Education on the one hand, Directorate for Anti-Corruption Initiative and Police on the other, and NGOs on the third side

exam for themselves or their relations. Bearing in mind the understandable tendency to understate ones' involvement in illegal activities the real scope and prevalence of this phenomenon is probably much greater.

"A good illustration of the practice of extorting money or services on the part of some professors is the readiness of 12 to 18% of the respondents to offer bribe if there is no other way to achieve their aims. By contrast, only 2/5 of the citizens would report the request for bribe or services by teachers to the relevant authorities", warns the study.

The respondents often did not know whom to report such cases in the first place (36%) or are wavering between

or universities.

Even more worryingly, ? of the respondents knows somebody who has done it. Even if we assume that more of the respondents know about the same case of "buying" diplomas, the number is high enough to indicate the existence of organised "trade" in titles and diplomas.

The first requirement for limiting corruption is to speak about it publicly and openly. The study showed that ? of the citizens believe that corruption in education isn't sufficiently discussed, while 1/3 believes that there is "just enough" talk about it. On the other hand, every seventh respondent believes that there is more fuss about corruption in education than necessary, especially

WHY DO I WANT TO BE A CITIZEN OF EUROPEAN UNION

The golden card doesn't open every door



Etymologically speaking, the word "union" comes from the Latin word *unus*, which means one, and also indicates

by Jelena Ognjenović

the act of unification of a people, sides or political entities for the purpose of common benefits and interests.

In mathematics, a union of sets contains every individual element of all sets involved.

Well, I would like the set of members of the European Union to take us into the family, with all our shortcomings. Some of them are not "naturally" ours or inherited from ancestors, some of them were acquired along the way and as they grew onto us, with time, it became more and more difficult to get rid of them. I trust that bad habits in a positive context will be easier to get rid of.

Even if you want to be a tourist in EU, you will find it on any website that EU made sure that its citizens have a single currency, one driving licence which is valid in every member state, that they can freely work in or travel to any member state and earn their pension there. Already the Treaty of Rome guaranteed equal pay to man and women, and EU working time directive ensures that you get four weeks of holidays in a year. The monopoly of telecommunications companies was broken up and the consumers can now enjoy cheaper calls. Consumer rights guarantee return of the products if they are dissatisfied with its quality. Let us not even start on the various strategies of environmental protection or the value of cultural and historical monuments.

But, most importantly, EU is fundamentally and continuously dedicated to education. While we were busy waiting in the long lines for bread and milk, they have been working diligently on things we only recently discovered: life-long learn-

ing. While we invested in election campaigns, they developed human resources. This is why I want to be a citizen of Europe, to catch up with the European educational era.

Although I never worked in the discipline in which I studied – that is, I didn't remain a teacher – the mistakes of our educational system still trouble me. The most defeating thing is that for all of us generation nineteen eighty-something, education is partly a systemic error that cannot be set right by just pushing the delete/erase button. We must bear the consequences of the decisions somebody else made instead of us. Communism gave us a standardised educational system which treated all pioneers equally regardless of their capacities or the environment in which they grew up. Our teachers gave us what they received from their teachers

I want Montenegro to join the EU so we can be more like those 7500 UK students who spend between 3 and 12 months, every academic year, attending universities in another EU member state

in the same narrow and inflexible manner. Years went by, and we stood there as wordless observers.

Why do I want another, European educational context as the foundation of every civilised and progressive society?

Imagine a situation in which a student receives an invitation from a foreign university, passes successfully all the

demanding tests and detailed analyses and comes to knock at the door of His Majesty, the Provost of her own department. This elevated persona is sitting at his throne polishing his shoes and does not even spare a glance for the dejected student, let alone some effort to correct the mistake of the bureaucratic student service which is too busy playing solitaire to deal with student transcripts. For the local definition of the student service department is that it DOES NOT deal with servicing students and updating their records! And this is, unfortunately, just one among many examples.

The attempt to implement the provisions of the Bologna declaration in Montenegro ended up in improvised curricula, for there was simply not enough capacity to implement something so advanced in these parts.

That is why, in the name of the generation of nineteen-ninety-something, I want Montenegro to join EU so they can be more like those 7500 UK students who spend between 3 and 12 months, every academic year, attending universities in another EU member state. This not only gives them the opportunity to learn foreign languages, but also to experience the culture of other countries and use the newly acquired knowledge to progress in their field.

I want to be a citizen of EU so I can see knowledge and readiness to learn open the heaviest of doors, instead of just watching how a golden card is the only thing that gets you ahead.

I want to be a citizen of EU because being a part of a progressive community is a privilege which, among other, allows simple people to enter a fair fight on the labour market where political affiliation isn't the most important thing on your CV.

The author is an employee of the Employers' Union of Montenegro. She attended IX generation of European Integrations School



Old members against enlargement

The latest Eurobarometer, presented in Ljubljana, shows that 68% of Slovenians support further enlargement of EU.

The highest support for further enlargement is found in Poland and Slovakia (70%), while it is the lowest in Austria (28%), Germany (31%) and France (34%).

In Slovenia, public support increased by 5% since the last poll.

Support for further enlargement is systematically higher in the new EU member states which joined in 2004. Among the 15 "old" members, some 41%



supports the enlargement while 49% are against taking in new members.

Hungarian land not for sale

Hungary intends to ask EU for a permission to extend the prohibition on sale of agricultural land to citizens of other EU members.

Hungarian minister of agriculture **Jozsef Graf** said political parties have reached a consensus on this matter.

Free movement of capital is one of the pillars of EU, which means that citizens and companies from one country should enjoy the same rights to buying

and selling property in all EU member states.

Hungary and some other new members are, however, afraid that investors from the richer, "old" member states will buy up huge expanses of relatively cheap agricultural land. This is why they agreed on a transition period with EU in 2004 which allowed them to limit the sale of agricultural land. The transition period runs out in 2011.

It pays to study

A recently published report on demand for qualifications and skills on European labour markets indicates the need for urgent action in order to resolve the problem of an acute lack of highly educated and skilled workforce. Unemployment in the Eurozone stands at 10%, and part of the reason is that the available skills do not match market demand.



One in three Europeans of working age has little or no formal qualification, which means that they have 40% lower chances to be employed compared to those with at least upper secondary education. Only a quarter of EU citizens have a higher education degree, but they are also a lot less likely to lose their jobs.

The numbers also show that companies which invest in training their employees are two and a half times less likely to go bankrupt than those which don't.

On the other hand, the skills of even highly qualified workers are sometimes not in line with the needs of the employers, which creates a disbalance on the labour market.

Thus the report calls on the employers and employees to invest in new assets for the future – information technologies, foreign languages and "green jobs".

Eels for Japan

European fishery regulators signalled last month their willingness to abolish restrictions on export of young eels to China and Japan, where this fish is held in very high esteem.

The announcement ended a several days long blockade of the French harbour Saint Nazaire where the fishermen protested against export restrictions and falling prices.

The price for a kilo of young eels, which are considered a delicacy, fell from 300 to almost 200 euros in countries like Spain. The fishermen said that the Brussels' "promise" to revive exports to the Far East was enough to let the ships to "return to the sea".

Green stars

Na takmičenju za izbor loga bilo je Leaf-shaped EU stars on a green background are the winning design for a logo that will be mandatory for all organic products from EU and Croatia as of 1 July. In addition to the European logo, the producers can also use other private, regional or national labels.

This logo was chosen from among 3500 applications by a jury of 130000 people. The winner is a student from Germany **Dušan Milenković** whose design got the votes of 63% of the "judges".

Modest growth

The Eurozone will register a modest growth in this year, with strong exports and government investments compensating for weak personal consumption, announced the leading European employers' association *BusinessEurope*.

Economic activities in the 16-member Eurozone will be expected to grow by 1.2% in 2010, after contracting by 4% in 2009.

BusinessEurope forecasts GDP growth of 1.8% and 2% for Germany and France, while Spanish GDP is expected to fall further by 0.6%.

The association also expects inflation in the Eurozone to increase by 1.2%, compared to 0.3% last year.

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

Accession - the end of the road



Following its independence in 1991, changes in Slovenian society, economy and politics, including foreign



by Sabina Kajnc

policy, have been driven mainly by the priorities of its newly acquired statehood, changing domestic and international politico-economic situation, the globalization process, and, the goals of approximation to the European Union. In that sense, it is not easy to single out the consequences of EU accession alone after all the major changes that have swept the Slovenian political and economic landscape in this period. However, the fact remains that the undisputed goal of acceding to the EU,

Positive trends after Slovenia's accession to EU had been identified in the field of services –despite greater competition following accession, financial services, insurance, catering and especially tourism recorded significant growth. Opening of the capital markets and easier access to loans not only stimulated the activities of larger companies, but also had a very favourable effect on the international operation of small and medium enterprises

the fulfillment of Copenhagen criteria and the concrete requirements of *acquis communautaire* offer the clearest benchmarks for understanding this process.

Up until the accession to the EU in 2004 the question of the influence of the accession process on the development of Slovenian society and economy was in the centre of attention of both public and expert opinion. Following accession, however, systematic research into the effects of the EU has faded. Before we turn to the analysis of this concrete issue – the consequences of EU

membership on the economy, labour movements and monetary policy after the adoption of the Euro – it is important to ask why there is such indifference towards EU in Slovenia.

Lack of systematic research into the effects of membership in Slovenia

There are three explanations for the lack research into the effects of the accession on various elements of Slovenia's socio-economic and political life.

Firstly, after the fulfillment of a long-coveted goal, we can observe something of an "accession fatigue". With the accession criteria fulfilled, the motivation to adjust and develop further has begun to wane.

Secondly, one big and generally accepted goal which focused the efforts and tendencies of various politicians in the same direction has now disappeared: it was replaced by many smaller goals (entry into the Eurozone, Chairmanship of OSCE in 2005, Presidency of the Council of EU in the

first half of 2008). These smaller projects were mostly associated with certain ministries of agencies, without the general support and cooperation which characterized the process of EU accession. In addition to this, EU membership brought major changes on the Slovenian political scene: the same year that Slovenia joined the EU, saw a general swing of the electorate from centre-left to centre-right, resulting in a replacement of a centre-left coalition, which ruled almost uninterruptedly since independence, by a centre-right government.

There is another, formal reason, for the lack of research on the effects of Slovenia's membership in the EU: the funding for such projects was simply no more available. With EU accession the research policy also shifted and was more firmly integrated into European projects and programmes, and little interest remained in a small country like Slovenia. This only changed to some extent during Slovenia's EU presidency.

A scattered account: economy, labour and the effects of adopting the Euro

Immediately following the accession to the EU positive and negative trends on Slovenia's economy have been observed. Positive trends had been identified in the field of services –despite greater competition following accession, financial services, insurance, catering and especially tourism recorded significant growth. Opening of the capital markets and easier access to loans not only stimulated the activities of larger companies, but also had a very favourable effect on the international operation of small and medium enterprises.

On the other hand, membership in the EU and the consequent opening of agricultural markets intensified the effects of globalization on agricultural trade, bringing more competition and new problems for Slovenian products. In order to ensure the success on the single market, farmers in Slovenia were forced to strengthen their regional producers' organizations.

The situation was much worse in labour intensive sectors where price is more important than quality. Textile industry was the most affected, but the situation is similar in the food manufacturing industry. All efforts to re-structure these industries did not give much result, and our productivity is still much lower than in the developed EU members.

The patterns of labour migration have not changed significantly after the accession – there is a slight increase in

labour originating from the member-states of the EU, but a majority of "imported" workforce still comes from the states of the former Yugoslavia.

The most comprehensive challenge for the Slovenian economy in the period after EU accession was the adoption of Euro. The process of introducing Euro as the official currency began on 28 June 2004 when Slovenia entered the European Exchange Rate Mechanism, and finished with the actual introduction of the currency in January 2007. The process itself went relatively smoothly, but there is much disagreement about its consequences for the economy, which was exacerbated in late 2007 when Slovenia suddenly became, for a short while, the Eurogroup's highest inflation rate member. The introduction of the Euro was largely seen as favourable for the business sector, offering more options for easier international investment and co-operation opened to many entrepreneurs and small and medium enterpris-

Support for EU membership in Slovenia has remained for years just about the European average, which is probably a consequence of the fact that, apart from the adoption of the Euro, membership in the EU did not significantly change the everyday lives of Slovenian citizens

es. However, some industries, such as catering, found themselves under pressure with rapidly growing prices of food and drinks. It is difficult to say to what extent the inflation was a consequence of the Euro, as prices partly grew also because of the general price hike of oil products on the international markets. In any case, since the beginning of the world economic crisis many other problems turned up on the surface and the people partly forgot about the initial troubles with the Euro.

Public opinion: steady, but passive support

The results of Eurobarometer (June 2008) showed that 52 % percent of the respondents in Slovenia believed that membership in the EU was a good thing for their country, which is just about the European average. Nationally conducted polls on trust in public institutions, both national and European, indicate that 38% of the respondents place trust in the

European institutions, placing them firmly in the upper half of the most trusted public institutions. Such results can be attributed to the fact that there is a general trend of considerably higher levels of trust in international than in national institutions, which has a long tradition in Slovenia, as in all other post-socialist

The situation has become much worse in labour intensive sectors where price is more important than quality. Textile industry was the most affected, but the situation is similar in the food manufacturing industry. All efforts to re-structure these industries did not give much result, and our productivity is still much lower than in the developed EU members

countries. In Slovenia, for instance, only 21% of the respondents trust the Government, while only 18% have trust in the Parliament.

Support for membership in the EU has remained for years just about the European average, which is probably a consequence of the fact that, apart from the adoption of the Euro, membership in

the EU did not significantly change the everyday lives of Slovenian citizens.

Foreign policy

Slovenia's foreign policy found itself in a strategic vacuum after having



Ljubljana

achieved its main goals of state recognition, friendly relations with its neighbours and membership in the European Union and NATO. This is partly a consequence of EU policy towards accession countries, which requires them to set up organizational structures for the implementation

With the accession to NATO, the

focus of Slovenian foreign policy shifted from that of a more 'Europeanist' to a more 'Atlanticist' position, but it did not change the fact that the Slovenian foreign policy has been mainly consisting of implementation of tasks and goals designed outside of the country. The latest foreign policy strategy of Slovenia dates to 1999, which set out the strategic goals of the membership in EU and NATO. This "project-based" foreign policy orientation makes Slovenia highly exposed to external processes and pressures, which was put under the first real test during the Slovenian Presidency of the EU in the first half of 2008.

The picture is very different in Slovenia's conduct towards the Western Balkan. Slovenia pushed very hard to attain its principal goal – concluding the ring of Stabilisation and Association Agreements. At the same time, in contrast to its "lukewarm" approach to other foreign policy areas, Slovenia tried to use its advantage of being an EU member to force Croatia into accepting negotiations over the issue of the Gulf of Piran. Still, although it tried to bring this issue up to the EU level, Slovenia never tried to use its Presidency to shift the EU's policy towards Croatia. Rather, it bore its responsibility just like most other small EU countries do: without overly ambitious attempts to change the course of European politics and trying to strike a balance between the more powerful member states.

Dr Sabina Kajnič is a researcher at the Centre of International Relations of the University of Ljubljana

EMPLOYMENT IN THE MONTENEGRIN PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION

Nepotism or professionalism?

EVROPSKI REPORTER

by Bojana Brajović

Although Montenegro has as clear regulations on employment of young cadres as any European institution, Podgorica is still suspected of giving jobs in public and local administrations mostly to the party-affiliated cadre.

Since the first Progress Report on Montenegro until today, EC keeps warning about the lack of administrative capacities. In Brussels, as in some circles of the Montenegrin public, it is suspected that reliance on nepotism instead of professionalism is the key reason for this problem being so pronounced.

When a new port-parole was recently appointed in one of the ministries, there was nothing strange about it except for the fact that shortly before getting the job this person has abandoned one of the opposition parties and joined one of the parties of the ruling coalition.

This begs the question of the efficiency of the new system which has the Directorate for Cadres select the best candidates from the job applications and the Minister decides whom to employ.

Directorate for Cadres claims that they select the best, not the most "convenient". Director **Svetlana Vuković** says that their goal is a "professional, depoliticised public administration", and that those who have the best qualifications "have the advantage in the selection process". She is adamant about the "objective criteria and procedures for employment".

"Is there an objective criteria at work if you get your diploma, apply for a public job offer of the Directorate for Cadres, you come

to do the exam which the offer requires and in the corridor you hear that you shouldn't hope because the whole procedure is a scam?", asks a woman from Podgorica who preferred to stay anonymous.

Vuković rejects all accusations that political affiliation has anything to do with the employment policy. She asks whether "it is nepotism of political interference if only one candidate applies for the concurs", and the Directorate is forced to offer that person the job.

"We made all our procedures transparent, and if there is nepotism, it is a completely separate issue which needs to be discussed separately", Vuković said.

On the other hand, developed European societies forbid members of the same family to be employed by the same public company or institution, in order to avoid nepotism. This is not the case either in Montenegro or anywhere else in the region.

According to Montenegrin regulations, before anybody is higher by state administration there is a public call for applications which is open to all Montenegrin citizens with adequate qualifications, provided that their health allows them to take up the job and that they haven't been convicted for a crime which makes them unsuitable for work in public administration.

These are the general conditions, and there are also specific requirements that each candidate ought to fulfil. These concern education, years of experience and specific skills required by the job description. Whoever fulfils these criteria takes an additional exam, which usually contains questions about general culture and information. The selection and



Svetlana Vuković

control is performed by a committee which is convened separately for every concourse, and consists of representatives of the Directorate, the institution which announced the vacancy and one independent expert.

The results are published on the website of the Directorate, and if a candidate believes that his or her performance was not properly graded, they have the right to appeal against decision.

It is the job of the Director to consider the appeal and, if necessary, repeat the testing.

A similar employment procedure is in place in most EU countries: the same procedure for announcing internal and public vacancies, formation of an independent commission which compiles the exam and selects the candidates, with some more emphasis put on interviews with candidates who pass the exam. The Europeans also rely on recommendations in the initial phase of the application.

European Commission Employment Office is in charge of filling the vacancies, not only in the European Commission, but also in other European institutions. The conditions are citizenship of one of the EU countries, excellent knowledge of at least one official language of EU and fluency in at least another language. The employment process has two phases, the written and the oral phase. Written exams consist of multiple-choice questions about European integrations, verbal and numerical reasoning. Those who pass the first phase are then invited for an interview, and also have to pass some medical tests. Those are the EC employees who, in the latest Progress Report on Montenegro, found that there is still too much political influence on public administration.

LIGHTENING CARRIER

According to Croatian media, nepotism in this neighbouring Croatia nepotism is almost a national custom. The offer as an illustration the example of a lightning-like carrier of the daughter of the former justice minister **Ana Lovrin**, who during her mother mandate went in merely two years from being an intern to becoming a judge.

There are also studies tracing the family or party relations of certain people for whom precisely these family or political ties proved to be decisive in their carrier.

WHAT IS THE UNION DOING TO ATTRACT HIGHLY QUALIFIED WORKFORCE

EU plays the "blue card"

Europe'sWorld THE ONLY EUROPE-WIDE IDEAS COMMUNITY

by Pallavi Aiyar

EU plans to adopt an immigrant work permit on the model of the "green card" in the United States, hoping to resolve the problem of scarcity of qualified labour in certain areas. "Green card" has for generations represented the symbol of hope for many citizens of poorer countries – the most coveted ticket to a better life. Now the European Union is trying to tint the immigrant

The Council of the EU officially adopted the Blue Card Directive last year, which participating member states now have two years to put into practice. The "blue card" scheme is the end product of much hand-wringing in Europe as its population ages and economy stagnates.

In international comparison we often see America's youth, dynamism and creative energy is often contrasted to European inertia and inflexibility. One major reason for this discrepancy, the EU argues, is the differential ability of the two entities to attract skilled immigrants.

Highly-qualified foreign workers make up only 1.7% of the employed population within the EU, but the equivalent figure for Australia is nearly 10%, over 7% in Canada and 3.2% in the US. And it's not as if Europe does not need these immigrants

Highly-qualified foreign workers make up only 1.7% of the employed population within the EU, but the equivalent figure for Australia is nearly 10%, over 7% in Canada and 3.2% in the US. And it's not as if Europe does not need these immigrants.

Studies predict an estimated shortfall of 20 million skilled and unskilled workers by 2030, the result in part of a steady decline in the EU's working age population.

The blue card is also intended to cull the "right" kind of immigrants from the "wrong" sort for which the EU is currently a magnet.

The European Commission says some 85% of global unskilled migrant labour heads to the EU, while only 5 per cent

goes to the US. Given its redistributive welfare system, what Europe wants is an immigrant workforce that is a net financial contributor to, rather than a receiver from, this system.

To apply for a blue card a professional will need either a university degree that has taken at least three years to complete or five years work experience in the relevant sector; a binding job offer from a European employer who will have to certify that the post cannot be filled from within the EU; and a salary offer that is at least 1.5 times the average prevailing wage in the country concerned.

In return, a Blue Card holder will be granted the same access to pensions, housing and healthcare as an EU citizen. Following an 18-month period they will be allowed to move to any other participating EU member country if they are able to secure a job there. The card will further entitle its holder to family reunification within six months – and spouses will be permitted to look for employment within the EU as well. The card will have a validity of between one and four years after

which it must be renewed. If a card-holder were to lose his job he would have three months within which to find another.

So will the blue card succeed in transplanting the green one as the preferred URL of the developing world's computer programmers?

"Unlikely," says Jakob von Weizsacker of the Brussels-based think tank Bruegel. Weizsacker is the father of the blue card having coined the term in a 2006 paper, but he is quick to distance himself from the final, watered-down form his issue has taken.

The potential potency of the blue card according to Weizsacker would be the access it could promise a holder to not just



a single European country but to the amalgamation of the 27 member states that comprise the EU.

However, the Blue Card Directive as eventually adopted by the EU's Council following two years of controversy-bogged discussions, does not assure a card holder the right to move from one EU country to another and, in fact, makes it "almost as tough to move within the EU as to reapply from the outside again".

Moreover, the UK, Ireland and Denmark have opted out the scheme, a factor that will also cripple its effectiveness especially since it is English-speaking countries that have a natural advantage when it comes to attracting skilled workers.

According to Weizsacker most European countries have a falsely "mechanistic" view of labour markets. "They tend to think that 'ok, so we have a shortage of x number of engineers this year and so we need to fill these positions', and once they are filled the problem is supposedly solved".

"But in fact jobs create more jobs and attracting qualified professionals could potentially transform an area into a hub of specialised excellence."

The upshot of all the caveats the current avatar of the scheme is subject to, is that come 2011 the queues at blue card counters in European embassies around the world might be rather short, warns Weizsacker.

And until the Directive acquires sharper teeth, blue is unlikely to match the green in the battle for brains.

New programmes

Within the new educational programme – "Contemporary tendencies of critical thought" – on 18 February 2010 Centre for Civic Education organized the first lecture of the **Jacques Lacan** lecture series, devised and led by Dr **Filip Kovačević**.

This lecture series is not only a programmatic novelty for CCE, but is the first such project of alternative education programmes in Montenegro. Although the subject of the lectures is very specific and was not expected to have mass resonance, a very high number of interested applicants applied to the course. In order to give all qualified candidates an opportunity to

attend the lectures and participate in sharp, vivid discussions of which there was no shortage from the very first meeting, CCE formed two groups of participants – one which will start in this semester and another that will begin in autumn, when CCE will also issue another call for applications.

It should be said that this project is a completely voluntary experiment in which professor Kovačević offered to share his knowledge and expertise, CCE its offices and organisational capacities and the participants their free time and intellectual curiosity. It is also a testimony to the fact that the issues we sometimes recognise as the need of our society and academic community may not always be in line with donors' priorities.

Public advocacy for change

Between 19 and 21 February 2010 Centre for Monitoring (CEMI) organized a training titled "Fact-based advocacy", as part of its project "Strengthening the capacities of NGO coalition in advocacy and preparation of public policies aimed at fighting poverty and social exclusion". The project is financed by EU through EU Delegation in Montenegro.

The objective of the training seminar was to strengthen the capacity of NGOs in Montenegro to advocate public policies and influence politics and legislation the areas of education, health and social issues. Special attention was given to

enhancing their capacities to draft public policies and fact-based advocacy in the framework of the Strategy for Social Inclusion and Poverty Reduction.

Participants in the seminar were delegated representatives of organisations which signed the memorandum and became members of the Coalition, and work is in some way directed at issues of social inclusion or may contribute to poverty reduction in Montenegro.

Ana Vujošević and **Mirela Rebronja** participated in the programme on behalf of CCE.

Knowledge for better future

A two-month course "Student Leadership Programme" organized by Centre for Civic Education and supported by the Canadian Development Agency (CIDA) was completed with a diploma-award ceremony.

The participants received their diplomas from **Daliborka Uljarević**, executive director of CCE, who reminded them that the role of students in social and political life should be much greater and more important than it the case in Montenegro at the moment.

She said that the commitment of the selected students to this highly demanding programme testifies to their will to be socially active and influence development of those spheres which will be part of their future professional life, which is a sign of a new, encouraging turn among the young people. Student leadership programme offers the

participants an opportunity to develop their skills and improve their knowledge on the current problems in higher education in Montenegro, stimulating active learning through workshops and interactive lectures. Special focus of the programme was on corruption in education and implementation of the Bologna declaration, as well as on strengthening the leadership and activist potential of the students.

From among 73 applicants the following 15 students were selected and successfully completed Student Leadership Programme: **Ana Manojlović, Andrej Milović, Anđelka Rogač, Bojana Dabović, Danka Kezić, Dina Bajramspahić, Dražen Petrić, Emir Kalač, Ivona Jovetić, Ivana Tatar, Irma Zoronjić, Milena Bubanja, Miloš Žižić, Milica Milonjić i Mirko Rajković.**

NON-GOVERNMENTAL ORGANISATIONS IN EUROPEAN UNION



International rehabilitation council for torture victims (IRCT)

IRCT is the umbrella NGO for more than 140 independent member organizations researching the cases of torture, identifying victims and helping them in the rehabilitation process.

The vision of IRCT is a world that accepts shared responsibility for the eradication of torture.

Its mission is to promote and support the rehabilitation of torture victims and work for the prevention of torture.

The starting point of IRCT's work is the belief that freedom from torture is a universal and fundamental human right, which is guaranteed under international law and defined in the UN Convention against Torture.

Shared responsibility for the eradication of torture worldwide requires the commitment of each and every individual in their personal and professional capacity to work for the most vulnerable in world society.

IRCT relies on a wide network of researchers who collect the data on victims and forms of torture in 70 countries of the world. The researchers are guided by high moral standards respecting and protecting the victim from the potential negative effects in that might follow from their cooperation in providing evidence that can be used in legal action.

The IRCT has special consultative status with the UN Economic and Social Council and the UN Department of Public Information, and participatory status with the Council of Europe.

Among the most important IRCT collaborators are international organizations of psychiatrists and physicians, as well as other medical personnel dedicated to helping the victims of torture.

More information about IRCT can be found at www.irct.org.

Prepared by: **Petar ĐUKANOVIĆ**

Building the culture of human rights

On 22 February 2010 participants of the VI and VII generation of Human and Minority Rights School were awarded diplomas for having successfully completed the four-month programme organised by the Centre for Civic Education (CCE) with support of the Commission for the Distribution of Profits on Lottery Games of the Government of Montenegro.

The diplomas were awarded by **Daliborka Uljarević**, executive director of CCE. Speaking to the participants, she emphasised that "Montenegro still lacks the culture of human rights, which is one of the reasons why we are still seeing violations of human rights and disregard of such incidents by relevant institutions, as well as insufficiently developed awareness on the part of the citizens about their rights and ways of defending them. Education on human rights will give Montenegro active

citizens with highly developed democratic awareness and a strong impulse for adoption and implementation of European standard".

During the training the participants had a chance to learn about the concept, culture and principles of human rights, as well as to analyse international documents in the area of human rights, standards and recommendations of international organisations, and to learn about mechanisms and instruments of human rights protection, as well as about the current state of human rights in Montenegro.

Lecturers at the School were professors from the University of Montenegro and other universities in the region, renown lawyers, judges, researchers, MPs, representatives of political and non-governmental organisations, as well as institutions dealing with human rights in Montenegro.

Police to protect victims of violence

On 10 February 2010 SOS telephones for women and children victims of violence, in cooperation with the Police Directorate and with support of the Canadian Development Agency presented draft was presented the draft document "Guidelines for the behaviour of police officers in cases of domestic violence". The aim of the presentation was to inform the public of the contents of the document and its importance for the work of the Police

Directorate and more generally for the legal system with the purpose of effective protection of victims of violence. Speakers at the presentation were **Biljana Zeković**, executive director of SOS telephones for women and children victims of violence, **Marijana Laković**, Deputy Ombudsman and **Vladimir Vukotić**, Counsellor for Legal Affairs in the Police Directorate. **Dragana Otašević**, CCE programme associate, participated on behalf of the Centre.

Cooperation between the NGOs and Prison Institute Spuž

On the initiative of director of the Prison Institute Spuž (ZIKS), **Milan Radović**, representatives of non-governmental organisations (NGOs) met with the management of ZIKS on 16 February 2010. The reason for the meeting were letters which some NGOs sent to ZIKS but never got a reply, their public commentaries on specific denouncements of torture and their interest in the general living standards of detainees and convicts in ZIKS.

NGOs which participated at the meeting agreed that this was the first time that ZIKS invited a group of NGOs for a meeting and congratulated the management on this sign of new, transparent approach to the public.

The meeting was attended by the

director of ZIKS, **Milan Radović**, deputy director **Zoran Magdalinić**, members of the staff **Anka Cerović** and **Jadranka Vojičić** as well as NGO representatives of Action for Human Rights (**Tea Gorjanc Prelević** and **Nikoleta Strugar**), Centre for Civic Education (**Dragana Otašević**), Women's Safety House (**Ljiljana Raičević** and **Ivan Milović**) and NGO Preporod (**Jovan Bulajić**). Parts of the meeting were also attended by NGOs Juventas (**Tijana Pavičević**), Center for Democratic Transition (**Dragan Koprivica** and **Milica Kovačević**), and 4Life (**Sasa Mijović**).

The meeting was concluded with the director of ZIKS and his collaborators emphasising their readiness to cooperate with all NGOs in their projects, and inviting them to submit their proposals.

Educational perspectives

For some time now the American Corner in Montenegro has been organising weekly discussions on different topics, hosted by the **Willeke** couple who, in a comfortable atmosphere with coffee, tea and American cookies encourage discussion on various issues of importance for American and Montenegrin cultures.

At a meeting in the American Coffee House organised on 4 February 2010 on the topic of education **Daliborka Uljarević**, executive director of Centre for Civic education was one of the guests who exchanged opinions on this matter with the students from various Montenegrin universities. She presented the programmes of CCEs and offered some opinions on the current situation of higher education in Montenegro and on the perspectives of the young people.

After the lecture the participants were divided into discussion groups which debated in greater detail certain aspects of education in Montenegro and the current challenges in this field.

Youth and active citizenship

On 2 February 2010 the Youth Council organised a round table on the subject "Young people and active citizenship – in search of a good model". The meeting was held to discuss the possibilities of networking of organisations of young people and those working with young people, future activities of the Youth Council and draft Action Plan for Young People 2010. Speakers at the meeting were **Igor Milošević**, president of the Youth Council, **Mirjana Rakočević**, Youth Centre Proactive, **Dr Agima Ljaljević**, member of the Youth Council. Special guest at the meeting was **Dražen Puljić** from the European Youth Forum. **Paula Petričević**, CCE programme director and **Dragana Otašević**, programme associate, participated at the meeting on behalf of Centre for Civic Education. **Dragana Otašević** also attended the follow-up seminar held in Miločer on 19 and 20 February where the draft Action Plan for 2010 was adopted.

FOR THIS ISSUE WE RECOMMEND:

CALL FOR APPLICANTS

The English-speaking postgraduate programme "Postgraduate Programme in Southeast European Studies" will accept 25 students for the academic year 2010–2011. Eligible to apply are graduates of Greek Higher Education Institutions or foreign Higher Education Institutions which have been recognised by the Greek state as equivalent. In the case of foreign degrees, official recognition by Hellenic Naric is a prerequisite for participation in the Programme. Those interested in enrolling should submit their application from 20 January – 23 April 2010. Documents required:

1. The completed application form (which may be downloaded from Web site <http://www.pspa.uoa.gr>).
2. A statement of purpose in English (500 words maximum).
3. A certified copy of the applicant's first degree
4. A certified copy of the applicant's official university grades transcript.
5. Official translations into Greek of documents 3 (degree) and 4 (transcript), required when the original documents are in a language other than Greek or English.
6. Proof of excellent knowledge of the English language
7. Two recommendation letters, at least one of which should be from a faculty member of your own university.
8. Simple photocopies of other supporting documents e.g. knowledge of other foreign languages, seminar attendance certificates, etc.
9. Successful applicants who hold a first degree from a non-Greek university will be required, upon acceptance by the programme, to submit their qualifications for recognition by Hellenic Naric, the official Greek certifying institution for foreign degrees (please see the website of Hellenic Naric <http://www.doatap.gr>). Further information on this process will be provided once the candidate selection process is complete.

More information and the Application form can be found at <http://www.pspa.uoa.gr> or <http://en.uoa.gr/fileadmin/en.uoa.gr/uploads/pdf-files/BROCHURE.pdf>



PHD SCHOLARSHIPS IN INFORMATICS, VIENNA PHD SCHOOL OF INFORMATICS, AUSTRIA

The "Vienna PhD School of Informatics" call for applications, addressing Austrian as well as international students, is now open.

All the details of the call are available at <http://www.informatik.tuwien.ac.at/phdschool>. In brief, the Vienna University of Technology offers a three year programme following the five main research areas of the Faculty of Informatics: Business Informatics, Computational Intelligence, Computer Engineering, Distributed and Parallel Systems, Media Informatics and Visual Computing.

The Programme will admit a maximum number of 15 students for the academic year 2010/2011. Deadline 31 March 2010

Each year up to 15 students will be awarded a scholarship amounting to EUR 1.000 per month, to cover the cost of living. Scholarships for the Vienna PhD School of Informatics are available for Austrian as well as international students.

All the details of the call are available at <http://www.informatik.tuwien.ac.at/phdschool>

GRADUATE SCHOLARSHIPS AT LSE

£2 million is available annually for taught master's students from the Graduate Support Scheme (GSS). This scheme is designed to help students who do not have the necessary funds to meet all their costs of study and

awards range from £3,000 to £10,000.

One Francesca Swirski scholarship is available worth £10,000. Applications must be received at the School by the end of April 2010.

Two Central European MSc scholarships of £12,500 are available to students on one year taught master's courses in any subject. Applications must be received at the School by the end of April 2010.

All MRes/MPhil/PhD students are eligible to apply for the LSE Research Studentship Scheme. The level of assistance given is determined by each academic department and is most usually a contribution towards fees. Applications must be received at the School by 11 June 2010.

The School also offers a wide range of Programme Related and LSE Named Awards for taught master's and research students. Award values vary.

For details of all the latest scholarships and information on how to apply see <http://www.lse.ac.uk/collections/studentServiceCentre/financialSupportOffice/>
Deadline 30 April 2010.

SCHOLARSHIP PROGRAMME FOR YOUNG RESEARCHERS FROM EASTERN NEIGHBOURING COUNTRIES

Universities of the Coimbra Group offer short-term visits to young researchers from Eastern neighbouring countries. The eligible countries for the 2010 edition are the following: Albania, Armenia, Azerbaijan, Belarus, Bosnia and Herzegovina, FYROM, Georgia, Kazakhstan, Kosovo, Kyrgyzstan, Moldova, Mongolia, Montenegro, Serbia, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan, Ukraine and Uzbekistan.

Please note that in this new edition of the Scholarship Programme only on-line applications will be accepted. Applicants will be able to submit their applications from 1 February until 15 March 2010.

Web: <http://www.coimbra-group.eu/sp/02-ENC-Hospitality.php>

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

The publisher is Centre for Civic Education.

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

Editor in Chief: Vladan Žugić

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

Technical Editor: Blažo Crvenica; Translation: Vera Šćepanović; Language editing and proofreading: CCE

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

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