

FOCUS OF THIS ISSUE

Do the Government's replies to the Questionnaire offer a realistic picture of Montenegro

INTERVIEW
Rapporteur to
EESC for
Montenegro
Vladimira
Drbalová

DOCUMENTS
EESC's Opinion
on the role of
civil society in
EU–Montenegrin
relations

EU CHALLENGES
Romania –
three years
after EU
accession





FISH

Director of the Police **Veselin Veljović** and the Supreme State Prosecutor **Ranka Čarapić** have repeated, dumbfounded, several times during the last month that they would really like to know what and who are these "big fish" caught in the net of corruption and crime.

Before Veljović and Čarapić decide to go hunting for the carp or the gilt-poll, which had been suggested as the big fish by some dictionary, they should take a look across the fence – in Kosovo.

There, the acting supreme prosecutor of EULEKS **Johannes Van Vreeswijk** recently announced that the Minister of Transport and Telecommunications in the government of Kosovo **Fatmir Limaj** and Head of Procurement **Nexhat Krasniqi** are suspected of money laundering, organised crime, abuse of office and soliciting bribes. According to the laws of Kosovo, the maximum penalty on these charges is 55 years in prison.

Or, Čarapić and Veljović could knock on the doors of **Leopold Maurer** who has started talking publicly about small fish and corruption on the highest level. Some would say it was about time.

The question of the month is when will Brussels, for the sake of the positive opinion, granting the candidate status or the date of the start of negotiations, ask for some big fish in the shape of a minister, director of some agency or public enterprise.

If they don't get some sign in the near future to help them distinguish between the big fish and small fish, Čarapić and Veljović will be able to spend their retirement days fishing for the carp and gilt-bill, provided they don't become a prized catch themselves.

Their successors will know how to tell the big fish from the small. **V.Ž.**

Malta to help Montenegro (6–7 April) – Maltese Foreign Affairs Minister **Antonio Borgia** announced that Malta will provide concrete assistance to Montenegro on its road to Europe. During his visit to Podgorica, Borgia said that there are certain specificities in the negotiations between small countries and EU. "The Maltese embassy in Brussels has 60 people, in spite of it being a small country. You have to be present in the working groups in order to fight for all sorts of positions for your country" Borgia said, recommending Montenegro to invest in administrative capacities in order to protect its interests during negotiations.

Replies no more confidential (13 April) – The Government published its replies to the EC Questionnaire (www.upitnik.gov.me). Nobody, however, explained why the Government decided to make these replies public only a few days after the European Integrations Minister **Gordana Đurović** announced that this will not be done, in spite of a prior ruling by the Administrative Court which judged that the Government had no right to keep the replies secret. Part of the civil sector suggested that Đukanović's cabinet might have done this in response to the pressure from Brussels.

Additional replies submitted (13 April) – Head of Montenegro's Permanent Mission to EU **Aleksandar Andrija Pejović** submitted the responses by the Montenegrin Government to the additional questions posed by the EC in relation to the Questionnaire. The replies to 673 questions consist of 4.238 pages, out of which 2.913 are annexes.

Expert assistance for hydropower plants (14 April) – EC is ready to assist Montenegro in finding the right balance between economic benefits and environment in the construction of hydropower plants on river Morača, said director of DG Environment **Karl Falkenberg** after a meeting with the Montenegrin minister for environment and spatial planning **Branimir Gvozdenović** in Brussels.

EC to give a positive opinion (15 April) – EC will most probably give a positive opinion on Montenegro's readiness to become a candidate for EU membership, reported daily "Pobjeda", quoting anonymous sources in Brussels.

Maurer would like to see the some big fish (21 April) – EU ambassador to Montenegro **Leopold Maurer** said that the EU had invested a lot in Montenegro to make its fight against corruption and organised crime effective and that the Government should "finally show some results in the near future". He said that "we have a very important twinning project with people from the Scotland Yard who are working together with the Montenegrin ministry of interior affairs and the police" in order to learn how to fight organised crime. "Government officials know very well that the road to EU leads through the fight against corruption and organised crime, and they ought to demonstrate some results in that direction. Not only catching and sending to jail a handful of small fish, but we should also have some examples that they are capable of fighting corruption on the highest level", Maurer said.



Spanish support (21 April) – Foreign Affairs Minister of Spain, which is currently presiding over the EU, **Miguel Angel Moratinos**, visited Montenegro and met with the government officials, as well as with the opposition leaders, which is not exactly common practice for such high representatives. Moratinos emphasised that Spain, even once it ceases to hold EU presidency, will continue to support Montenegro on its road to EU.

Judges' ignorance a problem (29 April) – Although Montenegro fulfilled almost all formal commitments towards the Council of Europe, some things are still far from satisfactory, states the Report on the fulfilment of the commitments Montenegro undertook when in 2007 it became a member of CoE. CoE Rapporteur for Montenegro **Jean Charles Gardetto** said at the General Assembly of CoE that one of the main problems lies in the ignorance of the judges and their failure to apply the case law of the European Court of Human Rights in Strasbourg. He added that "the judicial system is often dependent on politicians, and this is especially true for prosecutors and judges". CoE representatives expressed their concern over the attacks on journalists and protectors of human rights.

A VIEW FROM EU

Western Balkans doesn't have the luxury of time



South East Europe is well-known for its self-cynicism. Living, for too long, in harsh and complex



by Hido Bišćević

conditions, nurtured by the 'left-out' sentiments and mindsets, people tend to develop somewhat anecdotal responses to the tides of problems, hardships, sufferings and crises that perpetually hit the southern shores of Europe.

The same was with the latest economic crisis. 'Nothing succeeds here, so this crisis will not either' was a widespread common joke in many of our countries.

Be it a joke, it is a telling one. It deeply touches upon the very essence of the inherited and, to a great extent, still present state of play in our region. It tells us where and why we need to act, as it is a story of contradicting trends and mentalities. The story of scepticism vs. opportunities, inwardness vs. openness, cooperation vs. self-sufficiency. The story of advancement based on accelerated development vs. lethar-

Lack of advancement will only be an introduction into stagnation, which can only lead to lagging behind and missing the opportunities. This is where the persistency of the EU enlargement policy and continuous advancement of our countries towards EU integration, on individual merit and in reflection of national policies, must be sustained and implemented. In that way, we will avoid unwanted delays and unnecessary strategic vacuum, plug the region in a balanced way into the map of the new Europe, and secure stability and economic and social development

gy based on political constraints.

This is why it is so important to learn from the current crisis. The region has gone through the high seas of harshest economic and financial conse-

quences. By now, we are slowly reaching calmer waters, but long-term conclusions need to be drawn.

The region must first and foremost use the momentum of the current developments in Europe, including the EU enlargement process, to move forward and make the best of a historical opportunity to streamline itself unconditionally and responsibly with the great project of Europe, united, free, democratic and undivided.

This can be done only by moving away from political stereotypes of the past, relying upon the new brave mindsets and by persistent societal, political and legal reforms related to the EU aspirations and membership.

South East Europe must use the momentum of the current developments in Europe, including the EU enlargement process, to move forward and make the best of a historical opportunity to streamline itself unconditionally and responsibly with the great project of Europe, united, free, democratic and undivided. This can be done only by moving away from political stereotypes of the past, relying upon the new brave mindsets and by persistent societal, political and legal reforms related to the EU aspirations and membership

It should be complemented by historical responsibility to address and resolve in a timely manner and in the spirit of mutual understanding, dialogue and appeasement, the remaining open or inherited issues as they tend to put

a constraint on genuine and productive cooperation.

South East Europe does not have the luxury of time. The Western Balkans in particular does not have the luxury

of time. Lack of advancement may only be an introduction into stagnation, which can only lead to lagging behind and missing the opportunities.

This is where the persistency of the EU enlargement policy and continuous advancement of our countries towards EU and Euro-Atlantic integration, on individual merit and in reflection of national policies, must be sustained and implemented. In that way, we will avoid unwanted delays and unnecessary strategic vacuum, plug the region in a balanced way into the map of the new Europe, and secure stability and economic and social development.

One would hope that the crucial lesson learned from the economic and

financial crisis is an awareness that our countries truly need to reach out and start working together in order to make the best use of vast human and natural resources, beyond political constraints, thus responding to long-standing and current needs of our economies and our citizens.

But, just as any, this change needs to be sustained and managed, in order to bring a shift away from old stereotypes, scepticism and self-sufficiencies and give way to openness based upon mutual respect, cooperation sustaining national interest, and the best use of rich diversities and vast potentials shared by the countries and the peoples in South East Europe.

The author is Secretary General of Regional Cooperation Council for South East Europe

DO THE GOVERNMENT'S REPLIES TO THE QUESTIONNAIRE OFFER A REALISTIC PICTURE OF MONTENEGRO

Glossing over sensitive issues

by Violeta Marniku and
Vladan Žugić

Montenegrin government is a lot more honest towards Brussels than towards its own citizens: in its replies to the European Commission Questionnaire, the Government admitted that there is a lack of administrative capacities in certain areas, that the national legislation hasn't been harmonised with the European one, and that there are, and will be, problems in implementing the acquis.

All the congratulations go to the enormous efforts made by the administration to explain in a single document all the mechanisms which underlie the functioning of our institutions according to the existing rules and regulations, all of which have been sent to Brussels together with a wealth of statistical data.

On the other hand, the Government, like a student accustomed to cheating and a little overwhelmed by the most difficult exam in European integrations, resorted to some strange explanations, and even decided to hide a number of facts and studies. This is true mainly in the most sensitive areas – corruption, money laundering, rule of law, freedom of speech...

Among other things, the Montenegrin Government submitted a list of corruption-related studies, omitting a number of studies done by non-governmental or international organisations. When asked for additional replies on the concrete results of corruption-related studies, the government skipped the results produced by international organisations and NGOs even though, unlike the official reports sent to Brussels, these actually contained concrete findings.

The original answer contained a number of surveys and opinion polls conducted by the Anti-Corruption

Directorate (UAI), local governments and non-governmental organisations. In addition to the surveys, the reply also listed various analyses, such as those on the harmonisation of the laws with the UN Convention on Anti-Corruption and on the implementation of the Action Plan against Corruption and Organised Crime.

As for the studies of the NGO sector, the research on the financing of political parties and the conflict of interests by Centre for Monitoring and MANS' publications on free access to information were also included.

Even the additional replies to the Commission disregarded the studies done after November 2009, such as those of the Centre for Democratic

Transition (CDT) on the financing of political parties, or the Centre for Civic Education (CCE) and CEMI on corruption in education as well as MANS' publications on corruption in privatisation and the construction sector.

On the issue of corruption the Ministry of Justice notes that on 30 June 2009 260 corruption cases were in process before the Montenegrin courts.

"In this period, 201 cases were concluded (101 convictions, 86 acquittals and 14 rejections). Out of those, 107 were final verdicts, while the remaining ones are currently subject to appeal", reads the reply.

In the section on "Justice and Fundamental Rights", the Ministry of

Montenegrin government is a lot more honest towards Brussels than towards its own citizens: in its replies to the European Commission Questionnaire, the Government admitted that there is a lack of administrative capacities in certain areas, that the national legislation hasn't been harmonised with the European one, and that there are, and will be, problems in implementing the acquis



Dukanović hands over the replies to EC Questionnaire

Justice boasts that in 2009 several denunciations were processed against the "big fish", although the European Commission didn't ask for it.

"It should be noted that in 2009 the courts also processed the charges against the responsible individuals in Luka Bar (Bar Harbour), director of the AMS Montenegro (Automotive Association), director of the public enterprise "Medical Centre Ulcinj", head of the communal police in Cetinje, responsible individuals from the Urbanisation Centre in Tivat, company "Plav Lake", director of the company "Demo" from Bar, judge of the Higher Court in Bijelo Polje on charges of bribe, management and staff of the construction inspectorate in Ulcinj, director and eight employees of the of the Real Estate Register in Kotor on

global financial crisis as the main "culprit" of its failure to process a single investigation on money laundering, in contrast to 2006.

"In 2006 a great amount of foreign direct investments arrived to Montenegro, and as a consequence the influx of money from abroad to the bank accounts of domestic and foreign individuals and companies was continuously under scrutiny by the relevant public institutions, primarily the Directorate for the Prevention of Money-Laundering and Financing of Terrorism", states the document.

It is added that, on the other hand, all negative effects of the 2009 global crisis played out in the Montenegrin market. "This minimised the amount of investments, and by the same token the number of monetary

The Government, like a student accustomed to cheating and a little overwhelmed by the most difficult exam in European integrations, resorted to some strange explanations, and even decided to hide a number of facts and studies. This is true mainly for the most sensitive areas – corruption, money laundering, rule of law, freedom of speech...

account of several charges of bribe and abuse of office, several police and customs officials for accepting bribe..."

According to the replies, "during 2008 property worth a total of 1 037 825 euros and 116 000 dollars was confiscated in corruption-related verdicts".

In the replies to additional questions the Government identified the

transactions in this year", says the Government.

Statistics of the state prosecutor and courts lead to a conclusion that Montenegro isn't exceptionally threatened by money laundering. Even in the additional replies, the Government avoided the question of the verdict against the publisher "Vijesti" and its director **Željko Ivanović** on libel charges



raised by the Prime Minister **Milo Đukanović**, although the EC had specifically asked for it. The Commission was also dissatisfied by the Government's answer from December on the question of libel charges and verdicts against journalists and compensations awarded for psychological pains, which omitted the verdict against "Vijesti" and **Nebojša Medojević** on charges brought by the owner of the Steel Plant in Nikšić as well as that against "Monitor" and **Andrej Nikolaidis** in a case against director **Emir Kusturica**.

According to the replies, between 2005 and 2009 the media and the journalists were convicted to paying 141 000 euros in fines in 15 libel cases, while another 18 trials are under way.

Ministry of agriculture, forests and waters admitted that the Law on Food Safety and Law on Veterinary haven't been harmonised with European standards, although they insisted that the opposite was the case at the time the laws were being adopted.

It is also noted that there is a marked shortage of veterinaries in Montenegro, that there are 23 inspectors employed by the Veterinary Directorate and that it will be difficult to achieve the planned increase in employment.

"This number is only right if some of the inspectors have been cloned, and it seems I'm also included in this number. At the moment there are 20 inspectors altogether, and 7 or 9 of them are permanently stationed at the border crossings", says the former inspector **Mirjana Drašković**, and adds that "veterinary inspection and control

MORE MONEY FOR SCIENCE

The Government of Montenegro plans to draft a special action plan by 2011 which would raise the level of investment into science and research to 1.4% of gross domestic product (GDP).

According to the replies to the Questionnaire, last year 0.4% of GDP was spent on science, of which 0.1% came from public and 0.3% from private sources.

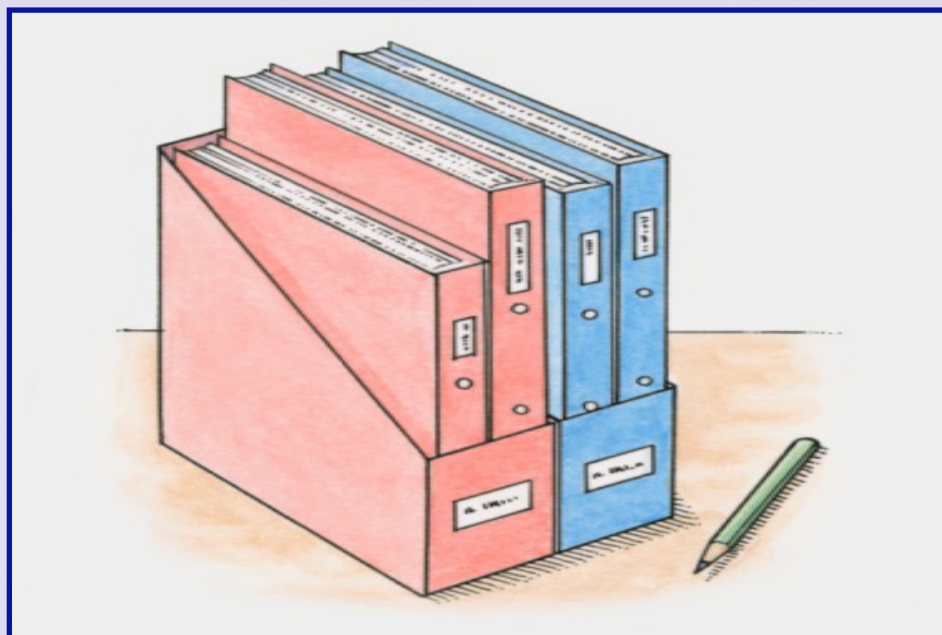
Asked "which measures are you planning to take to stimulate private sector investments into research", the Government promised to find a way to stimulate entrepreneurs.

"In addition to the existing tax breaks on import of research related equipment, the Ministry of Education will submit an initiative to the Government by the end of 2010 considering additional stimuli for private investment into research (additional tax breaks, priority in access to public research funds, encouragement of patents, innovations, new products etc)", states the document.

in the interior market is hardly conducted at all". She reminds that already three years ago she pointed out that the Law on Food Safety and the Law on Veterinary were not in line with European standards, and that these sectors were lacking staff and capacities, but the Ministry rejected her comments.

Ministry of Environment and Spatial Planning admitted in its replies to the Questionnaire that Montenegro doesn't have special programmes for research and development of the environment and that there aren't any special mechanisms to address the impact of environmental problems on the citizens' health. Emphasising that many of the required provisions already exist in the national legislation and the National Strategy of Sustainable Development, which are extensively quoted, and that a large number of requirements has already been fulfilled, the Ministry concedes that Montenegro doesn't have a concrete action programme for the environment with short and medium term objectives, and notes that the main obstacles in this area are the lack of cadre, insufficient knowledge of the relevant EU regulations, insufficiently integrated approach to the strengthening of the system of environmental management as well as the lack of technical capacities of the executive and expert agencies.

The government added that an organised system of monitoring of the quality of oil, gas, and other fuels in use and their impact on the greenhouse gasses has not been established yet and that "for the time being, there is no regulation governing the control



of organic emissions from various sources that would be in line with EU directives".

Asked about the management of dangerous waste in absence of adequate waste collection sites, the Government replied that "in absence of equipment for thermal processing of dangerous waste, or landfill sites, generators of dangerous waste are temporarily storing such waste within their own sites, and for the time being exports of dangerous waste seem to be the only feasible solution to this problem".

In the section on economy, the Ministry of finance had to explain the financial situation of the First Bank, and it offered a grey picture of Montenegrin everyday life. The document states that the financial crisis has spilled over into the real economy, leading to a decline in economic activity, employment,

bankruptcies, and a fall in the disposable incomes of the population...

"This all lead to a drastic increase of in the number of non-performing loans, which according to the data from January amount to more than 30% of all loans. It also lead to a shortage of liquidity among a great number of companies and according to the latest data around one quarter of all companies have their accounts blocked by a decision of the Economic Court because of unserviced debts, while the number of non-liquid firms is even larger. Besides, a significant number of citizens and companies are over-indebted...", states the Ministry in a reply to an additional question by EC.

Prime Minister Milo Đukanović handed in the first set of the replies on 9 December 2009 to the European Enlargement Commissioner **Olli Rehn**. The answers took up 4 433 pages and were bound into 12 volumes.

Montenegro received two additional sets of a total of 700 questions.

In mid-April the Government unexpectedly published the replies to the EC Questionnaire, which can be found at www.upitnik.gov.me.

Before that, the Government refused to make the replies public for a while, although it was required to do so by a verdict of the Administrative Court, as there was no ground to consider them a state secret.

ACCURATE ON FISHERIES

Emil Kriještorac, an official of the People's Party who has been closely following the development of fisheries for many years says that the Government's replies in this area were "compiled accurately, professionally and expertly".

"The European Commission sent 53 questions and 13 supplementary questions, which says enough about the importance of this industry in EU. The Government's replies to these questions were, in my opinion, accurately, expertly and professionally done. I especially value the fact that they clearly and honestly emphasised the things we haven't implemented, although they have been in the pipeline for a long time", Kriještorac said.

WHY DID THE GOVERNMENT SUDDENLY DECIDE TO PUBLISH THE ANSWERS TO EC QUESTIONNAIRE

If it's for Brussels...

The Government of Montenegro seems to hold in higher esteem one kind request from Brussels than a



by Nedeljko Rudović

verdict of the Montenegrin court. When on 13 April they finally published the answers to the European Commission Questionnaire, Đukanović's cabinet failed to explain why they decided to meet the demands of the public, and comply with the verdict. Especially since a few days before Minister for European Integrations, Gordana Đurović, insisted that, in spite of the Administrative Court which ruled twice that the Government should not have been allowed to keep the answers secret, she will not publish the answers until the very end of the communication process with EC. The process is not officially closed, since there is still a chance that Brussels might send additional questions. What has happened?

The government took the veil of mystery from the answers after it was suggested to them by the DG Enlargement. Just before that the "Access Info" (AIE) organisation from Madrid requested the answers by the Montenegrin Government from EC, but Brussels refused in order to "protect international relations and because the Government of Montenegro doesn't want to publish them".

The Spanish NGO then brought court charges against EC, explaining that non-EU members cannot dictate the rules to the Member States. So in order not to complicate their lives too much, the Brussels' officials phoned up Podgorica and the Government quickly obliged. The event is an excellent illustration of the Montenegrin reality – the Government only obeys those who are stronger, and it disregards the weaker ones, even boasting its disdain for

the court's verdicts.

In countries such as Bulgaria, Croatia, Macedonia or Romania, the answers to the Questionnaire were published on the day of submission to the European Commission or even a day earlier. But already the additional questions suggested that Đukanović's team had a good reason to hide its replies, and even the second set of answers left out some key info that could compromise the government, most of all those concerning exorbitant libel-related fines to the independent media.

Thus the Government forgot to mention the verdict against the daily "Vijesti" and its director Željko Ivanović on charges brought by the prime minister Đukanović for "psychological pains" caused to him by the writings of this paper, although the EC had specifically asked about it. The European Commission was equally unhappy by the Government's replies from December concerning the libel charges and verdicts against journalists and compensations accorded on account of "psychological pains", which omitted both the ruling against "Vijesti" and Nebojša Medojević on charges brought by the owners of the Steel Plant, and those against "Monitor" and Andrej Nikolaidis on charges brought by the film director Emir Kusturica.

At the end of the additional reply the Government "remembered" the steel mill

The real question is why is the Government so eager to hide the data and assessment of the situation it already submitted to Brussels? Is it perhaps afraid that the public might find the data incomplete and misleading, or perhaps even false? Will it turn out in the end that the Government tried to cheat on Brussels?

and Kusturica but it failed to "identify" the verdict against Vijesti.

The degree to which Brussels trusts Podgorica is most obvious in a recent statement by the EU ambassador to Podgorica Leopold Maurer, right after the Government announced in its answers that in 2008 it confiscated "property benefits" worth 1.1 million euros for corruption-related crimes and that in 2009 it processed several charges against the "big fish". The big fish, according to the



Government, are "responsible persons in AD Luka Bar", director of the drivers' association of Montenegro, director of the public institute Health Centre in Ulcinj, head of the public utility inspectorate in Cetinje, employees of the Directorate for Urbanism in Tivat...

Maurer's verdict was tough: "EU invested a lot in Montenegro to achieve effective fight against corruption and organised crime, and the Government should after all demonstrate some results in the near future".

"Government employees know very well that the road to EU lies through fight against corruption and they should show us some results in that direction. I don't mean sending to prison a handful of small fish – we need the examples to demonstrate that

the Government is able to fight corruption on the highest level", Maurer said.

If we read Maurer's words and their sharp intonation carefully, it appears that the Montenegrin Government should be bracing for ever more difficult and tension-ridden rounds of communication with Brussels. This is not to say that it was all roses until now – communication with some capitals of the most important EU members, especially Berlin, has long been on the tense side.

RAPPORTEUR TO THE EUROPEAN ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL COUNCIL (EESC) FOR MONTENEGRO VLADIMIRA DRBALOVÁ

Patience, and continue pressuring the Government

Member of the European Economic and Social Council (EESC) and rapporteur for the EESC Opinion on the role of civil society in EU–Montenegrin relations **Vladimira Drbalová** advised civil society to be more patient in the process of accession to European Union, but to continue pressuring the Government to involve them in the decision making processes.

"My advice is – be more patient, because the process of development of the participatory democracy is an evolution rather than a revolution. On the other hand, remain proactive in stepping up the pressure on the state administration to be involved in the national processes and to influence them", said Drbalová in the inter-



Vladimira Drbalová

view with *European Pulse*.

How can EESC help the devel-

opment of the civil society in Montenegro?

EC ASKED ABOUT MONTENEGRO

● What are the main conclusions of EESC's Opinion on civil society in Montenegro?

Despite some criticism in the EC Report on the progress of Montenegro, published in October 2009, many positive steps have been made towards the fulfilment of the Copenhagen criteria and Stabilisation and Association Agreement.

Civil society in Montenegro has learned many lessons: it became more active and prepared to fulfil its role as a guarantee of sound development of democracy and advocate of the rights of Montenegrin citizens.

Now is the key moment to begin cooperation between Montenegrin civil society organisations with partner organisations in European Union represented by the EESC in Brussels.

● Will EESC's Opinion influence the Opinion of the European Commission on Montenegro's application for EU membership, and further on the decision of the Council on granting the candidate status to Montenegro?

I am sure that it will. First of all, the European Commission itself asked us for this Opinion, and secondly, EESC is a unique organisation in the family of European institutions representing the civil society, and it is our task to provide a realistic picture of the state of the civil society in the countries currently in the association process.

The EESC is like a bridge between the citizens and the European institutions and has already developed its instruments to be in touch with the citizens from the associated or candidate countries. An initial opinion about the situation in the country with all the recommendations addressed to the government and the parliament in the respective countries or to the European institutions is only the first step. When the country is given a candidate status the EESC establishes a Join Consultative Committee (JCC) composed by the members of EESC and representatives of the civil society of the candidate country. JCC is a solid platform for more effective and systematic coopera-

tion. The conclusions of each JCC meeting serve to highlight the concerns of the civil society in that country, and based on those the EESC starts to look for and develop solutions.

Is civil society in Montenegro adequately involved in the decision-making processes?

According to the talks the EESC delegation had in Podgorica in January this year with the representatives of civil society organisations, trade unions and employers, civil society is still not sufficiently involved in the consultation or decision making processes, and even when they are involved their voice is not heard and their recommendations are not taken into consideration to the extent they should be.

What do you think about the assessments from the part of the civil sector that the Government is privileging certain organisations and associations? For instance, the Government has recognised as a social partner only one trade union – the Confederation of Trade Unions of Montenegro (CTUM).

MECHANISMS EXIST BUT THE WILL IS LACKING

● How could the NGOs, trade unions and employers could become more involved in the processes of consultations and decision making, where the Government and other institutions would take their opinions into account? What would be the best mechanism for it?

The mechanism already exists, it is just not being used adequately. The best platform for the social partners is the Social Council. Under this umbrella there are different working groups and this is the right way to involve the social partners on the national level in the processes of information, consultation and decision-making. The new strategy EU 2020, which is also relevant for the countries in the association process, says that the governments of the member states ought to improve the capacities of the social partners and utilise the potential of social dialogue.

As for the non-governmental organisations, the relevant platform would be the announced Council for cooperation with the NGOs and the cooperation should be based on the Strategy for cooperation between the Montenegrin Government and NGOs.

Mechanisms are all there, only political will and mutual understanding are needed!

I believe that this favouritism on the part of the Government and other institutions is only a consequence of the whole process – the main problem is the lack of clear procedures which define the rights of certain actors and set up transparent criteria for representative-

ness.

To stick with the example of the trade unions, the criteria established by the Labour Code are against the principle of plurality of the trade union movement.

The situation of the employers' organisations is better but still in hands of the Labour Ministry. The law of representativeness of trade unions is still pending, but we already suggested that the same procedure should be introduced for the employers' associations.

What is your overall impression of the state of the civil society in Montenegro?

Montenegrin citizens support very strongly the reform process within the country as well as the rapprochement with EU.

Despite the still low capacity, limited financial sources and the other obstacles the potential of the Montenegrin society is huge and still not sufficiently realized.

USEFUL EXPERIENCES

● There is much controversy in Montenegro regarding representativeness of trade unions. How is representativeness of trade unions or employers' associations judged in EU member states?

There is a huge variety within the EU-27 in that regard, due to different historical trajectories.

The most relevant experiences for Montenegro are perhaps those of the Czech Republic or Slovakia.

In the Czech Republic the tripartite negotiations are based on, let say, "gentlemen's' agreement" and the representativeness is set by the statute of the highest tripartite body, the Council for Economic and Social Compact. An employers' association is considered representative if its members employ at least 400 000 workers, and a trade union is representative if it has at least 200 000 members.

In Slovakia the tripartite institutions and bargaining are all defined by the Law on Tripartism, which defines, among other, the criteria for representativeness.

Either way, such systems allow for pluralism in representation of employees' and employers' interests, while at the same time guaranteeing the representativeness of the relevant actors.

V. ŽUGIĆ

CRUSADES – THE FIRST MOVEMENT OF A NEW EUROPE

Cross in the heart, sword in hand



The Crusades were a series of religiously inspired military campaigns, waged by much of Latin Christian Europe. The specific crusades to

by Miloš Vukanović

restore Christian control of the Holy Land were fought over a period of nearly 200 years, between 1095 and 1291. Other campaigns in Spain and Eastern Europe continued into the 15th century. The Crusades were fought mainly against Muslims, although campaigns were also waged against pagan Slavs, pagan Balts, Jews, Mongols, Cathars and Hussites, as well as against political enemies of the popes.

The Crusades represent a culmination of a process that began already in the 9th century. Towards the end of this century Western Christianity found itself encircled from all sides. The conquests of Arabs and Vikings, as well as the conflict with Byzantium reduced the territories under Rome's influence to now-days France, northern Italy and Spain, as well as Western Germany. In other places Christians lived under siege in a handful of isolated monasteries or were being assimilated into the sea of pagans and Muslims.

Then began a three-pronged counter-offensive. The first step was the conquest of Scandinavian peoples (Normans), Slavs and Magyars. The second was to reassert Rome's dominance over the British isles over the so-called Celtic Christianity (which was not too difficult to do after the Viking invasion), and the final step was the beginning of Reconquista in Spain.

Reconquista was the war against the Moorish dominions on Iberian Peninsula. The involved not only the Christian states from the northern parts of today's Spain, but also those from other kingdoms, especially the Franks. As the missionary model used in Eastern Europe and on the British Isles failed to yield any results in territories under Muslim control, the later Christian invasions of Muslim-dominated countries were largely modelled on Reconquista.

The Crusades, most of all those towards

the Holy Land, were the peak of this expansion, and constitute the first wave of conquests by West Europeans beyond the borders of the continent.

The Crusades are usually ascribed to two immediate causes, although any historical explanation needs to take into account a number of other factors. Palestine has been under the Arab rule since the 7th century, but for a long time they recognised the Christians' right to pilgrimage. Only with the arrival of Seljuk Turks the violence against Christians and pilgrims began, and soon after the Basilica of the Holy Grave was demolished. Although Seljuks soon realised that pilgrims should be left in peace (not least because of the income they brought to the city of Jerusalem), the damage was already done. The second immediate cause was the appeal

Although Europe had been exposed to Islamic culture for centuries through contacts in Iberian Peninsula and Sicily, much knowledge in areas such as science, medicine, and architecture was transferred from the Islamic to the western world during the crusade era

of the Byzantine emperor for help. After his defeat in the battle of Manzikert in 1071, Seljuks occupied nearly the entire Middle East. This forced the Byzantine court to appeal to the Pope for help, asking for an order of Western knights. The Pope agreed to help, but instead of a few units sent entire armies. In March 1095 at the Council of Piacenza, ambassadors sent by Byzantine Emperor called for help in defence against Muslims. Later that year, at the Council of Cler-

mont, Pope Urban II called upon all Christians to join a war against the Turks, promising those who died in the endeavor would receive immediate remission of their sins.

Apart from these, there were other reasons which followed from the socio-political context of the then Western Europe. The Great Schism took place in 1054 and every attempt at reconciliation proved futile. At the time when Byzantium was on the retreat, a great opportunity to extend the influence of the Papacy had to be seized. Second, as already noted, the European West was on the rise and there was a high concentration of well armed and trained warriors who spent their time in mutual bickering or in terrorising the local populations. The Pope was glad to be able to redirect these forces towards the real enemy. Third, the principle of primogen-

iture was already in place in Europe for several centuries, and it meant that in noble families only the oldest son would inherit the land. The others were left to themselves, and were keen on an opportunity to use their military prowess to acquire the land elsewhere, their dreams fuelled by the tales of the wealth of the Orient. Finally, one cannot disregard personal reasons of many individuals to take part in the adventure, which ranged from religious fervour to a quest for money and fame.

Nine crusades were waged on the Holy Land. However, only the first three were of significant force, led by the greatest rulers of Europe and the Middle East. Their goal was to conquer Levant, and especially to capture Jerusalem. The fourth Crusade ended up with the conquest and pillage of Constantinople in 1204, and the others were much smaller and took place in many different lands, from Tunisia to Egypt to Syria and Caucasus.

After the First Crusade, four Christian states modelled against West European ones were established in the East: the Kingdom of Jerusalem, the County of Edessa, the Principality of Antioch and the County of Tripoli. The rest of Crusades were mostly initiated to defend or expand these territories until 1291, when the last territories acquired a few decades earlier by the English king Edward I will be lost.

The Christian rulers kept together only in

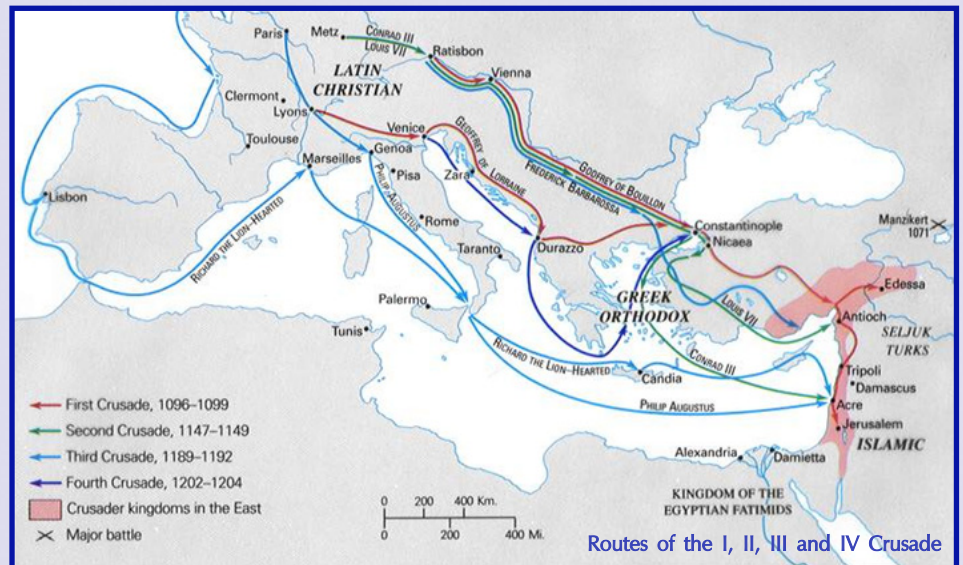


CHILDREN'S WAR

A part from the official military campaigns which naturally caused death and ravages, the Crusades also gave birth to a phenomenon which, if true, is one of the most monstrous and inhuman practices ever witnessed in the military history – the Children's Crusade. The Children's Crusade is a series of possibly fictitious or misinterpreted events of 1212. The alleged superstition that only children can win the war, on account of their innocence, led a gathering of children in France and Germany. The leader of the French army, Stephen, led 30,000 children. The leader of the German army, Nicholas, led 7,000. None of the children actually reached the Holy Land: those who did not return home or settle along the route to Jerusalem either died from shipwreck or hunger, or were sold into slavery in Egypt or North Africa.

the course of the first war. Later on, they even entered alliances with the Muslim caliphs and emirs to fight each other. Jerusalem changed hands several times and the local population was decimated, often by the Western newcomers. Because of difficulties in providing for the troops and the unpredictable flow of reinforcements, the Pope allowed for establishment of the monastic orders of knights – Hospitallers, Knights of St. John, Templars and Teutonic Knights, whose goal was to preserve the Holy Land, but will continue playing a major role in the future political and economic developments in Europe. The war required transportation and provisions for a great number of people all across the Mediterranean for about two centuries. The first to profit was the Venetian Republic whose fleet undertook this task for an adequate monetary and territorial compensation, with Venice replacing the Byzantium as the main maritime force in the Mediterranean.

Although the Crusades in East Mediterranean constitute the most striking example of this type of military undertaking, they were not the only ones. In 1209 a crusade was launched to eliminate the heretical Cathars in the south of France. Crusades in the Baltic and Central European regions were the efforts of Christians, mostly Germans, to subdue and convert these peoples to Christianity. Such undertakings lasted from the 12th to the 16th century and eventually turned into a conflict



between Teutons, Danes, Swedes, Poles and Russians over these territories. In 1398 a huge crusade was organised against Tatars and Mongols who swept into the East European plane a century earlier. An army consisting of Eastern Slavs, Teutons and Lithuanians was beaten in a battle at Vorskla River.

Apart from those, there were three crusades in the Balkans aimed at countering the invasion of the Ottomans: the Crusade of Nicopolis (1396), the Crusade of Varna, and the Crusade of 1456 organized to lift the siege of Belgrade. All of them had somewhat limited the expansion of the Ottoman Empire. Wars against the followers of **Jan Hus** in Bohemia in the period 1420 to circa 1434, known as the first European war in which the gunpowder weapons made a significant contribution is also considered a crusade, as well as three waves of invasion of Finland by Sweden from 1155 to 1293.

The Crusades had an enormous influence on the European Middle Ages. At times,

new scientific discoveries and inventions made their way east or west. Arab advances (including the development of algebra, optics, and refinement of engineering) made their way west and sped the course of advancement in European universities that led to the Renaissance in later centuries. The invasions of German crusaders prevented formation of the large Lithuanian state incorporating all Baltic nations and tribes. The Northern Crusades caused great loss of life among the pagan Polabian Slavs, and they consequently offered little opposition to German colonization of the Elbe–Oder region and were gradually assimilated. The First Crusade also ignited a long tradition of organized violence against Jews in European culture.

Nevertheless, the greatest legacy was the opening up of trade routes, as the movement of this size brought unprecedented increase in the traffic of people and goods, renewal of the neglected Roman roads and strengthened the links between different regions in Europe,

The First Crusade ignited a long tradition of organized violence against Jews in European culture

much of the continent was united under a powerful Papacy, but by the 14th century, the development of centralized bureaucracies (the foundation of the modern nation-state) was well on its way in France, England, Spain, Burgundy, and Portugal, and partly because of the dominance of the church at the beginning of the crusading era.

Although Europe had been exposed to Islamic culture for centuries through contacts in Iberian Peninsula and Sicily, much knowledge in areas such as science, medicine, and architecture was transferred from the Islamic to the western world during the crusade era.

On the other hand, the Crusades are seen as having opened up European culture to the world, especially Asia. Along with trade,

Middle East, North Africa and even Central Asia. Military innovations in the conquest of overseas lands contributed to development of all types of transport and thus increased the volumes of trade.

This had enormous consequences for the change of the everyday lives of Europeans. May historians believe that lessons and innovations acquired by the Europeans through this first attempt at expansion initiated cultural and technological development that would lead up to the Renaissance, but also paved the way for great geographical discoveries and colonisation that were to follow in a few centuries.

The author is a programme associate in Centre for Civic Education

by Brano Mandić

The Edge of Heaven

Eyten

Her name is **Eyten** and she ran off to Germany after a police raid. As a member of an illegal political group, she can't go back to Turkey. She is off to Bremen to look for her mother, together with her blond German girlfriend with whom she hooked up in the university cafeteria. They are pulled over by the police on a highway and Eyten falls into the hands of European judiciary as an illegal immigrant with a fake passport.

"Asylum, asylum", shouts Eyten while she's being arrested. At the court, her application is refused because Turkey is "on the edge of joining the European Union". The court trusts that she will not be tortured in Istanbul because of her radical ideas about freedom and democracy. She is deported home where she gets 20 years in a Turkish prison, one of those which have made the country world famous.

Eyten is, of course, a fictional character. The title of the movie is "The Edge of Heaven", or in German "Auf der anderen Seite", in Turkish "Yasamin Kiyisinda".

Politically sensitive audience at the



stuck in Montenegro, not behind the bars, but in the mission impossible of selling their troubles as political reality. What Brussels needs is a reliable government, i.e. an operative crew of people who will not drive their country into another war. That's why we can have a person who makes basic grammar mis-

ment was so keen on condemning the apartheid in South Africa. What Kuti was saying – dear people, apartheid is better, at least it's the whites killing the blacks while here the blacks are exterminating one another – interested no one.

Executions were on Sundays, the thieves were killed immediately and without trial, at a large beach which for years later vomited out the corpses from the times when Nigeria was "a good example in the region" and "an African success story".

That police threw the musician's mother off the second floor and arrested him and all of his wives, that people were suffering under the terror of a military regime, all that was irrelevant. Only during his American and European tours, handfuls of stoned fans from the first rows would seriously wonder what it was that the genial prophet was talking about, and how did he manage to look at the whites with such superiority, and yet without hatred.

Let us now take a look at the Balkans. Macedonia is poorer, ethnically divided, with a recent experience of violence and a numbed, corrupt elite. Kosovo, apart from being "the heart of Serbia" is also a country with half of its

What Brussels needs is a reliable government, i.e. an operative crew of people who will not drive their country into another war. That's why we can have a person who makes basic grammar mistakes for a minister of education. As long as he's not arresting professors, he's great

Cannes Festival applauded the movie, and **Fatih Akin** got a prize for the best story. He should have been nominated for Oscar too, but the Americans were left somewhat cold by the sad story of a Turkish emigrant girl...

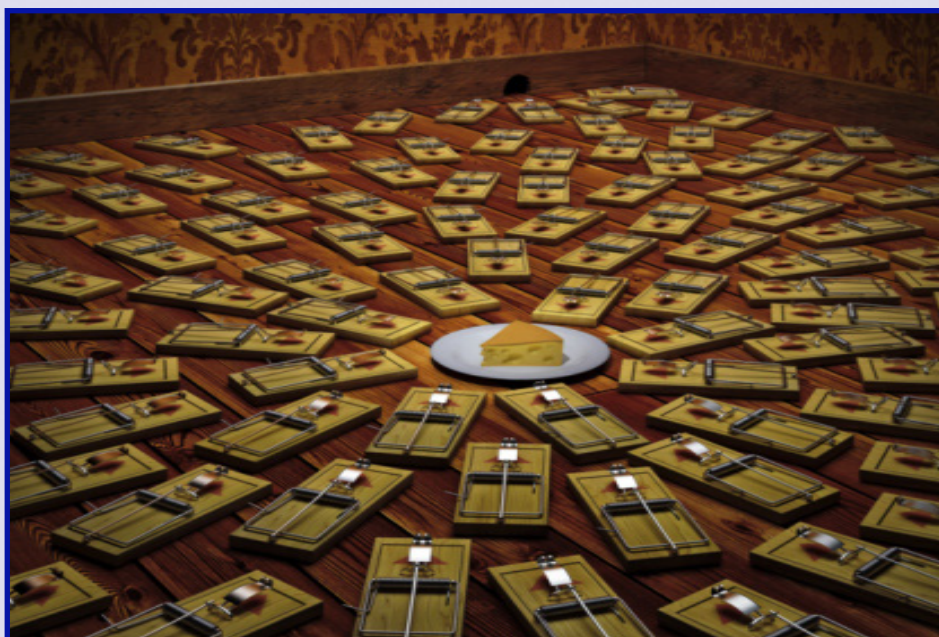
Now back to Podgorica: Europe and the US ambassador **Moore** believe that Montenegro, in Turkish Karadag, in German Schwarzwald, is sufficiently democratic and there's little to be said against their judgement. Or, at least, there is no sense in trying to convince Brussels and Washington that it's much worse here than they allow it to be.

Just like Eyten, many have gotten

takes for a minister of education. As long as he's not arresting professors, he's great.

Fela

Some thirty years ago one **Fela Kuti** babbled the same story. A musician and a revolutionary, the owner of 25 wives and preacher of an ancient African religion ("both Islam and Christianity are artificial"), Fela Kuti tried to convince the west that Nigeria is the worst of all African states. In vain. Americans were only interested in locating some operating general who will do the job of transporting oil. Besides, the Nigerian govern-



population unemployed, but who's counting. Serbia is dying for Kosovo. Bosnia and Herzegovina has entities, a federal government and cantons, municipalities and cities, as well as a High Representative appointed by the European Parliament. Given the surroundings, Montenegro looks like an ok option. We don't even have Thompson like the Croats, which according to one philosopher is a very important factor in assessing the current political moment.

Karadag

The problem is that Montenegrin opposition is hiding its impotence behind big words. They're after an impossible goal – to prove to Brussels that here a major disaster is just about to happen, that the situation is unendurable and

Instead of criticising individual cases, the oppositionists have dug up safe trenches and nobody ever comes out except when they can talk about "the attack on Dubrovnik", "endangered Serbs", "organised crime" and other demons that have lost every symbolic value, and have become useless for political persuasion of the bewildered popular masses

untenable. But the political centres abroad are looking at the Balkans as a whole and judging the situation, among other, by comparative methods. Instead of criticising individual cases, the oppositionists have dug up safe trenches and nobody ever comes out except when they can talk about "the attack on Dubrovnik", "endangered Serbs", "organ-

ised crime" and other demons that have lost every symbolic value, and have become useless for political persuasion of bewildered popular masses. This altogether melts into a boring political discourse of "the last times" where every-

Montenegro remains a laughingstock as a country where the parties in power just cannot lose. The opposition is at least as responsible for this tragedy. They fell into a perfect yin-yang embrace with the hateful enemy and in that pose they feel themselves whole

thing swarms with oaths, kitsch suspense and pointless fuss. When you throw such big words into the political arena, be ready to take up the arms. Otherwise – keep quiet, because some things are not up for grabs. If I thought that my people were being systematically dis-

criminated against in economic, religious, cultural and political terms, I would have either set myself on fire on the main square or at least smashed somebody's car because of it.

Montenegro remains a laughingstock as a country where the parties in power just cannot lose. The opposition is at least as responsible for this tragedy.

They fell into a perfect yin-yang embrace with the hateful enemy and in that pose they feel themselves complete. The voters recognise it unmistakably: the masochism and idleness which corrode every new political platform.

Recently we witnessed the appearance of Forum 2010, but nobody is quite sure what all these round tables are for. Crucially, a gathering of intellectuals never bodes well. The new Forum should only pacify the political hysteria a little and dig in for thorough education of the populace. That, however, is a job for a political party, which Forum doesn't want to be. If this is a way to enter the government in a civilised manner and change the system from within, ok. For the time being, however, this is one confusing initiative happily neglected by the media. The elections are coming up and nothing changed very much, so we shouldn't expect any surprising results. The battle for votes in the Capital City will be lead as usual, by mutual slander.

All that is a circus performance of little interest for Brussels. The results of the elections will be confirmed, as another democratic step forward. Montenegro is a bright example in the region because we have no words to describe what is happening to us. The state is a hostage of the government, certainly, but also of the opposition. Pat. A perfect machine which doesn't even need oiling anymore. The worst game is when you know the result in advance. A political trash which deprives every problem of its weight by either overblowing it or forgetting about it altogether. That's how things go when a party is in power for 20 years, carefully recruiting its opponents and recognising early on every idiot with a talent to ruin any attempt at political rebellion. That's it: Montenegro, a European success story.

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

OPINION OF THE EUROPEAN ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL COMMITTEE ON THE ROLE OF CIVIL SOCIETY IN EU-MONTENEGRIN RELATIONS

The Government should change its attitude towards genuine NGOs

The procedure for appointing NGO representatives to the National Council for EU integration (NCEI) should be defined by Parliamentary decree and based on "clear criteria of the credibility and legitimacy of NGOs with a track record in EU affairs."

The procedure for appointing NGO representatives to the National Council for EU integration (NCEI) should be defined by Parliamentary decree and based on "clear criteria of the credibility and legitimacy of NGOs with a track record in EU affairs". The Government should "establish clear mechanisms in order to provide genuine NGO representation" within diverse bodies, and "clearly specify tax regulation for NGOs, as well as update the NGO register in order to stop manipulation concerning this issue".

These are some of the recommendations from the Opinion of the European Economic and Social Committee (EESC) on the role of civil society in EU-Montenegrin relations, adopted on 28 April at the plenary meeting of this body, on request of



the European Commission.

Committee's recommendations to the Parliament of Montenegro state that "the procedure for appointing NGO representatives to the NCEI should be defined by Parliamentary decree and based on clear criteria of the credibility and legitimacy of NGOs with a track record in EU affairs". The Committee finds that "Civil society also has two representatives in NCEI. However the legality

and legitimacy of the appointment of the current members has been seriously challenged by credible NGOs. Clear criteria should be defined by Parliamentary decree and designed to ensure the transparency, representativeness and quality of the respective delegates. The National Council for EU integration could be a promising tool for deeper and more effective involvement of civil society in the EU integration process. Its potential should be unlocked".

The document reminds that NGOs were given legally guaranteed positions in the Council of RTCCG, the Council for Civic Control of the Police, NCEI, the National Commission for the Fight Against Corruption and Organised Crime, etc.

"Improvements have been made after many years of persistent effort on the part of NGOs in most of these cases but the NCEI remains a body of serious concern in relation to the legitimacy and legality of the NGO representatives", states the Opinion,

ĐUROVIĆ TO OPEN UP

EESC suggests that the Government Commission for European Integrations, which is active within the Ministry for European Integrations, should open up for the representatives of the social partners, who should be gradually involved in the process of country's integration into EU.

"The social partners were not involved as much as they should have been when it came to the EU questionnaire. Only the Montenegrin Employers' Federation and Chamber of Commerce cooperated as part of governmental working bodies to answer the questionnaire. According to the EU instructions all the social partners should have been consulted in the relevant part of the questionnaire", states the document.

compiled by the rapporteur **Vladimira Drbalová**. **Daliborka Uljarević**, executive director of CCE was involved as expert consultant in the drafting of the Opinion.

The second recommendation to the Parliament of Montenegro was to incorporate NGO standpoints into the Law on Volunteers. The EESC finds that the Government proposal of the Law on Volunteers "did not acknowledge the position of NGO representatives and thus made the whole spirit of this law questionable".

European Economic and Social Council urges the Government of Montenegro "To intensify the fight against corruption in line with the recommendation made in the EC Progress Report. Corruption remains prevalent in many areas and continues to be a particularly serious problem".

According to the Opinion, it is necessary to intensify the implementation of the adopted National strategy for cooperation between the Government and non-governmental organisations.

"Clear mechanisms should be established in order to provide gen-

The procedure for appointing NGO representatives to NCEI should be defined by a Parliamentary decree and based on clear criteria of credibility and legitimacy of NGOs with a track record in EU affairs

uine NGO representation within diverse bodies as stipulated by the

spirit of the existing regulation, and especially within the planned Council

for cooperation with NGOs, where

NGOS DEPEND ON THEIR LEADERS AND FOREIGN DONORS

The Montenegrin NGO sector has a weak tradition and uncertain future due to the generally undeveloped political culture and culture of human rights. It is heavily dependent on foreign aid as well on its own key leaders which makes it fragile in the event of changes of the personalities or the withdrawal of donors, warns the EESC.

In the section on self-regulation of NGOs the Opinion states that "within the Coalition of NGOs 'Through Cooperation to the Aim', which is the largest of its kind, bringing together approximately 200 NGOs in Montenegro, a self-regulatory body has been established and a Code of Conduct produced and accepted by most of the major NGOs, as well as number of others, who have made public their narrative and financial records in line with that Code of Conduct. This is crucial for improving the transparency of NGOs and consequently public confidence".

The EESC concludes that, in the perception of Montenegrin citizens, NGOs are identified with civil society.

"To a great extent this corresponds to the NGOs' real contribution to the establishment of principles of an open civic society and a healthy balance of powers, but it also points to worryingly low levels of social activism, potential and initiative in other categories of civil society", warns EESC in its Opinion.

According to the EESC, the legal framework for the operation of NGOs is solid, but there is space for improvement, especially with regard to the tax system, which is not clearly defined in the case of NGOs. Also, EESC believes that the figure of approximately 4 500 registered NGOs often quoted in public is not reliable, and adds that the Government promise to soon launch a new software in the Ministry of Interior Affairs which will resolve these controversial issues.

the NGO representatives should not be elected by the Government but only verified on the basis of eligibility criteria", states the document.

EESC concludes that the existing Office for cooperation with NGOs has very limited human and technical resources to assist NGOs appropriately and to ensure the further development of NGOs.

"The plan to establish a Governmental Council for NGOs, with genuine NGO representatives, has to be a high priority", emphasised EESC.

It adds that tax regulations should be clearly specified for NGOs and accompanying laws introduced where applicable.

"Also, NGOs should be more effectively included in public debates on draft laws in order to contribute to the process of aligning Montenegrin legislation with EU standards and best practices. The same applies to the

FROM WORDS TO DEEDS

EESC believes that "the key challenge facing Montenegro is state and institution building, fulfilment of standards and criteria set by the EU and consequently establishment of a functional rule of law system with full inclusion of all societal groups. These challenges are part of the same process, heavily influencing each other, and therefore have to be understood within the framework of that interaction".

It adds that "the Government has further streamlined its European integration activities by maintaining a particularly strong pace in adopting new legislation".

"However, one has to make a clear distinction between drafting and adoption of new legislation, which is mainly done within a reasonable timeframe and in most cases is of good quality, and its implementation for which there is often a lack of resources or political will", warns EESC.

PUBLIC FUNDS ARE NOT TRANSPARENTLY DISTRIBUTED AND BYPASS GENUINE NGOS

Significant funds set up by the state for the financing of NGOs do not actually reach most of the active and genuine NGOs or support the programmes aiming at democratisation of the society, warns EESC.

"The Regulation on the allocation of these means was drafted by a task force composed of government officials and NGO representatives and passed by the Government in 2008 and forms a solid framework, but its application remains a matter of widespread manipulation and serious concern. A new inter-sectoral group will be formed in 2010 to work on new regulations in an attempt to resolve these issues". EESC finds that the work of the Commission for the allocation of a portion of lottery income which manages the biggest funds – in 2009 it amounted to 3 440 000 euros – is marked by a lack of transparency and serious misconduct in the allocation of the funds.

As for the funding from international sources, it is observed that the NGO community in Montenegro has mainly been functioning with the support of international donors.

"Recently, this funding has become problematic due to the fact that a lot of bilateral donors have withdrawn in line with their own priorities and that US assistance has been scaled down enormously, leaving the NGO sector reliant on EU funds, for which procedures are rather complicated. This is already leading to a situation where only the biggest organisations will survive and develop whereas the others will be limited in their actions and growth", warns EESC.

updates to the National Plan for Integration and IPA programming", recommends EESC, adding that "NGOs are welcomed by the Government when they are politically acceptable or when they are providing various services but the problems in this regard occur within watchdog and monitoring programmes, as well as in effective consultation and inclusion into policy and decision making processes".

The Opinion emphasises that the register of NGOs should be updated and made public on the website of the competent body to provide precise details of the number of NGOs, thus stopping the manipulation concerning this issue.

"All NGOs should publish their narrative and financial reports on a regular basis, in order to contribute to the overall process of transparency in society and to increase their own credibility. An appropriate legal basis needs to be adopted, i.e. legislation on business activities in farming, fish-

ing and other self-employed professions, and the right to join a trade union needs to be extended to

Clear mechanisms should be established in order to provide genuine NGO representation within diverse bodies as stipulated by the spirit of the existing regulation, and especially within the planned Council for cooperation with NGOs, where the NGO representatives should not be elected by the Government but only verified on the basis of eligibility criteria

everyone, not just employees", states the Opinion of EESC.

European Economic and Social Committee is very critical of the Government's Law on Trade Union Representativeness, emphasising that it "must create a legislative framework establishing transparent and non-discriminatory criteria for the representativeness of trade union organisations and enable a plurality of trade unions in the country.

"The Government has unilaterally decided on a census 20%, which means that 20% of all Montenegrin employees must be organised in the

unions to fulfil the criteria for representativeness at national level. Nevertheless the criteria should also reflect other components like territorial and branch structure and ability to defend the rights of workers effectively" states the document.

It adds that the Law ought to contain detailed criteria for representativeness of employers' associations, and suggests that "the potential of the Social Council should be realised and used as an effective tool for consulting and informing the Social Partners, in order to address all relevant economic and social concerns".

EESC also formulated some recommendations to the European Commission:

"To apply new indicators in the monitoring process, – one for the development of civil society and the second one for social dialogue – in order to help ensure that civil society is better and more effectively involved in the pre-accession process.

To continue to support civil society partnerships and capacity development, and also to include civil society

in IPA programming and to promote the establishment of an EU–Montenegro Joint Consultative Committee as soon as Montenegro has been granted the status of candidate country", states the Opinion of EESC.

EESC recommended the establishment of a Joint Consultative Committee (JCC) between EU and Montenegro, as soon as Montenegro is granted candidate country status.

"This JCC can allow civil society organisations from both sides to pursue a more in-depth dialogue and monitor the country's progress towards the EU", states the Opinion.

WHY DO I WANT TO BE A CITIZEN OF EUROPEAN UNION

Memories of integration

Few areas of social and political life are as prone to clichés as European integrations. The very expression "Euro-



by Selman Adžović

pean integration" became a slogan, a mandatory, indispensable weapon in the rhetorical arsenal of every ambitious politician, every modern Montenegrin Euro-enthusiast.

What is, then, the original meaning of this expression? Where is the original power of European integrations? A student, a young man in his early twenties can hardly recall the beginnings of European integrations. Here I don't mean the beginnings of the European Coal and Steel Community, or the Rome Treaty, but the expression itself, this all-powerful argument which in every discussion somehow ends up on the right side.

European integrations, European Union" Those better versed in YouTube can find them even in the vocabulary of Balkan politicians in the late eighties and early nineties. Afterwards, the arguments for and against wars have quickly overshadowed every other issue of importance for our society. In the meantime, the war ended, and so did the lawlessness in taxes and customs and smuggling as the primary economic sector. Enter, slowly but surely, European integrations, and they have dominated the stage ever since.

European integration, seen as the holy grail of all clichés in the contemporary political vocabulary, hasn't perhaps lost all the meaning, but it certainly lost the freshness and its original power. We remember that these two words used to radiate optimism, when they were synonym for a better, happier, safer tomorrow. These two sweet words summed up everything that our parents, nostalgic for the good old days and exhausted by the darkness of the nineties, wished for their children.

But with frequent usage the notions of

EU and European integration lost their persuasive power. One could say that happiness is only in the waiting, and in this particular case that one could be right. It's not even that we are so close to the EU, but it's instructive to see what it is we got out of European integrations so far – visa-free travel. In the region, this success was celebrated as some kind of major sports victory, with public manifestations and concerts in the main squares. In Montenegro, the euphoria was somewhat more subdued, but the fact remains that in those days we were all over the place with happiness that now we can travel to the EU member states without visas! Now that we don't need visas any more, the number of journeys our citizens take to the Schengen zone is about the same as before. It is interesting that a great majority of citizens, as well as politicians, including those who were responsible for the implementation of visa-free travel, learned about certain details of the new system only after the agreement was signed. The detail included the "discovery" that visa-free travel does not include every EU member, among which, to the great disappointment of many, the United Kingdom. Further, there is also the clause that we can only stay in the Schengen zone for 90 days every six months. The list is longer, and the conclusion is obvious – we expect more from

personal motivation, in fact, is in that expression – European integration – from the times when it still held the power and in the refusal to let the EU fade away in my eyes because of the abuse of its name. Europe has long ceased to be just a continent. EU has given it the character of a political and economic unit, and it has brought Europe together. As a person who believes that the form is often there for the sake of the content, I simply want us to finally, formally and fully, become Europe! Because that's what we are, in spite of all our specificities.

The question is, however, whether that is the best attitude for a young person – to support a country on its road to European integration based entirely on his or her wish to join EU. I am glad that a majority seems to have a more rational approach, but I still believe that things can also be seen from my angle. The desire is often the main engine, in spite of its merits! We have expected too much from the visa-free travel, and now we are slightly disappointed. Still, it is undeniable that our grand desire to get to the so-called "White list" got us a long way towards the goal.

It is always easier to work for a goal if we are passionate about it. Although it did turn out that the happiness was to a great deal in the waiting, objectively speaking,

We expect more from European integration than it can deliver

European integration than it can deliver.

Still, let me answer the question from the heading of this page – Why do I want to be a citizen of EU? For those who had the patience to read this article thus far and conclude that I am a cynic and perhaps even a Euro-sceptic, here comes the anticlimax.

I am not a Euro-sceptic. First, there is no proof that there is a single one living in Montenegro and second, I do wish to become a citizen of EU from the bottom of my heart! And not because of the job or study opportunities, or because of the structural funds, European legislation, monetary union etc. Of course, I do recognise the benefits of each, but in all honesty I cannot pinpoint the concrete reason for which I would like to become a citizen of EU. My

visa-free travel is a great success for Montenegro and a great relief for those who travel. Those who do not travel are the ones who got disappointed. In short – we hoped for too much, and we got a lot. Accession to EU will be similar – there will be many disappointed analysts and bloggers, but our society will surely get a lot.

It is up to us to harness the power that once resided in the expression European Union, and to perhaps use it less for daily political purposes, but to incorporate it more into our value system, to work harder – each of us individually – and to continue ahead with enthusiasm. That way, the dream of our generation will come true.

The author is an associate in Centre for Civic Education (CCE)

Law by Internet

European Union will enable its citizens to sight petitions for new laws via Internet, but only under certain conditions, proposed the European Commission in mid-April.

The "civic initiative" is one of the reforms envisaged by the Lisbon Treaty. In that context, the Commission dealt with the link between Internet and civic initiatives because of the 2006 Internet campaign to abolish the seat of the European Parliament in Strasbourg. The campaign failed, because the Commission didn't have legal means of processing it.

According to the new proposal by EC, civic initiatives will have to be supported by at least one million people from 1/3 of the member states within one year. The mini-

mum number of signatures for every country will equal the number of representatives of that country in the European Parliament times 750. Once all these conditions are met, the Commission has four months to reject or endorse the initiative, prepare the law and evaluate the proposal.



Minimum wage 1.600 euro

Bulgaria has the lowest and Luxembourg the highest minimum wage in 20 out of 27 EU members. According to the Eurostat, the minimum wage in Bulgaria is only 112 euros, while in Luxembourg it is 15 times higher – 1.610 euros.

European statistical office conducted the study in 20 EU states, as the remaining 7 do not have the concept of minimum wage.

The countries in the study fall into three categories. The first consists of 9 countries (Bulgaria, Romania, Lithuania, Latvia, Slo-

vakia, Estonia, Hungary, Czech Republic and Poland) where the minimum wage is between 100 and 350 euros. In the second group are Portugal, Slovenia, Malta, Greece and Spain where the minimum is from 500 to 700. Finally, the 6 richest EU members – UK, France, Belgium, Netherlands, Ireland and Luxembourg – form a group where the lowest income averages 1.150 euros.

Apart from the EU members, the study also includes Turkey, where the minimum wage is 330 euros and USA, where it is 625.

Careful with antibiotics

Significant progress was made in several areas with regard to consumption of antibiotics in EU member states, but there are also some "worrying trends" in the public attitude towards them, announced the

European Commission.

As many as 40% of the respondents, citizens of EU, reported that they have taken antibiotics during the last 12 months: 1/3 of them did so in the case of a viral infection, and 53% believe that antibiotics can kill viruses. The belief is most prevalent among those aged 15–24.

Eighteen EU members reported that selling antibiotics without prescription isn't widespread, and several countries introduced instruction on the problems of resistance to antibiotics and/or organised public awareness campaigns on this topic.



Greeks quick to arms

Bulgaria is second in EU by the number of soldiers relative to total population, at least according to the report on the state of defence in 2009 submitted to the Bulgarian Parliament.

Bulgaria has 45 soldiers per 10.000 inhabitants, against the EU average of 36 soldiers. The first place in this ranking belongs to Greece, which boasts as many as 119 soldiers per 10.000 inhabitants.

According to the report, Bulgarian army is twice the size of that of Hungary, Czech Republic or Ireland, and four times bigger than the Austrian army.

Young Spaniards unemployed

The latest data indicate a 20% unemployment rate in Spain, with the unemployment rate among youth climbing to dramatic 42%.

Both of these indicators are twice as high as EU average and continue to grow. In the case of youth, the crisis only made the situation worse, as they are least likely to hold permanent contracts, which cannot be broken without providing severance payments.

For this reason, most lay-offs have been among those with fixed-term contracts, who are mainly young people. With no new jobs on the horizon, the employment prospects of the Spanish youth have been deteriorating.

Hungary worried about water

Hungarian centre-right party Fidesz, which won a landslide victory in the first round of parliamentary elections, announced that during Hungarian EU presidency in the first half of 2011, they will push for a revision of the European framework directive on waters, in order to fight draughts and diminishing water supply.

The task is to warn about climate change and its consequences, including draughts, diminishing supply of water, protection of water resources, and excessive consumption. Water shortages are a problem for 17% of Europeans, and are compounded by the pollution of water by toxic substances which are indifferent to national borders.

ADVANTAGES AND DISADVANTAGES OF EU MEMBERSHIP: ROMANIA, THREE YEARS AFTER ACCESSION

Trust in a better future

by Daniela Filipescu

According to the provisions of the Nice Treaty and Romania's Accession Treaty, the country's joining the EU on the 1st of January 2007 brought a pre-determined number of Romanian officials into the EU institutions and bodies. Civil society also reacted fast to accession, establishing close ties with international organisations, and the Romanian media also became much more interested in covering EU affairs.

Many things changed very quickly: non-governmental organisations became more vociferous in demanding that authorities fulfil the remaining criteria on justice and anti-corruption, students and professors were offered European scholarships and given the opportunity to study and train in various EU Member States. Since education and research were in a chronic shortage of investments in Romania, any such opportunity was more than welcome. New mechanisms for institutional cooperation were put into place, and the effect of Europeanization could be felt in the speeches, attitudes, as well as policies of Romanian politicians. In the spring of 2008, public opinion analyses

same high expectations from EU that they had in the past, and the main reason for this is that, in spite of all the changes, the EU membership failed to bring along the major social effects Romanians had expected to see.

Romania is well represented in all the important EU structures, such as the Council of Ministers, or the European Economic and Social Committee, Romanian MEPs are members in parliamentary committees on gender equality, labour market, public health, consumer protection etc. And yet, this widespread political representation does not seem to have translated into any significant advances on the social front: there seems to have been no progress in finding solutions to major problems for Romanians, such as social inclusion or the free move-

It is a fact that Romanians no longer have the same high expectations from EU that they had in the past, and the main reason for this is that, in spite of all the changes, the EU membership failed to bring along the major social effects Romanians had expected to see

ment of Romanian workers in the EU Member States, not even two years after accession. The tough restrictions generally

In terms of the total direct capital injections in Romania's economy, the Romanian workers' remittances exceed by far the total amount of EU funds injected and absorbed by Romania in all the years between 2000 and 2007 – 4.45 billion euros. On the other hand, it is also true that neither the Romanian authorities, nor Romanian citizens have acquired yet the necessary expertise to develop appropriate projects with which to absorb EU funds. For example: Romania was projected to spend 5.5 billion euros on building motorways since the 1 January 2007 to 1 January 2009. By the end of 2008, however, the country did not spend a single cent of this money

indicated a 66% confidence level in the EU among Romanians, and some 2/3 of respondents had a positive perception about the benefits of EU membership.

However, although very high, especially compared to the national institutions, trust and support for EU have fallen significantly since the pre-accession period. It is a fact that Romanians no longer have the

imposed by the EU-15 on the citizens of the new Member States have made the latter feel "second-rank citizens", and the effects of these restrictions on those economies and societies are more dramatic than it is generally realized by politicians or the public.

To illustrate what working abroad can mean for Romanian citizens, let us take the



Bucharest

example of remittances. The money sent home by Romanian citizens who were allowed to work abroad amounted to the fabulous sum of around 7 billion euros, which represents almost 5% of Romania's GNP. The irony of the situation is that, if we look at the Romanian workers' remittances in terms of direct capital injections

in the country's economy, we find that they exceed by far the total amount of EU funds injected and absorbed by Romania over 8 years, between 2000 and 2007 – 4.45 billion euros.

Therefore, having the freedom to work in the EU-15 Member States is not only a social target for Romanians, it also has an important economic significance. Moreover, according to reports published by the European Commission, the Member States that have allowed free movement of workers did obtain important benefits for their own economies as well.

On the other hand, it is also true that neither the Romanian authorities, nor Romanian citizens have acquired yet the necessary expertise to develop appropriate projects with which to absorb EU funds. The absorption capacity of European funds by Romania is one of the lowest in the EU. For example: Romania was projected to spend 5.5 billion euros on building motorways since the 1 January 2007 to 1 January 2009. By the end of 2008, however, Romania did not spend a single cent

of this money, although in the infrastructure sector this country lags much behind most European states.

The situation is better in some sectors, such as telecommunication, and much better for the projects financed by other types of foreign funds, such as those sponsored by the US government or the World Bank.

Romania's inability to make use of European funds is probably largely its own fault, but some of it might have to do with EU itself: tough conditionality and the large number of criteria to be fulfilled in order to obtain EU funds simply rule out a lot of projects in a country on this level of development.

Since 2000, Romania has consistently scored very well on some dimensions of good governance, such as political stability and the absence of violence, and has recorded a positive trend and met European standards for others, such as regulatory quality and effectiveness of government. However, there are sectors where



reaction to frequently harsh criticism coming from Brussels, in spite of the progress achieved in the economy and in harmonising the national legislation with the community acquis.

Economic performance is one of the most positive aspects of Romania's accession to the EU. This, however, was not

Both before and after accession, the most serious problem in Romania remained the weak results in the fight against high-level corruption. According to public opinion analyses, the Romanians' level of confidence in their justice system has not changed much since early 2006, remaining in the low 26–28% bracket

the Romanian authorities have failed and have had to face the blame of both the Romanian public, and the European Commission: the rule of law and the control of corruption.

According to the latest European Commission Report, "delays have occurred in implementing a coherent recruitment strategy for the judiciary, in the establishment of a National Integrity Agency, and in developing an overall strategy and implementing flagship projects to fight local corruption."

Both before and after accession, the most serious problems perceived by the European Commission and the Romanian public at large remained the inconsistent results scored in the fight against high-level corruption. According to public opinion analyses, the Romanians' level of confidence in their justice system has not changed much since early 2006, remaining in the fairly low 26–28% bracket. Other political institutions have not fared much better – the Parliament enjoys the trust of 22% of the citizens, political parties around 18% and the Government 25%. This is much less than in 2006, and is partly a

simply a consequence of accession, but rather the prospect of accession, and the effects started becoming apparent already in late 2000. Foreign investors, rating agencies, international media paid much more attention to Romania, encouraged by the

Despite the steady growth of gross domestic products, Romania is still one of the poorest countries in EU, but also among the most optimistic. Romanians still live on only 42.8% GDP per capita of the EU average, but 44% of them believe that "their lives will be better in 12 months' time"

perspective of more political stability, financial aid and security and defence cover offered by EU and NATO.

Since 2004, Romania has recorded very dynamic economic growth, among the highest in EU. In spite of that, per capita GDP is still well below the European average. Romania has high government deficit (–2.6% GDP), among the highest in EU, which is typical of many new Member States, but also some of the old ones: in 2008 Hungary had a budget deficit amounting to 5% of GDP, Greece 3.5%, UK 2.8%, France 2.7% and Portugal 2.6%. This shows yet again that EU membership

helps, but is certainly not a universal solution for the economy.

The very act of Romania's accession did not have a dramatic influence on economic trends. The major shift, in fact, occurred in the years 2000–2001, when foreign politicians, businesspersons, decision makers, and media acknowledged and acquired the certainty that Romania would sooner or later join the EU and NATO. At the same time, Romanian policy makers mobilised all the national resources to make sure the EU accession criteria were fulfilled. Membership itself didn't change this process significantly, and some indicators (such as amount of foreign investments) even slowed down slightly after accession.

Between acquiring a clear membership perspective and its accession in 2007, Romania underwent profound transformation and evolution, the decisive factor being domestic economic and political decisions. Setting the 1st January 2007 as an ambitious target date for accession was very important in mobilising politicians, the economy and the civil society, who gave a tremendous contribution to the fulfilment of this goal.

Three years later, the Romanian citizens' confidence in the EU and their perception of benefits from EU membership are on a downward trend, but the economy is on the rise. Political institutions are stable and EU–Romania inter-institutional cooperation is very good. Unfortunately, the fight against high-level corruption is progressing at a slow pace, but due to the

strong pressure exerted over the years both by the European Commission and the Romanian public, there is reason to hope that the situation will improve.

Despite the steady growth of gross domestic products, Romania is still one of the poorest countries in EU, but also among the most optimistic. Romanians still live on only 42.8% GDP per capita of the EU average, but 44% of them believe that "their lives will be better in 12 months' time".

The author is the Permanent Representative of the Romanian Chamber of Deputies at the European Parliament

WHY SHOULD MONTENEGRO ESTABLISH A SYSTEM OF PROTECTED AREAS

Natura 2000 key to EU membership

EVROPSKI REPORTER

by Tatjana Nikolić

Although Montenegro has a great number of preserved forests, areas and important natural habitats and species, to date it has not established a system of protected areas in line with the international criteria (NATURA 2000).

One of the key parameters of the future development of South East European countries, within the process of integration into European Union, is the establishment of a network of protected areas Natura 2000, which is obligatory for all countries interested in joining the EU.

International framework for environmental protection covers about 100 000 ha of the country, and with the inclusion of new areas, the total surface of protected areas will

One of the key parameters of the future development of South East European countries, within the process of integration into European Union, is the establishment of a network of protected areas Natura 2000, which is obligatory for all countries interested in joining the EU

amount to 8% of Montenegro's territory. The final list should be ready by 2013. In the interview for *European Reporter* Zlatko Bulić talks about the achievements so far.

"We began preparations for the creation of the Environmental Network Natura 2000, which should contain areas with specified species and habitats based on Directive on Habitats and Directive on Birds".

These activities are being undertaken in the framework of a project Montenegro and Natura 2000 – Development of the database for Natura 2000 Network, to be implemented by the Bureau for Environmental Protection of the Republic of Montenegro, WWF and a Slovak organisation Daphne.

So far the project is only dealing with species and habitats specified in the Directive on Habitats, but not for those in the Directive for Birds. The preliminary tests and fieldwork are planned for June 2010.

In its National Plan for Integration into EU, Montenegro committed to a timeframe for gradual implementation of Natura 2000. The first steps towards implementation of Natura 2000 were made in harmonising legislation and transposition of legally binding

EU framework documents which underpin Natura 2000 – Directive on the protection of natural and semi-natural habitats of flora and fauna and Directive on wild birds. This stage was completed with the implementation of the new Law on Environmental Protection in August 2008. In the same year a series of new laws was adopted ratifying the Bonn Convention, Convention on landscapes, Agreement on the protection of whales. From the standpoint of Natura 2000, the most important law is the one ratifying the Convention on the Protection of European Wildlife and Natural Habitats (Bern Convention). On the territory of Montenegro there are 156 types of habitats, 5 types of plants, 5 types of moss and 162 species of invertebrates and vertebrates which ought to be protected. EMERALD network of protected areas, which is based on the same prin-

ciples as Natura 2000, has already been established.

Nataša Kovačević, programme coordinator for education and capacity building in the NGO Green Home said that in the course of building of the EMERALD network the biggest problem was the lack of cooperation between different sectors, which at one point even resulted in the Forest Department refusing to accept the results of EMERALD.

To ensure principled implementation of Natura 2000, Montenegrin experts are currently working on the first scientific assessment of the potentially endangered species and habitat types in Montenegro which in Europe are believed to be endangered or

On the territory of Montenegro there are 156 types of habitats, 5 types of plants, 5 types of moss and 162 species of invertebrates and vertebrates which need protection

vulnerable.

The Bureau for Environmental Protection in cooperation with foreign partners compiled a preliminary list of species and habitats.

On the long term, the Bureau has been

DELAYS AND MISUNDERSTANDINGS

However, according to Nataša Kovačević, this handful of activities are far from enough for a responsible implementation of the broad and demanding programme of Natura 2000: "It is a fact that in Montenegro the process of implementation of Natura 2000 is seriously lagging. Every day we are seeing areas that tomorrow could become part of Natura 2000 being subject to planning and implementation of lasting devastation, and the same goes for forests, waters and all other natural resources of Montenegro. These activities testify to the lack of understanding of the preparation process for Natura 2000 and the way it is all too easily accepted or neglected by the decision makers. Every delay in the preparation of a list areas leads to a delay in Montenegro's accession to EU, warns Kovačević.

National plan for integration of Montenegro into EU envisages a very ambitious list of tasks in Montenegro when it comes to the implementation of Natura 2000. According to this document, data collection, registration, promotion of the network, negotiations with the European commission and the decision on the final list of areas should all be finished within three years. The process is already running behind the schedule, and there will be no EU membership without Natura 2000.

given the task by the Ministry to specify the environmental network (NATURA 2000), to be adopted by the Government and submit-

ted to the European Commission upon Montenegro's accession to EU. Once the Government adopts the document, the Bureau will be in charge of monitoring and assessment of the state of endangered habitats in the network.

New Human Rights School



VIII generation of Human Rights School

In April 2010, Centre for Civic Education (CCE) launched a pilot projects based on a new concept of Human Rights School, which incorporates innovations and offers improvements in terms of curriculum, methodology and organisation of the HRS programme, which had been successfully completed to date by seven generations of participants. The programme is implemented by CCE as a substantial contribution to development of systematic alternative education on human rights.

In late February 2010 CCE joined a regional project on human rights education in the Western Balkans, which has been coordinated by the Norwegian Helsinki Committee since 2000, in cooperation with civil society organisations from the region, and with support of the Norwegian Foreign Affairs Ministry. This meant changing the programme conception which CCE had been employing so far, redefining the target group to the 18–24 cohort and introduction of a greater number of interactive seminars than was the case so far in the Human and Minority Rights School.

The school used to be organised as two intensive seminars in Miločer,

lasting several days. This included altogether 25 sessions combining lectures, panels, forum theatres, psychology workshops, film screenings and discussion, and led by renowned lecturers from the country and abroad.

The main idea of the new programme of the School is to animate the young people, to encourage them to become more active and engaged and to inspire them to think through the issues discussed at the school and come up with creative ways to participate in the social life of their communities. We believe that the alumni of the programme will go on to form youth groups that will fulfil some of these goals.

The VIII generation of Human Rights School was successfully completed by 24 participants from all over Montenegro: **Ahmed Zajmović, Bisera Hasanbegović, Bojana Živković, Biljana Kecojević, Danilo Ajković, Danka Kezić, Draško Vukčević, Dražen Petrić, Irena Kujović, Rialda Dervišević, Ivana Vulić, Jelisaveta Blagojević, Maja Vučković, Martina Drinčić, Milena Bubanja, Milena Savić, Miloš Vukanović, Nina Delević, Sanja Drinčić, Siniša Gazivoda, Filip Babić, Ivan Radević, Naser Husović and Teuta Nuraj.**

NON-GOVERNMENTAL ORGANISATIONS IN EUROPEAN UNION

EUROPEAN
PARTNERSHIP FOR
DEMOCRACY

European Partnership for Democracy (EPD)

The European Partnership for Democracy (EPD) is an independent European organization which supports democracy outside of the European Union. It serves as the platform for European civil and political society organizations working on democracy assistance. The EPD's mission is to advocate for a stronger presence of democracy support on the EU's agenda, to share knowledge on democracy assistance among various stakeholders and to provide small grants to partner organizations in the field.

EPD focuses on three specific functions:

Knowledge platform – Where European democracy assistance organizations can share experience, evaluate and cooperate on joint projects. The platform will be accessible to governments of EU Member States and official EU institutions, as well as to partners outside of the EU.

Advocacy function – To contribute to a stronger European profile in democracy assistance globally, by advocating a more prominent place for democracy assistance in the EU policy priorities.

Flexible funding facility – To add to existing financial instruments in order to have funds available when 'windows of opportunity' for democratic reform arise or when democracy comes under threat. The funding facilities are financed from diverse sources such as charity lotteries and foundations, EU member states and possibly the EU Commission in the future.

More information on this organization can be found at www.eupd.eu

Prepared by: **Ana VUJOŠEVIĆ**

Proactive to influence public policies

Centre for Monitoring (CEMI), in cooperation with the regional partners XY-BIH and IAN, Serbia, organised between 23 and 25 April 2010 a training titled "Writing effective public policy proposals", as part of the project "Strengthening capacities for advocacy and preparation of public policy by the Coalition of NGOs for the fight against poverty and social exclusion". The project is financed by EU, via EU Delegation in Montenegro.

The goal of the event was to strengthen the capacities of NGO

activists in drafting proposals for public policies that could be effective in influencing the policies and laws in the areas of education, health and social issues. The participants were appointed members of NGOs signatories of the memorandum and members of the Coalition whose programmes address the issues of social exclusion and can contribute to poverty reduction in Montenegro.

On behalf of CCE, programme associates **Ana Vujošević** and **Ivana Tatar** attended the training.

For greater citizen participation

In the framework of the project "Strengthening cooperation between civil society organisations and Parliament of Montenegro", financed by EU via EU Delegation to Montenegro, Centre for Development of Non-Governmental Organisations (CDNGO) organised on 29 April a one-day training for representatives of civil society organisations working on democratisation and protection of human and minority rights on civic participation in the development and implementation of public policies.

The training was led by Dr **Dragan Golubović**, representative of the European Centre for Non-Profit Law, with a goal of informing the participants about parliamentary procedures, comparative practice in the region and internationally, the meaning and importance of civic participation in developing public policies as a crucial element of participatory democracy, as well as advocacy and lobbying.

Dragana Otašević, programme associate, attended the training on behalf of CCE.

Justice for all victims of war crimes



From the round table

Montenegrin Association of Veterans of 1990s wars, in cooperation with Centre for Civic Education (CCE) organised on 16 April a round table titled "Justice and Equal Treatment for Victims of War Crimes".

Between 1990 and 1999 all sides engaged in successive wars committed war crimes, and uncovering the truth about these wars, individualising guilt and equal respect for all victims is the best way towards normalisation of relations between the states through genuine reconciliation of the citizens of the region.

The presentations, discussion and conclusions of these round table were aimed at emphasising the

importance of non-selective approach to the research on war crimes and persecution of perpetrators in Montenegro and the region, as well as the urgent need to create the environment conducive to inter-state cooperation on research and trials of war crimes as well as the search for the missing persons.

In the preparations for the round table the organisers accepted the request by the families of the killed members of former JNA (Yugoslav People's Army) from the Nikšić-Šavnik region to participate at the meeting and present information on the war crime committed against 14 members of this corps and the lack of any attempt by the relevant institu-

tions of Montenegro and Croatia to investigate these crimes.

The speakers at the round table were: **Radan Nikolić**, president of the Board of Directors of the Montenegrin Association of Veterans of the wars of 1990s, **Daliborka Uljarević**, executive director of CCE, **Vukan Kovač**, president of the association of former inmates of the Trebinje region, **Tonči Majić**, president of the Dalmatian Human Rights Committee and **Veselin Bojović**, a former inmate of the Military Research Centre "Lora".

FOR THIS ISSUE WE RECOMMEND:

INTERNATIONAL MASTER IN SOCIAL POLICY ANALYSIS (IMPALLA)

The programme, output of an interuniversity cooperation organized jointly by the Research Centre CEPS/INSTEAD (G.D. of Luxembourg) and Leuven University (Belgium), in association with Tilburg University (The Netherlands), the University of Nancy II (France) and the University of Luxembourg (G.D. of Luxembourg), leads to an advanced Master Degree issued by the University of Leuven where the IMPALLA students are registered as regular students.

The three major academic objectives of IMPALLA are:

- to offer a solid theoretical foundation in comparative socio-economic policies
- to provide a thorough training in advanced research methodology
- to give a well-founded expertise in policy evaluation.

Limited merit and need based scholarships are available. Working language is English. Deadline for applications: 30 May, 2010. For more information please contact: impalla.secretariat@ceps.lu or visit <http://soc.kuleuven.be/impalla>

ARTISTS IN RESIDENCE 2011 PROGRAMME

KulturKontakt Austria's "Artists in Residence" – programme provides for a stay of 3 months in Vienna, including the studio, accommodation, insurance, a monthly grant of € 1.000, as well as an exhibition of the

artist's work at the end of the three-months period. Visual artists up to the age of 35 from the following countries in Eastern and South-Eastern Europe are eligible to apply: Albania, Armenia, Azerbaijan, Belarus, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Bulgaria, Croatia, Georgia, Macedonia, Moldova, Montenegro, Romania, Russia, Serbia, Turkey, and Ukraine.

The prize winners will be selected by an international jury in the beginning of September 2010 and will receive a notice in writing. The results of the jury meeting will also be available on KulturKontakt Austria's webpage www.kulturkontakt.or.at. The application should include:

- a CV and documentation of artistic development (in English or German; age limit: 35 years)
 - 5 – 10 examples of work in the form of photos, folders and/or catalogues (max. size A3); no originals
- Artwork in the fields of painting, drawing, photography: reproductions in the form of photos and/or catalogues (Format: maximum A3). No slides, CDs or DVDs!

Deadline for submission 9 July, 2010. Contact address: application@kulturkontakt.or.at, KulturKontakt Austria, Kulturförderung + Sponsoring, Universitätsstrasse 5, 1010 Vienna, Austria. For more information, <http://www.kulturkontakt.or.at/page.aspx?target=235816>

COURSE ON HUMAN RIGHTS

This intensive and interdisciplinary course will be held from 1 – 10 July, 2010 in Venice Lido (Italy). The goal of



the Venice School is to allow its participants to be updated on the state-of-the-art debate on human rights issues and to stimulate a reflexion on the actual challenges faced by human rights actors worldwide. The school will develop around three main themes: Human Rights as Our Responsibility, Human Rights and Business, and Human Rights and Climate Change.

Courses are scheduled to take place in Venice at the premises of the European Inter-University Centre in Human Rights and Democratisation for a period of 10 days. The courses will be taught in English by internationally recognised experts in the fields of human rights belonging to EIUC's partner universities and other organisations that support EIUC projects and endeavors.

These courses are addressed to post-graduate students from all academic backgrounds, students from the different regional masters in human rights and democratisation, to E.M.A alumni as well as to human rights practitioners willing to deepen and improve their knowledge in human rights issues.

Deadline for applications: 17 May, 2010. Contact: veniceschool@eiuc.org

EIC Bilten – Evropski puls je elektronski časopis koji izlazi u sklopu EIC programa, a uz podršku fondacije Friedrich Ebert. Izdavač je Centar za građansko obrazovanje.

EIC Bilten – Evropski puls je uveden u evidenciji medija Ministarstva kulture i medija pod rednim brojem 578.

Urednik: Vladan Žugić; Uredivački kolegijum: mr Vera Šćepanović, Daliborka Uljarević, mr Vladimir Pavićević, mr Dragan Stojović, mr Vladimir Vučinić, Petar Đukanović

Tehnički urednik: Blažo Crvenica; Prevod: mr Vera Šćepanović; Lektura i korektura: CGO Njegoševa 36/I; Tel/fax: 020/665-112, 665-327; E-mail: ep@cgo-cce.org, info@cgo-cce.org

EIC Bilten – Evropski puls možete preuzeti na www.cgo-cce.org