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sufficiently involved in
the integration process

INTERVIEW

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elections
take place
"generally in
line with the
international
standards"

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ELECTORAL PEDALLING

In its Opinion on Montenegro's application for EU membership, the European Commission will take into consideration, among other, the degree of harmonisation with the Copenhagen criteria on democracy.

Did Montenegro pass this test at the 23 May local elections?

First, the electoral legislation isn't in line with the Constitution, which is an explicit requirement from Brussels. However, in June the Venetian Commission and OSCE will give their opinion on the draft electoral law, which should serve as a platform for the parliamentary parties to agree and adopt the new law before the fall, when the EC is expected to make its Opinion public.

Second, the ruling party continued to abuse public resources in the electoral campaign. The prime minister would go on an official visit to a newly renovated hospital somewhere in the outskirts, and half an hour later walk over a few hundred metres to the campaign site of his party to support the local candidates and bad-mouth the opposition. Still, it is a fact that this time round it was the opposition that held its final meeting, for the first time, in the former Government building.

Third, the opposition accused the government after the elections of having manipulated the electoral registers and said that many voters, because of the changes in personal documents, weren't registered in places where they have been voting for many years. But opposition should have aired these warnings before 23 May, and called on the voters to check their registration data. Like this, it remains just an alibi for the defeat.

Fourth, for the first time since 1991 the observers – foreign or local – were not monitoring the elections, and yet we haven't killed each other.

The Montenegrin government did exactly what it had always done – it made the effort to turn the pedals on its bike just far enough to ensure that, at least as the elections are concerned, the Commission will allow it to continue the European ride.

V.Ž.

SAA comes into force (1 May) – Montenegro got the status of an associate member of EU with the coming into force of Stabilisation and Association Agreement between EU and Montenegro, which has been previously ratified by all EU members. The SAA allows Montenegro to participate in the work of the Stabilisation and Association Council instead of attending the meetings of EU Troika as until now. Minister of European Integrations **Gordana Đurović** said it was good that the SAA was ratified before the EC got to prepare the Opinion on Montenegro's application for EU membership, as it can serve as "additional stimulus" for a positive Opinion and later beginning of negotiations between Montenegro and EU.

Loans for the Balkans (6 May) – European Bank for Reconstruction and Development (EBRD) announced its readiness to finance improvements in energy efficiency and competitiveness of small and medium enterprises in the Western Balkans through a special fund worth 110 million euros.

Montenegro a good place to launder money (19 May)

Montenegro could realistically expect to begin EU membership negotiations in 2011, says rapporteur to the European Parliament for Montenegro **Charles Tannock**. The British MP said that corruption, organised crime and weak institutions are a problem in every country of the region, adding that because of the fact that it uses the euro, although it is not a member of the Eurozone, Montenegro is a "very good place to launder money". He noted that Montenegro doesn't have its own Euro notes, but has to get them from abroad, which makes the task of money laundering much easier for the members of organised crime groups.



Charles Tannock

Speaking European in the Western Balkans (20 May) – Representatives of public administrations of Serbia, Montenegro, Macedonia, BiH, Croatia, Slovenia, as well as regional and foreign experts on legal and translation issues met in Belgrade at the conference titled "Speaking European" to exchange their experiences and discuss challenges of translating European legislation into languages of the region.

No secrets between Brussels and Podgorica (20 May) – Montenegro and EU concluded the Agreement on Security Procedures for Exchange and Protection of Private Data. The agreement defines security procedures for exchange and protection of private data, equivalent secret labels, the obligation of security checks of persons who will be allowed to access protected EU data, the mode of reception and delivery of such data. The agreement puts the Directorate for the Protection of Secret Data in charge of monitoring the implementation of the agreement.

No progress without cooperation (29 May) – Presidents of Montenegro, Croatia and Serbia, **Filip Vujanović**, **Ivo Josipović** and **Boris Tadić** and head of the Presidency of BiH **Haris Silajdžić** signed a declaration to improve relations between these countries, warning that there can be no progress without cooperation. The meeting took place in Sarajevo, in honour of the 10th anniversary of the foundation of Igman Initiative. The joint statement of the four presidents says that the "European perspective is the engine and guarantee of peace and stability in South East Europe". They also emphasise the "necessity to resolve all outstanding conflicts and disagreements in the region through dialogue". They add that "full membership in the EU is the strategic goal of all states and that "we should especially value the role of the civil society in the process of redefining values in our societies".

A VIEW FROM EU

Use all resources

Since gaining independence back in 2006, Montenegro has achieved a lot. A new Constitution was adopted, the



by Stefan Fule

country has been successful in maintaining its stability and its multiethnic character, it has been playing a constructive role in regional cooperation and it made its first but decisive steps towards the European Union: it applied for membership and mobilised itself for reforms that allowed the EU to grant it visa-free access for its citizens to the EU member States. This is a milestone achievement and one of the most tangible results of the EU-Montenegro cooperation. It shows that staying focused on reforms and on the EU path does bring concrete benefits to the people of Montenegro.

Our contractual relationship with Montenegro is the so-called Stabilisation and Association Agreement. It was signed by all 27 EU member states, and will enter into force on 1 May 2010. It covers an ambitious cooperation programme in the areas of justice, freedom and security, free movement of workers, right of establishment and free movement of capital and services as well as in the fields of transport and electronic communications. But most importantly it will mark a new qualitative stage in our joint work in view of Montenegro's European integration project.

Montenegro has many advantages on its EU path. The political consensus on EU integration and on economic reform will be a tremendous advantage for the country on its way to the EU,

given the reforms that still need to be undertaken. This consensus needs the active involvement of and support from the civil society and the media.

A country aspiring to become a member of the EU family needs efficient democratic institutions, effective prevention and law enforcement, and an independent judiciary and prosecution. All these components of the state system need to function properly, work in synergy and this needs to lead to concrete and visible results. While much has been done in Montenegro, much is still left to be done. The many EU rules and regulations that were adopted need now implementing and enforcing; the

mitted to supporting Montenegro and other Western Balkan countries to fulfil their European integration aspiration. Our political support is backed up by concrete financial support. In Montenegro, we are currently managing an EU financial assistance portfolio worth more than €100 million for the period 2010–

2012. EU funds support consolidation of the rule of law, judicial and police reform, strengthening of capacities and new infrastructure in energy, environment, agriculture and not least, building the civil society capacity, to name just a few areas.

I am certain that EU membership will be the key for the country's future

Ahead of Montenegro lies a period of intensive hard work, and many political and economic challenges. It is important that all sectors of society play an active role. Pluralism and constructive dialogue between the institutions of the state, including the government, the parliament and the judiciary, and the civil society are essential for a democratic and prosperous Montenegro on its way to EU

many institutions being set up need now working for the benefit of the citizen; so that all these reforms start bringing social and economic benefit to people and society in the long term. And difficult areas such as fight against corruption and organised crime should take central stage in these efforts.

The Commission is currently drafting its Opinion on Montenegro's application for EU membership. We will prepare a fair and thorough assessment. Fulfilment of the political criteria is one of the prerequisites for moving to the next stages of the process. Our plan is to present the Opinion to the EU Council this year. But in the meantime, Montenegro should continue to implement vigorously its reforms, not only for the sake of its advancement towards the EU, but primarily for the sake of its own people.

The European Commission is com-

mitted to supporting Montenegro and other Western Balkan countries to fulfil their European integration aspiration. Our political support is backed up by concrete financial support. In Montenegro, we are currently managing an EU financial assistance portfolio worth more than €100 million for the period 2010–

2012. EU funds support consolidation of the rule of law, judicial and police reform, strengthening of capacities and new infrastructure in energy, environment, agriculture and not least, building the civil society capacity, to name just a few areas. I am certain that EU membership will be the key for the country's future prosperity, stability and peace. I praise the role played by Montenegro in the regional cooperation and I count on its continued support and proactive attitude in working with its neighbours to address outstanding regional issues.

Ahead of Montenegro lies a period of intensive hard work, and many political and economic challenges. It is important that all sectors of society play an active role. All the country's resources should be mobilised in this process. Pluralism and constructive dialogue between the institutions of the state, including the government, the parliament and the judiciary, and the civil society are essential for a democratic and prosperous Montenegro on its way to the European Union.

The author is the European Enlargement Commissioner

HOW INVOLVED ARE THE SOCIAL PARTNERS IN MONTENEGRO IN THE PROCESS OF EUROPEAN INTEGRATIONS

No place for the trade unions on the government's playground

For the foreseeable future, or at least until the opening of negotiations with the European Union, European integrations will remain



by Samir Kajošević

Government's own playground with no place for the representatives of the workers. The lack of social dialogue in Montenegro is best illustrated by the fact that the representatives of trade unions are missing from every institution involved in the process of European integrations.

This is how the Union of Free Trade Unions of Montenegro (Unija slobodnih sindikata Crne Gore, USSCG) sees the position of the trade unions in the process of European integrations and in their relationship with the Government, which ought to be founded upon social dialogue.

On the other hand, the Confederation of Independent Trade Unions of Montenegro (Savez samostalnih sindikata Crne Gore, SSSCG), which is recognised by the Government as the only legitimate representative of employees in Montenegro, is happy with its cooperation with the government in the field of European integrations. The positive sentiments are shared by the Union of Montenegrin Employers (Unija poslodavaca Crne Gore, UPCG), also the only representative of employers recognised by the Government.

These two social partners say they have worked with the Government on preparing a series of laws directly concerning the integration of the country, which had to be harmonised with EU regulations and are relevant for the status of the employees or employers.

In the interview for *European Pulse*, president of USSCG **Srđa Keković** says that in the National Council for European Integrations (NCEI) there are no representa-

tives of the two national trade unions, although the Council has two places for the representatives of the civil sector.

"This is probably the best illustration of the extent to which the workers participate in the process of European integrations. The other example that speaks to this is the Government Commission for European Integrations, also without a single representative of trade unions", Keković explains.

However, the acting Secretary General of SSSCG **Zoran Masoničić** reminds that the SSSCG has a long-standing representative in the Social Council, emphasising that the workers have representatives also in the Government's working groups for drafting law proposals.

"This is huge progress compared to the earlier times when we only got the finalised proposals to comment on. Still, sometimes the deadlines for harmonisation of certain principles are too short, and there isn't enough time for our members to become thoroughly acquainted with them", says Masoničić for the *European Pulse*.

Involvement in the drafting of legal proposals is so far the only privilege that the Montenegrin trade unions managed to wrestle out of the Government. Representatives of SSSCG participated in the working groups for several important laws, such as the Law on Retirement and Disability Insurance or the Law on Trade Union Representativeness.

PREPARING FOR NEGOTIATIONS

The trade unions are not just waiting for the Government to invite them to negotiate with EU. Both Montenegrin trade unions cooperate with colleagues from abroad and exchange experiences on EU.

Zoran Masoničić explains that such exchange of experience with colleagues from EU is mandatory for the SSSCG members before they start planning their strategies at home.

He reminds that the trade union representatives participate in seminars and trainings organised in cooperation with the foreign partners.

"Our branch unions are members of international trade union associations, and have long-standing contacts with their European counterparts on many current issues of trade union work", Keković said.



Workers' protests are everyday occurrence in Montenegro



Srđa Keković

Keković believes that the Government conceded these rights to unions precisely because of European integrations, i.e. under the pressure from Brussels.

"The problem is, however, that this is not really a genuine change of heart, and there is no continuity. Today they can invite you as an equal social partner, and tomorrow they will completely forget about you if they're afraid of your reaction to a certain law", he said.

Formally, Montenegrin authorities follow a European model in which the partners in the social dialogue are representatives of the state, employers and trade unions.

However, social dialogue in Montenegro does not mean transferring the power of the state into the hands of the social partners, although in some of the EU countries the Government also has the most power and the last word.

Still, if we remember that in the Netherlands and Ireland the Social Councils involve representatives of the unemployed or women, whereas in Montenegro there is still not enough place for the representatives of both trade unions, it is clear that we are still far from what the EU calls social dialogue.

This was also obvious to the European Economic and Social Council (EESC), whose Opinion on Montenegro recommends, among other, that the "Government Commission for European Integration, which is part of the Ministry for European Integrations, should be opened to the representatives of the social partners, who should be gradually involved in the process of Montenegro's integration into EU".

EESC prepared their opinion on request of the Commission as part of the preparation of the EC Opinion on Montenegro's application for membership in EU.

In the document, the EESC warned

that "the social partners haven't been involved in answering the EC Questionnaire to the extent they should have been".

"Only the Employers' Association and the Chamber of Commerce were involved in the Government's working bodies in charge of answering the Questionnaire. According to the EU instructions, all social partners should have been consulted in the relevant parts of the Questionnaire", states the document.

Keković believes that the Government sidelined the trade unions on purpose while answering the Questionnaire.

"I don't think this is right, and it certainly doesn't do any good for a democratic society which we would like to build on the path to European integrations. Social dialogue is fundamental to the EU, and I don't see why we shouldn't have it in Montenegro", Keković adds.

Masoničić finds some consolation for the Government's failure to consult SSSCG



Zoran Masoničić

in answering the Questionnaire in the fact that the trade unions participated in drafting the "Preliminary opinion on the role of the

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WHAT CAN BE EXPECTED OF EMPLOYERS AND GOVERNMENTS WHICH DISREGARD THE LAW

Trade unionists are also divided on the issue of monitoring the implementation of the laws which concern workers' welfare.

Law enforcement, and not only in the cases concerning workers' rights, is a huge weakness of the Montenegrin state with regard to European integrations, as has been pointed out by many EU officials.

While SSSCG explains that the enforcement of labour-related laws is monitored through the Social Council, the Union of Independent Trade Unions warns that there are too often problems with the rule of law and the functioning of systemic institutions.

According to Keković, the workers' appeals and warnings about the violations of certain laws have been in vain, as the relevant institutions maintain that everything is going well.

He illustrates his point with a story about the campaign for 40-hour work week and days off, which has been waged by the USSCG since May 2009.

"The relevant institutions and here I mean primarily the Labour Inspectorate, have failed to produce adequate results. In Montenegro, unlike in the normal European countries, on a public holiday almost everything is open, apart from public institutions. What can you expect from a Government and employers who have such complete disregard for a regulation which is set down in the law and says that there should be a day off work during public holidays? They have a lot to learn from their colleagues in the region", Keković said.



EESC's Opinion on Montenegro states that only the Employers' Association and the Chamber of Commerce were involved in the Government's working bodies in charge of answering the Questionnaire, although the EU recommends consultations with all social partners. "The Government intentionally sidelined the unions", says Srđan Keković

civil society in EU–Montenegrin relations".

According to Keković, however, the exclusion of trade unions from the integration process is only a small part of the Government's general indifference towards Montenegrin workers.

He warned that the Government has been ignoring the USSCG, explaining that in democratic societies the trade unions are there to mediate in the relations between the Government and the employers.

He adds that the USSCG has no representatives in the Social Council, nor in any other body where the trade unions have the right to participate as stipulated by

the rules of tripartite social dialogue. Their representatives are not allowed into the Council for Privatisation, tender commissions, pension and insurance fund, employ-

"Once the negotiations with EU begin, we expect that we will be invited into the Government's working groups. Until then, we will try to build up our capacities in order to be able to respond adequately to the challenges of integrations", says Zoran Masoničić

ment bureau, agency for mediation in work-related disputes...

"In the EU the trade unions are accepted as social partners. In fact, the EU is

founded upon social dialogue, which is not the case in Montenegro. Here the social dialogue is just window-dressing", Keković said.

If we compare the situation in Montenegro to that of other countries of the region, the most similar case would be the one of Bosnia. There the trade union representatives are not even part of the working bodies for the preparation of new laws, and they have recently warned the Council of Ministers of BiH about it, demanding involvement in the public bodies dealing with the preparation of laws and harmonisation with European practices.

Unlike the Bosnians and the Montenegrins, Slovenian and Croatian workers and employers have been part of the European process from the very beginning.

Croatia has boasted about its practice to involve, in the course of answering the EC questionnaire, a broad spectrum of associations and experts who do not represent public administration.

Some hope for the workers and trade unions in Montenegro could be the fact

that the EC likes to see, on the other side of the negotiations table, not only representatives of administration but also those representing workers, businessmen, farmers...

In Croatia, employers' associations and trade unions have a guaranteed place in the working groups for a number of chapters. For instance, there is a representative of the Association of Independent Trade Unions of Croatia in the working group on Enterprise and Industrial Policy, while in the working group on Social Policy and Employment there is also a representative of the smaller Independent Trade Union of Croatia. The situation was very similar in Slovenia, whose negotiations team had places for the representatives of non-governmental organisations, trade unions and the Chamber of Commerce.

"Once the negotiations with EU begin, we expect that we will be invited into the Government's working groups. Until then, we will try to build up our capacities in order to be able to respond to the challenges of integrations, and join the European family as a modern, effective workers' association. We are getting ready by learning about the good and bad examples from the practice of EU and countries in the region, and I believe we can make a substantial contribution", Masoničić said.

EMPLOYERS DELIGHTED

Employers' Association of Montenegro (UPCG) believes that for the time being the social dialogue is going well.

They explain that their representatives have been involved in drafting all major laws in this field, such as those on labour, social council, mediation in work-related disputes, spatial planning, construction or employment of foreigners. They expect this practice to continue also during negotiations with the EU.

"What is common to these processes is the emphasis on the harmonisation of our legislation with EU, which is another confirmation of the absolute support on the part of UPCG for the process of Montenegro's integration into EU", says **Zvezdana Oluić**, PR manager of UPCG.

She added that, as a partner in the social dialogue, UPCG had signed a Protocol on Cooperation with the Ministry for European Integrations which entitles it to participation in the work of the common coordination body the Union and the Ministry, whose task is to deal with the issues of importance for EU accession, legal harmonisation and strengthening of economic cooperation with EU countries.

Judging by their plans for the next four years, the Ministry is ready to take into account this cooperation. Its communication strategy until 2014 says that the Ministry expects substantial involvement of the representatives of the economy, as well as professional associations and trade unions.

WERE THE LATEST ELECTIONS ALSO "GENERALLY IN ACCORDANCE WITH INTERNATIONAL STANDARDS"

Far from democracy



If in an EU member state the citizens were to vote by drawing triangles and hearts, that would be the last

by Nedeljko Rudović

warning that the EU, conceived as a society of free people, is nearing its end. If the local policemen, officials and others, together with their colleagues from the capital, were to drive the voters around, pay their "travel costs", "buy IDs" and issue new ones on the day of the

If in an EU member state the citizens were to vote by drawing triangles and hearts, that would be the last warning that the EU, conceived as a society of free people, is nearing its end

elections, Europe would be humiliated and its citizens would become hostages to a power-monger without scruples.

In one of the new potential EU members, in the recent elections, which for the first time took place without the presence of foreign observers, activists of the ruling party publicly bribed the citizens to vote for the ruling coalition. At the same time, some of them drove the voters to the ballots using official vehicles. A Police officer issued IDs on the day of the elections although it was a Sunday, and the director of the Post Office allowed them to use postal services to pay for the IDs. There was also a director of a school who provided the offices for the ruling party where it could pay its voters on the day of the elections.

In this same tiny country, if you ask the citizens whether the authorities are corrupt, the answer will be yes. If you ask whom will they vote for, they will say – for them. Seems like a paradox, but the results of the elections showed it was

far from a joke.

On the day of the elections, the office of one of the smaller opposition parties in a small town in the mountains was chock full of people. Most came to apologise to the party's representatives that they will not be able to vote for them. Pressure, blackmail and promises, they said, did the trick. The fears from losing their jobs or the burden of dire material circumstances were stronger than the freedom to exercise their civic will.

The party in question was famous for its condemnation of crime in a certain municipality, and especially the fraudulent behaviour on the part of the mayor.

It would appear that in one potential EU member the focus on crime and

corruption has no political effect. Just the opposite, in spite of the well founded criticism and insistence on the problem of crime, all such issues become "relativised" in time, and the party that insists

In one of the new potential EU members, in the recent elections, which for the first time took place without the presence of foreign observers, activists of the ruling party publicly bribed the citizens to vote for the ruling coalition. At the same time, some of them drove the voters to the ballots using official vehicles

of them becomes "boring".

Corruption and organised crime have somehow become legitimised – everybody knows they exist, but nobody is particularly surprised or worried about it. Many are very well acquainted with all these problems, especially in smaller towns, but their only worry is how to enter the circle and get their share of the cake.

And in order to prove to the ruling parties that they indeed voted for them, the inhabitants of the small mountain



town had to circle their candidates with special signs – the most common being triangles and hearts.

The next "curiosity" was vote by mail. In addition to there being unusually many such requests, it turned out that they were not signed by those who wanted to vote by mail, but by completely different people. And when those who allegedly voted by mail were asked why they did that, they answered that "they never sent such requests, that they never voted, and will certainly not do it now". It is easy to guess that in the

past such forms came back "correctly" marked. And while the "citizens" voted, the local government gave out apartments ahead of the elections to their loyal employees, in spite of them being earmarked for the recipients of social assistance, and in late 2009 the parliament also adopted a decision to give out 168 municipal landholdings.

By the way, according to all international reports, all elections in Montenegro to date were fair and in line with the relevant international standards.

HEAD OF THE GERMAN MARSHALL FUND PARIS OFFICE FRANCOIS LAFOND

You need to fight harder against the mafia than the EU states

Head of the German Marshall Fund Paris office **Francois Lafond** said in the interview for *European Pulse* that there are no political obstacles to acceptance of new members into the European Union, in spite of the enlargement having slid down the Union's list of priorities. He also emphasised that the West Balkan countries ought to invest more effort in solving the problems identified by the European Commission and the member states.

● What is the official Paris' stance on European aspirations of the West Balkan states, now that the EU seems to be lacking optimism for further enlargements?

I'm not an official of the French government, but if understood it well, the minister of foreign affairs Bernard Kouchner and the Government have



the enlargement process?

Their assessment of the situation is

It is up to the Government of Montenegro to show European Union and the international community that they are taking into account all criteria and specific requirements of EU and that it has concrete and specific solutions for these problems

been saying that the Balkans should be integrated into the EU as soon as possible, once all the criteria set by the European Commission and EU member states have been fulfilled.

Further efforts are needed, but there are no political obstacles to Western Balkan's integration into EU in the near future.

● What do you make of the statements by the West Balkan leaders that the membership in the EU is the best guarantee for the peace and stability, which is as much as telling Brussels and the member states, that they mustn't neglect the importance of

correct – EU membership is one of the best guarantees for peace and stability of all West Balkan countries.

This, however, doesn't mean that

All EU countries could also work on improving their democratic functions, but the countries which are not working towards membership in the EU have to do much more than the ones who are already in

the West Balkan countries do not have much more work to do in the areas that have already been identified, such as the improvement of the rule of law, ensuring functionality of the state, fight against corruption and ensuring

that the markets work in a transparent, competitive and fair manner, in order to avoid monopolies.

It is obvious that the promise of EU membership given to the Balkan states, as a specific role in the European constellation, will help to preserve peace in the region.

● To what extent are corruption and organised crime in the West Balkan countries influencing the process of European integrations?

I'm not an expert on these issues, but the EU documents suggest that all Balkan states, including Montenegro, in spite of all improvements, still have to put a lot of effort into the reforms against organised crime and corruption and promotion of the freedom of speech.

All EU countries could also work on improving their democratic functions, but the countries which are not working towards membership in the EU have to do much more than the ones who are already in.

● Can Montenegro get the candidate status by the end of this or beginning of next year?

It is up to the Government of Montenegro to show European Union and the international community that

they are taking into account all criteria and specific requirements of EU and that it has concrete and specific solutions for these problems.

V. ŽUGIĆ

THE RISE OF EUROPE, RENAISSANCE AND THE COLONIAL TIMES

Competition as the engine of development

The Middle Ages are usually regarded as a dark period for European civilisation, deprived of humanist values, intellectual and



by Miloš Vukanović

technological progress or artistic achievements, with any attempt at progress stemmed by the Church or by semi-barbaric monarchs whose only goal was to preserve a state in which their absolute power over the lives of their serfs and land would never be questioned.

The Arab world ruled by the Caliphs, India and the Moguls, Khmer Indochina and China and a long line of successful dynasties were at the time centres of civilisation. Scientific and artistic breakthroughs, grandiose architecture, cities of several thousands of inhabitants and armies whose numbers and military technology could hardly be imagined in the West made Europe look like a dreary periphery.

And yet, something happened that until today hasn't been entirely explained by any historical theory. How did this primitive corner of the then known world manage to raise and to rule the entire world, while the powerful Asian civilisations took a plunge into obscurity, to revive some of their glory only in the late 20th century.

The simple answer would be: the Renaissance. On the other hand, other continents and countries also had their renaissances, but they didn't bring the same magnitude of developments as in Europe.

What is European Renaissance, how did it come about and what were the catalysts which at the same time influenced the fall of Asian civilisations and paved the way for colonialism?

The beginnings of the Renaissance are usually dated between 14th century in Italy and 16th century in the rest of Europe. Italy is the country where the art of the Renaissance found its highest expression. Alongside the material developments came a cultural change in the form of a growing

interest in the ancient arts. The bearers of the new culture were the humanists who opposed their anthropocentric vision of the world to the scholastic science and theology. For the Italian humanists the centre of the universe was the man, not God.

Based on empiricism and on the critique of authorities, the Renaissance set of an avalanche of creative energy, first in Italy and the Netherlands and later also in France and Germany. This creative energy and the new philosophical and scientific view of the world brought about a wealth of artistic and scientific achievements which shook the European states from their medieval slumber. It should be emphasised that this sudden civilisational breakthrough was achieved through a symbiosis of medieval cultural heritage and ancient trends – a kind of

Geographical divisions which lead to political differences made the dominance of any single power on the European continent impossible, and permanent competition in economic wealth and technological innovations led to the soaring of the old continent from the periphery of the known world to the top of the civilisational ladder

melting pot of the old and the "new". The Renaissance brought together a variety of European trends and put the whole machinery in service of further development of the continent.

We will try to explain the reasons behind the Renaissance and the ways in which it influenced Europe's rising strength vis-à-vis the Asian civilisations through a theory which today seems to prevail among most historians.



Although the late Middle Ages represent the heyday of the feudal system, from the 11th century onwards there are signs of a new process unfolding which proved impervious to the many rulers' attempts to stamp it out. The process in question is the development of cities, which stand in stark contrast to the feudal manors. Arising on the intersections of main trade routes (land, river and sea), and in the vicinity of important mines, these cities will quickly become economically, culturally and, most importantly, politically independent centres. Many of them became so powerful that they could boast their own statue, army and governments. With their power extending to the surrounding land areas, they soon came to resemble the ancient Greek city states. These cities were usually

ruled by the city councils or powerful families which remained in power through intrigues and skilled political manoeuvres, instead of hereditary nobility (although such cases also existed). The new wealthy class came from the ranks of merchants, bankers and artisans. Massive capital accumulation allowed these cities to become creditors of great European kingdoms. Together with the spread of humanist values among the ruling classes and absence of "conservative" monarch and clerics, this proved a very fertile ground for an unprecedented cultural ascent.

The cities of Northern Italy were the main representatives of these new state-like entities. Having become rich through their trade with the East, with an abundance of guilds and individuals in banking and industry who used the monopoly on certain goods to expand their wealth, and with substantial political independence, these cities were to become the cradle of the Renaissance.

These centres were situated between the German Empire in the North and the Papal State in the South. Balancing on antagonism between these two enemies they will succeed in preserving their independence until the 19th century. The same

constellation of factors will arise in the city states of the Netherlands and will also culminate in a Renaissance. Squeezed between the Bourbons, Germans and the French, and boasting developed trade and manufacturing, primarily of textiles, the areas of today's Belgium and Netherlands will achieve exceptional growth and become the seed of culture in this period for most of the Western and Northern Europe.

It is believed that the main reason behind this historical development is the geographical dividedness of Europe. However trivial this might sound, one should bear in mind that geographical differences in Europe brought with them a host of other factors, such as ethnic, linguistic and finally political divisions which made the dominance of any single culture or people impossible in this part of the world. Europe is an extreme example of this, since, in spite of having very small states by international standards, it still has borderline areas, especially those that contain mixtures of peoples and languages, such as Northern Italy or the Netherlands, where the process of splintering up of states will reach its maximum. This creates the above mentioned circumstances conducive to establishment of new philosophical and political views, capital accumulation by a broader segment of the population, which all result in differences and conflicts. Conflicts instigate a permanent need to compete and improve one's position, leading to overall progress.

Unlike Europe, the Asian empires used to be unified and monolithic, geographically well rounded and separated from other cultures. The rulers feared that a sudden development in any one part of their



The Renaissance marked the end of stagnation in Europe and a new cultural breakthrough like this part of the world hasn't seen since antiquity. Beside the artistic and literary masterpieces, which rank among the most brilliant that humanity ever produced, the movement will bring about, or at least lay the ground, for philosophical and technological innovations that will set the humanity on a completely different path

empire might destabilise their rule and therefore tried to dampen progress.

The weapons are a good example for this theory. Gunpowder-powered weapons, such as cannons, were known to the Arab Caliphs already in the 12th century. After the first improvements these weapons preserved their original form for another few centuries to come, simply because they did well as they were and there was no need to improve them further. On the other hand, the cannons entered into widespread use in Europe only in the late 15th century,

but they quickly became more efficient than their Arab and Chinese predecessors. Simply, if Milan and Verona, or France and Spain, or other adversaries among the European states were to lay their hands on the same cannon, they would immediately try to improve the technology in order to get ahead of the enemies.

Geographical divisions which lead to political differences made the dominance of any single power on the European continent impossible, and permanent competition in economic wealth and technological innovations led to the soaring of the old continent from the periphery of the known world to the top of the civilisational ladder.

The Renaissance marked the end of stagnation in Europe and a new cultural breakthrough like this part of the world hasn't seen since antiquity. Beside the artistic and literary masterpieces, which rank among the most brilliant that humanity ever produced, the movement will bring about philosophical and technological innovations or at least lay the ground from them, that will set the humanity on a completely different path. **Leonardo da Vinci, Michelangelo, Copernicus, Galileo and Shakespeare** are only the most prominent examples of an army of artists, scientists, and inventors who rebelled against the old Europe and used the best of its achievements to create the new one.

The author is a programme associate in Centre for Civic Education

DISCOVERIES OF THE NEW WORLDS

Encouraged by the technological innovations, European powers turned to the seas. Great geographical discoveries and the beginnings of colonisations were another important factor that was to play a big role in the history of humanity. They spurred on the struggle for trade routes and monopolies over resources. As the Ottomans and Venetians kept most of the trade between Asia and Europe in their hands, the Spaniards, English, French and the Dutch set out to look for simpler and cheaper routes to the wealth of the East. Not only were they successful in this, but they also discovered two entirely new worlds.

The first one was the world of the East, of India and China, stunningly rich and, in the long term, incapable of defending itself against the European courts and researchers. The second was the entirely new world of the Americas, with its primitive but sophisticated civilisations of the Maya, Inca and Aztec.

Unfortunately, the first Europeans to arrive to the New World were not the people of Renaissance, in search of the new countries for the benefit of their own people, but fallen aristocrats, mercenaries and adventurers whose mission was to conquer as much land as possible and bring back as much gold as they could carry.

All quiet at the elections

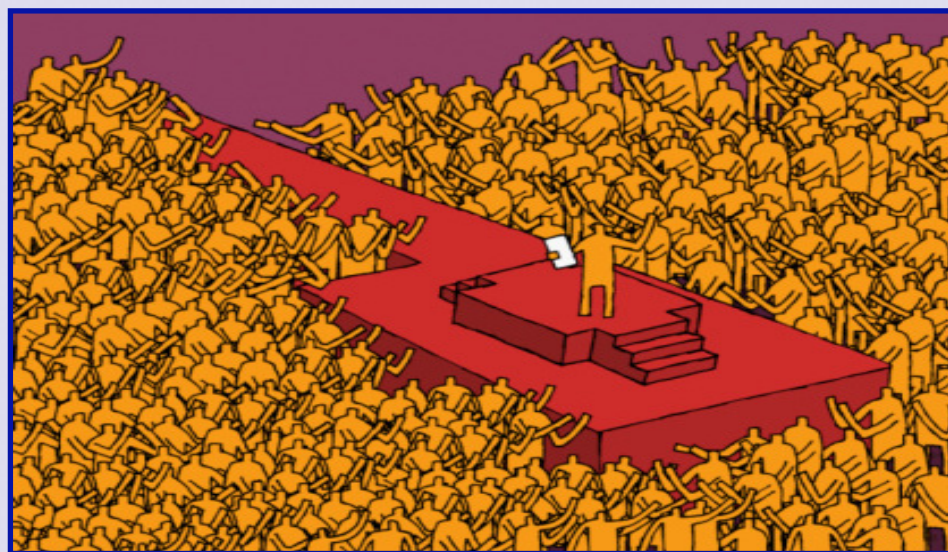
by Brano Mandić

Without a single shot being fired, the government remained in power in Montenegro, and it would be truly ridiculous these days not to admit that we're getting what we're asking for and choosing what is offered.

The opposition in particular is in a state where it needs anti-depressants, or purges, or meditation, yogi skills among the leaders, to explain to the populace why it is that they're losing again, but they're still not resigning.

One didn't have to be a prophet: the campaign of the opposition was one big blunder – an unfocused rubble of common places, addressed to the skies and to invocation of divine justice, instead of the undecided voters, abstainers and others who would vote if only it could make a bit more sense.

A good example was the campaign of Social-Democratic Party (SDP): they chose Podgorica, young people, internet communications, the city centre...And the strategy brought them exactly as much as they needed, which



again, inarticulately babbles about a certain success, percentages, theft, lack of freedom and low levels of political conscience. They do it, evidently, out of the lowest of drives: if they admit to their defeat in public, they would also have to take the blame and explain why they're still in politics.

The phenomenon of the eternal government is only one side of the coin – the other is the eternal opposition and

hard to squander, and one ought to have a genuine talent for excuses after these results, to remain politically alive and even call oneself a promising leader.

The campaign itself was sad to watch, with its key symbol of a white shirt, as if resurrected from a folk song. All they were missing was a wedding banner, with an apple on the spear, or a towel to flutter up in the name of national reconciliation and respect for hygiene.

But this is no laughing matter, political analysts have all the reasons to rejoice: this kind of political reality is hard to come by, especially in the part of the world we are rhetorically heading for, ready to roll up the sleeves for the Copenhagen Criteria.

The only interesting question, after these boring elections, is the future of the mayor of Podgorica **Miomir Mugoša** and his open war with the smaller coalition partner. It is hard to believe that SDP would default on its crown promise to its voters, but anything is possible in Montenegrin politics. Their intention to spare Mugoša until the end of his term, and then oust the captain of the city out of his armchair smells like a compromise forged on the highest level barbecue parties. It is interesting that this, the only remaining possibility of oppositional catharsis, can be granted to the voters only by a mem-

Political analysts have all the reasons to rejoice: this kind of political reality is hard to come by, especially in the part of the world we are rhetorically heading for, ready to roll up the sleeves for the Copenhagen Criteria

is the definition of political pragmatism.

On the other hand, the opposition remains the laughing stock, and the complex of the eternal rule of the Democratic Party of Socialists grew even stronger, if that was at all possible. Killing all hope for normal politics is a dangerous business that will cost this country a lot of time and effort on the way to a well functioning world. DPS has all the right to raise itself above the law when it needs to be, to protect its people and wave the election results in front of Brussels' eyes. To make it worse, there were no foreign observers, which is a clear and painfully sobering signal. An instead of admitting that they failed, the opposition,

the interest-based network of people who have been floating for many years with equal success. What else could explain the urge to invite into the opposition coalition a political fossil in the person of **Zoran Žižić**, for instance – a man without a party or media potential? Or, the partnership with the scandal-master, **Blagota Mitrić**, the world champion in contradictions, also a politician without a party and a person whose opinions are as unpredictable as the turns of his great love, the roulette? Such choices, instead of uniting the voters, only sow confusion and faintheartedness which in Podgorica manifested itself in the loss of no less than 13 000 votes for the opposition. Such capital is really



ber of the coalition in power. However much we made fun, for a good reason, of the notion of changing the system from within, it seems we will have to make do with snail-like steps of one pragmatic party which for years nodded to all sorts of misdeeds of the hateful DPS and repented for their sins from the war-ridden past. If one can still speak of the opposition as a political force of any vision, their attitude towards SDP will be a big challenge, at the price of putting an end to the fruitless unity which anyway hasn't brought them anywhere.

To the great disappointment of many of us, DPS' electoral victory once again proved to the European Union that this party is the cornerstone of stability. Brussels will, as usual, happily gloss over the quality of that stability, which is so difficult to swallow for nor-

It is the local level that harbours the most backstage compromises, in the smaller towns usually based on family-godfather-tribe networks, which dissolve political reason and debase the force of law. In almost every Montenegrin city there is a direct connection between the local leaders, businessmen, construction firms and political structures, but the opposition again failed to talk about it on the micro-level, which is what the local elections are for

mal people unaccustomed to living in a world of social injustice and political primitivism of the majority.

One more thing: the trend of wiping out the party borders between the North and the South of Montenegro is obviously continuing. It seems that the

citizens of the North decided to fall for the Government's advertisements, which paint their corner of the homeland as an untouched Garden of Eden, which in many ways it is, free as it is of any economic development.

Absolute power corrupts absolutely, which can be especially nasty at the local level. Experience has shown that the media lights are usually on

However much we made fun, for a good reason, of the notion of changing the system from within, it seems we will have to made do with snail-like steps of one pragmatic party which for years nodded to all sorts of misdeeds of the hateful DPS and repented for their sins from the war-ridden past

Podgorica and the policies of the Government, while in the peripheries corruption is a fact of life and a lesser evil. This is a mistake, if we remember that the local government is the one

closest to the people, and therefore the one to bear the key educational function in all post-communist countries, in which the sound of the phone call from the "centre" for decades caused one's blood to curdle.

And it is the local level that har-

bours most of the backstage compromises, in the smaller towns usually based on family-godfather-tribe networks, which dissolve political reason and debase the force of law. In almost every Montenegrin city there is a direct connection between the local leaders, businessmen, construction firms and political structures, but the opposition again failed to talk about it on the micro-level, which is what the local elections are for. The only explanation is that the oppositional leaders in the local structures are actually happy with their own positions. Have they signed a non-aggression treaty, content to play the big fish and from their makeshift pulpits philosophise about the global politics and brandish their spears at the octopus of organised crime? It is sad that the opposition couldn't bring itself to talk about the local problems and instead put itself squarely into Đukanić's favourite realm of political debate: patriotism, Belgrade intrigues and trite stories about Chetniks and Partisans.

And so once again the Government and the Opposition danced the game out in perfect harmony, and once

again we had to wonder who will be robbing the state next and listen to the boorish prattle below the dignity of the gentlemen of that age.

That in short was the mood of another election nobody will remember because they brought nothing at all, except for a bitter taste in the mouth, but even that is fading away. When the battle for liberation from the influence of big capital loses all appeal, the opposition can cast away its worn out rhetoric and say it out loud: the transition is over, now it doesn't matter who is in power any more, the cards have been dealt and whoever it is sitting on our backs, there will be no more change.

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

DECISION TO ESTABLISH THE COUNCIL FOR COOPERATION BETWEEN GOVERNMENT AND NGOS

NGOs to have a say

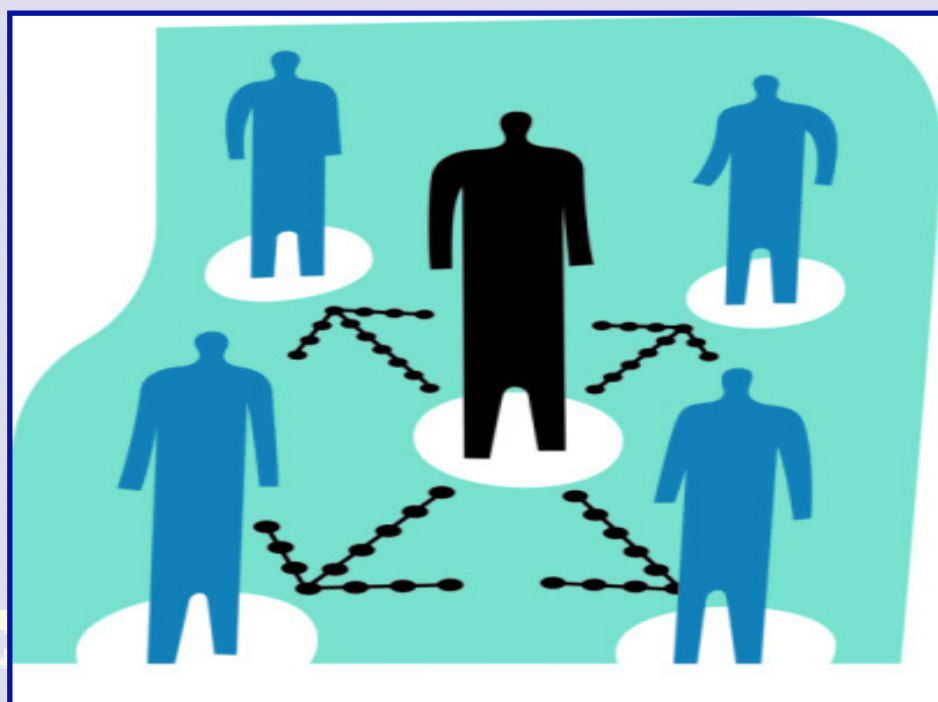
The Council for Cooperation between the Government of Montenegro and non-governmental organisations should allow the NGO representatives to participate in the discussions on new regulations, strategies and programmes – something that the government has been keen to avoid so far, with a few rare exceptions.

This is the gist of the Government Decision to establish the Council for Cooperation between the Government and NGOs as an advisory body to the executive.

The establishment of the Council was also one of the commitments binding the Government in Podgorica on its road to European Union.

The Decision stipulates that the Council should monitor the implementation of the Strategy for Cooperation between the Government and non-governmental organisations, assess the results of activities set in the Action Plan for 2009–2011, and promote the development of links and cooperation between the Government and non-governmental organisations in order to improve the quality of life and work of its citizens.

The Council, according to the Decision, should contribute to improvement of complementarity and intensification of mutual relations in defining the direction and implementa-



the institutional and normative framework for the functioning of non-governmental organisation in Montenegro in order to create an environment which facilitates their work and development; it initiates adoption of new or amendments to the existing regulations in order to improve the normative and institutional environment for the functioning of non-governmental organisations and achieve other goals set in the Strategy", states the document.

It further states that the Council

and programmes.

"The Council supports cooperation between the Government and state institutions on the one hand and non-governmental organisations in the country and abroad on the other, as well as with the relevant actors of the international community in defining and implementing intersectoral and international cooperation", states the Decision on the establishment of the Council.

The Council will discuss regular reports by public institutions regarding cooperation with non-governmental organisations in specific areas and funding allocated for NGO projects, and report to the Government about the development of cooperation.

Ministries and other public institutions will submit to the Council regular reports regarding cooperation with non-governmental organisations, as well as data on the financing of NGO projects, signed memorandums of cooperation and other issues and activities taken in partnership with non-govern-

Council for cooperation between the Government and NGOs offers support for the involvement of non-governmental organisations in the process of defining and implementing public policies, i.e. participation of non-governmental organisations in the discussions on regulations, strategies and programmes

tion of public policies, and support the establishment of institutional mechanisms for cooperation and development of partnerships.

"The Council advises the Government on draft regulations which affect

offers support for the involvement of non-governmental organisations in the process of defining and implementing public policies, i.e. participation of non-governmental organisations in the discussions on regulations, strategies



photo VIJESTI

New building of the government of Montenegro

mental organisations active in the fields of competence of the public institution in question.

The President of the Council will be a Government representative. In addition to this, the Council will consist of 24 members, 11 representatives of the Government, head of the Office for Cooperation with Non-Governmental Organisations and 12 representatives of NGOs.

The President and the Council members from the Government side will be appointed by the Government for a period of three years. Government representatives will be selected upon nominations by the ministries, while the representatives of non-governmental organisations will be nominated by NGOs.

Ministries and other public institutions will submit to the Council regular reports regarding cooperation with non-governmental organisations, alongside data on the financing of NGO projects, signed memorandums on cooperation and other issues and activities taken in partnership with non-governmental organisations

The NGOs represented in the Council will come from among the non-governmental organisations working in the areas of human rights, rule of law, democratisation and societal development, care for persons with disabilities, youth and children, gender equality and women's rights, education and life-long learning, environment,

agriculture and rural development, health and social protection, culture and information, and European and

The Council advises the Government on draft regulations which affect the institutional and normative framework for the functioning of non-governmental organisation in Montenegro

Euro-Atlantic integrations. Each non-governmental organisation can nominate one representative to the Council, provided that it has been registered in the Register of Non-Governmental Organisations for at least one year prior to the publication of the call for nominations to the Council.

The eligible NGOs should also have, in their founding act and the statute, a clear indication of activities and goals in the areas of activity

required by the Decision.

Also, in order to be eligible for membership in the Council, the NGOs should have implemented at least one or more projects in the previous year of the minimum value of 2 000 euros, or participated in a larger campaign or to smaller one-off activities.

Members of the management of

NGOs eligible for the membership in the Council, according to the decision, should not be members of any bodies of political parties, public or state officials, directors, civil servants or employees of public administration.

The procedure for nominations to the Council is managed by the Office for Cooperation with Non-Governmental Organisations.

The Office will nominate for membership in the Council those representatives of non-governmental organisations who receive the highest number of nominations from the eligible NGOs in a certain field of activity.

The Government will dismiss the member of the Council if it can be proven that he or she submitted false data for the nomination or failed to notify the events or circumstances which could have influenced his or her nomination to the Council, or if he or she failed to attend the Council sessions

two times in a row without an adequate justification.

Also, the Government Decision stipulates that a Council member can end his or her mandate before the expected date upon a court verdict condemning the member in question to a prison sentence of a minimum of six months, or otherwise withdraws his or her right to engage in public activities.

Further, the Government can dismiss a Council member who is a representative of the Government upon request by the ministry which nominated the member in the first place.

On the other hand, the Government can also dismiss a Council member who is a representative of non-governmental organisations if a majority of NGOs represented in the Council withdraw their support for the member in question.

According to the Decision, the funding necessary for the functioning of the Council will be allocated from the budget of the Government's Secretariat.

V.Ž.

WHY DO I WANT TO BE A CITIZEN OF EUROPEAN UNION

Changing habits

Thanks to a scholarship by one British foundation I spent my first longer journey abroad in the UK a few years



by Nataša Kostić

ago, doing research at the University of Redding.

That was my first really significant "live" encounter with the British culture, the way of life and university environment of an EU member state.

As the circumstances would have it, I arrived to Redding later than planned, in the midst of the Christmas holidays. The university campus was all but abandoned, with only a few remaining students around. Looking for the building of my department, I chastised myself for being so careless and wondered how I will find my way among the supposedly "cold" Brits.

At the department, I was met personally by the director of the Centre for Applied Linguistics who, to my great surprise, explained that she knew I was coming on that day and only came to her office because of me. At the checkout desk in the library I found my card already waiting for me, alongside an envelope containing all the data necessary for access to the university intranet. Since the students mostly left for holidays no student cafeteria was open on the campus so they immediately took me to the faculty restaurant, housed in a gorgeous Victorian building. The professors whom I met during the lunch were much more interested in my academic work than in the history of dissolution of my former homeland.

When I arrived back at the dorm, the receptionist told me there was mail for me. For me? I just arrived! It was a letter from the foundation which gave me the scholarship, containing a check I was supposed to cash in at a bank. So my

next destination became a bank in the city centre, to which I got by bus which, I soon realised, ran by a timetable in a way that I could have used to set my own watch. There were many people at the bank but the queue went by quickly and silently. Nobody, I noticed, was hanging over my head while I tried to explain to the cashier what I needed. It turned out that in order to cash in my check I needed confirmation by the central bank which issued it, so they sent me to the manager of the branch office. My foreign accent and my blue passport of the then already non-existing FRY and equally non-existent Yugoslav citizenship didn't even make her pause: within ten minutes she had made three phone calls on my behalf and drafted a document which simplified the procedure for cashing in the following checks in the next few months and quickly paid the sum I requested. On the way back my last remaining fears were dispelled by the driver of a bus which I boarded by mistake, and who took his time explaining to me how to get safely to my destination.

And I arrived, quite unexpectedly, feeling safe and knowing that there is an entire system which works for me and where everyone respects the rules. This sense of security and calm remained and prevailed thanks to many other similar experiences during my entire stay. And in fact, those people simply did their jobs in a responsible, cultured, tolerant and open way.

I guess there is no one in this country any more who still doubts that for the citizens of Montenegro it is best to become also the citizens of EU, i.e. of a country where they could always feel this way.

Europe was united in order to survive and prosper, to preserve the peace and create the fundamental preconditions for economic developments, which is necessary for societal development. Today, citizens of 27 member states live in a community which cherishes the values of the rule of law, fundamental human rights, democracy, equality and openness to diversity. For an ordinary citizen of EU that means, among other, substantial per-



sonal freedom – to travel, live, work or study in any member state, to have the right to social security, to a certain level of quality of life, as well as the so-called third generation rights – to development and a healthy environment.

The need to become an EU member state is presented to the public as the primary objective of our decision-makers. But the membership in the EU should be at the same time the goal and the means. The goal towards which we strive in order to improve ourselves and a means which helps us achieve it. In essence, it means adopting those values which are the foundation of the community of European states and which inspire its citizens to stand by them and develop them together.

This is why I want the citizens of my country to become true European citizens. Because I want our society to recognise all those habits, beliefs and behaviours which limit our ability to develop as a prosperous society and eliminate them, and to exchange them for those that will take us forward.

Due to our historical trajectories and cultural traditions we are both very close and yet very far from Europe. Growing closer is a long, slow process where violence of any kind can only do harm. My hope is that the generations of our students will live to see us become the same, or at least very similar to each other.

The author is an associate professor at the University of Montenegro. She attended IX generation of European Integrations School

Same fines for drivers

The European Parliament urged the Commission to adopt EU level regulations detailing "clear and comparable" fines for the truck drivers breaking the rules about working time, rest and working conditions.



There are huge differences between European countries when it comes to such fines, with the amounts in some countries being ten times greater than in others: in Greece, the fines can go up to 400 euros, in Spain up to 4 600.

The regulation of the working conditions of truck drivers has been a problem for the EU for many years now. The biggest bone of contention is the controversial question of the inclusion of self-employed drivers in the directive on the working time.

European Commission believes that self-employed drivers ought to be left out of the directive, as it is unfair to impose the same rules on them as on the drivers employed by the companies, which are responsible for limiting their working time.

Gentle with the monkeys

Representatives of EU member states adopted strict restrictions on scientific experiments on animals.

The proposal is yet to be adopted by the European Parliament, probably in September this year. According to the new regulations, experiments on large apes, such as chimpanzees, gorillas and orang-utans will be forbidden.

The proposal, however, envisages that in "exceptional circumstances" the member states might still approve experiments on apes, where this is deemed necessary for the survival of their species or in case of a breakout of particularly dangerous illnesses in humans.

EU member states will also have to ensure that, "wherever possible" experiments on animals are replaced by some "scientifically satisfactory" alternative method.

The number of animals used in various projects ought to be cut to a minimum necessary "not to compromise the quality of results", for instance in cancer or Alzheimer related research. Generally, animals from the wild cannot be used in experiments.

Only in European Union every year some 12 million animals are used in scientific experiments. Last year EU forbade testing of cosmetic products on animals, except for long-term toxicological tests, which are to be phased out by 2013.

Euro in Estonia

In late May Estonia got the green light from Brussels to join the Eurozone in early 2011 and become its 17th member in probably the last round of enlargement of the single currency area at least for another four years to come.

Although the European Central Bank (ECB) doubts whether Estonia will succeed in keeping the inflation low in the long term, the European Commission ruled that this country of 1.4 million inhabitants was ready to adopt the euro, unlike the other countries who are standing in the line: Czech Republic, Hungary and Poland.



If the EU finance ministers confirm the approval, as expected, Estonia will become the fifth state from the 2004 enlargement wave to join the Eurozone. Slovenia was the first to do so in 2007 and was followed by Cyprus and Malta in 2008 and Slovakia in 2009.

Shoe dispute

World Trade Organisation (WTO) initiated investigation into the December 2009 decision by European Union to extend custom duties on imports of leather shoes from China.

Beijing disputes Brussels' decision to extend import duties for another 15 months in order to protect EU producers from the cheap Chinese competition.

China, however, maintains that anti-dumping tariffs are protectionist and that they undermine free trade, a position supported by European importers.

The EU believes that the tariffs, introduced in 2006, are necessary, as the European producers suffer from the competition from China, which sells shoes at a price below the production costs, which is illegal.

The WTO can introduce certain sanctions against the EU if it finds that EU's decision violates international trade rules.

Six thousand per refugee

European Parliament proposed that EU member states should receive 6 000 euros per every refugee they accept coming from a third country.

Only ten EU members are currently involved in the provision of asylum and shelter for refugees.

The EP's proposal is meant to target primarily the Iraqi refugees, currently stationed in Syria. The host countries would receive the money over three years, with the amount gradually reduced to 5000 in the second year and 4 000 in the first year.

The money would come from the existing EU Refugee Fund.

New efficiency labels

Efficiency labels on washing machines, dishwashers and other household equipment will in the future bear more detailed information on energy consumptions, according to a law recently adopted in the European Parliament.

In addition to the existing energy efficiency categories A through G, the new labels will have additional three categories for the "A" class – A+, A++ and A+++. The member states have one year to transpose the directive into national legislations.

ADVANTAGES AND DISADVANTAGES OF EU MEMBERSHIP: CZECH REPUBLIC, SIX YEARS AFTER ACCESSION

Pragmatic Eurosceptics

by Daša Pavlović

Europe isn't a bank where we go to get money. Money is important and we do get it, but only so we can reach the European level sooner, summed up the situation **Vladimír Špidla**, former prime minister of the Czech Republic and until recently European Commissioner. Six years after entering the EU even the Eurosceptics admit that the Czech Republic had profited from integration, and not only in economic terms. The road to the united Europe was neither quick nor easy – in spite of a clear commitment to it since the Velvet Revolution of 1989 when it was thought that the accession will only take a few years, it took 15 years of reforms until full membership in 2004.

The main part of the work was done within some seven years, from the signing of the Association agreement in early 2005, through formal membership application in 1996, until December 2002, when the last chapters were concluded at the summit in Copenhagen. The great reform turn was possible because the Czech political elite understood where it was heading from early on – even the staunchest Eurosceptics understood that the tiny Czech Republic, with its export-oriented economy, simply cannot remain outside of European integration. This view is stably supported by 56% of Czechs.

A 1999 World Bank study on the achievements of transition in the Czech Republic indicated three strands of reforms that characterised its position at the time.

The first consisted of a group of reforms that were yet to be implemented in the Czech Republic, primarily concerning elimination of monopolies in the infrastructure, energy, telecommunications and transport, where the EU expects greater role for the market and the private sector. The establishment of an institutional and regulatory framework guaranteeing free competition in these areas drove abundant foreign investment to the Czech Republic and raised its competitiveness. Only in the first decade of the transition the country received 22.2 billion dollars in foreign direct investment. Since 1998, when it became clear that the country will surely join the EU, the investments took another turn upward. Record investments of almost

9 billion dollars were recorded in 2002 when the last negotiation chapter was closed.

The second strand of reforms consisted of those that seemed necessary to implement even if they weren't strictly required for EU membership. Those concerned mostly the transformation of large companies which, for political or social reasons, were bypassed by the first round of privatisation and were still making losses and dragging the economy down.

The third strand of reforms, necessary for the country to become an EU member and become part of the common market involved, among other, environmental standards. In a country where the environmentalists are still sometimes perceived as a nuisance which, for the sake of birdies and little beasts makes business plans more complicated and costly, adoption of envi-

Probably the greatest success of transition and integration was the development of good economic relations and business climate. The rule of law is also safely in place, although it is sometimes slow and shaky. What is still missing is a firmer stance on corruption – the Czech Republic has been sliding down the list of Transparency International, from the 45th place in 2008 to the 52nd in 2009

ronmental norms caused substantial resistance on the part of entrepreneurs, as well as ordinary citizens. Today, we can say that fulfilment of the environmental criteria in the long term improved the quality of life and stimulated tourism.

Just like Romania, the Czech Republic experienced a drop in its per capita GDP at the beginning of transition, but it soon caught up, and even overtook some of the older EU members. From 58% of the European average at the beginning of transition, the Czech GDP stood at 70% around the time of accession, and further rose to 75% in the late 2000s.

None of the spectres of the "new Europe" came true, such as the scare that from 1 May 2004 the salaries will remain Czech, while the prices will become European.

The convergence of prices from 39% of EU average (or 36% of German average) in the mid 1990s went gradually, without rapid increases, and the Czech Republic continues to approach West European standards.

Gradual wage growth was achieved



Prague

without undermining the value of the national currency – crown – which at times became overvalued. The crown rose also because the speculators saw the Czech and the Slovak currencies, as well as Polish

zloty, as a good occasion to invest after the creation of the Eurozone.

Like the other candidate countries, the Czech Republic, in its Association Agreement, agreed to gradually harmonise its legislation with EU regulations.

During the accession, the Czech Republic didn't have to transpose all the 12 000 of then European regulations, but only 8 500 of those which were deemed important for the integration process.

Even in the case of regulations which required harmonisation, the Czech Republic was allowed some transition periods until the date of accession or even after joining the EU in order to make the necessary changes more gradually. Such transition periods were agreed in the areas of environment, as immediate harmonisation proved to be too costly, especially as regards waste water management. Similarly, out of fear that the Westerners – mainly Germans and Austrians – would buy up real estate in the Czech Republic at the expense of the local population, the country was allowed to restrict, for a certain period, the right of foreigners to purchase property in

PLASTIC-WRAPPED DOUGHNUTS

In the course of harmonisation with European legislation, the biggest obstacle to the efforts of the Czech governments was the Parliament itself, or rather the ancient custom of the Czech MPs to propose the so-called "obstacle amendments" – amendments completely unrelated to the law at hand, as, for instance, debating amendments on the law on veterinary during the discussion on the law on smoking in public places.

The Czech Republic also had a large number of regulations containing serious mistakes which had to be amended. These included some true legal blunders, such as allowing the courts to freeze the property of the state and confiscate historical monuments on account of the Bureau for the Protection of Monuments owing 1 000 euros to the creditors.

It also happened that the Czech MPs would turn a law proposed by the Government, which had been harmonised with EU regulations, into something completely incompatible. In 2000, the Government was forced to supply a key to all of its proposals listing the exact wording of proposed regulations in the European laws.

This was partly in response to the bad habit of the Czech governments to label everything they wanted to push through but were afraid of the reaction on the part of the opposition and citizens as "necessary for Europe".

The most famous regulation from the "we wouldn't, but Brussels insists" category was the proposal of the Ministry of Health to allow sales of doughnuts only if they had been pre-packaged. Only when some citizens asked the then Enlargement Commissioner **Gunter Verheugen** whether Europe was so bored as to busy itself with straightening cucumbers and packaging doughnuts, it turned out that nobody in Brussels or in the member states had never heard about such a regulation, let alone ordered the Czechs to plastic-wrap their doughnuts.

"Trust me, I would never buy such a sticky doughnut wrapped in cellophane", Verheugen said.

the Czech Republic.

On the other hand, some countries demanded that the Czech Republic should fulfil two additional requirements, but the old members made sure that the demands didn't go too far.

The first additional requirement came from Austria, which in its own time also had to relinquish nuclear energy, and demanded that the Czech Republic, if it wishes to join the EU, ought to close down its just-finished nuclear power plant, Temelin. Temelin is close to the Austrian border, but through mediation of the "old Europe" the solution was found in the so-called Melka Process, with the Czech Republic submitting guarantees and expert reports to prove that Temelin was safe. The second demand came from Budapest, although Hungary was not yet part of the Union, but was strongly supported by Austria. It asked Slovakia and the Czech Republic to annul the so-called Beneš decrees, post-war laws of the Czechoslovak president **Edvard Beneš**, conceived under the blessing of the big powers, which served as a legal bases to expel Sudeten Germans – 2.5 to 2.9 million of them, and a number of Hungarians from the Czechoslovak territory, confiscating their property, on account of "collective guilt" for

the war. However, even this demand was soon withdrawn, partly thanks to Germany and its enlargement commissioner **Gunter Verheugen**.

Europe also warned about discrimination against the Roma in the Czech Republic, but the problem, in spite of the involvement of some European governments, hasn't been solved to date, even after six years of membership.

The prolonged accession process soon dampened the initial enthusiasm for the ideas of freedom, democracy, human rights and "return to our rightful place in Europe" which was very high in the first years after the fall of Communism. The average Czech rather turned to sober calculations of concrete benefits from membership.

Czech export-oriented economy was well integrated into the European and global economy even before it joined EU. In spite of the complaints of the Czech exporters about the appreciating crown, the statistics show that they have been very successful in the difficult and competitive European markets.

Polls indicate that the negative effects on the economy – cases of closing domestic companies, loss of jobs, competition by foreign brands, rising prices – are consid-

ered as downsides of EU membership by only 8.6% of the Czechs.

According to a 2005 opinion poll, the worst side of membership for most Czechs is the feeling that they have to obey decisions made elsewhere, and that they are losing sovereignty and independence – 30% of the respondents felt this way.

This sentiment reflects the very vocal attitude of the popular Czech President **Vaclav Klaus**, who ranks as Europe's highest-placed Eurosceptic since he came to power in 2003 – in spite of the fact that it was he who eventually led the Czech Republic into the EU fold.

Probably the greatest success of transition and Euro-integration is the development of good economic relations and business climate. This is a great advantage for the Czech consumers, who were not always the most vocal in demanding their rights. The reforms brought more investments, modernised the economy and made it more competitive.

The rule of law is firmly in place, although it is sometimes slow and shaky. What is still missing is full eradication of corruption – the Czech Republic has been sliding down the list of Transparency International, from the 45th place in 2008 to the 52nd in 2009.

Neither the Euro-optimists, nor the sceptics, nor the independent analysts can agree whether the EU membership helped or harmed the Czech economy in times of crisis.

The recession and fall of GDP of 4.3% last year is mostly blamed on the export-orientation of the economy and its dependence on the EU markets. The analysts suggest that the country ought to turn more to the new emerging markets.

Some point at the excessive dependence of the Czech economy on automobile industry, which isn't really something that can be blamed on the EU. During the times when in the Czech Republic, Slovakia and Poland hosts of investors built automobile plants which turned this area into the "Central European Detroit", many local critics warned that such over-specialisation could be costly in case this industry came under pressure.

The neighbouring Poland, also an EU member, escaped unscathed and remain the green oasis of Europe with 1.7% GDP growth throughout the crisis, thanks to a different economic structure, lesser dependence on industry, more diversified economic base and a domestic market four times the size of the Czech one.

The author is the Prague correspondent for Beta news agency

MONTENEGRIN VILLAGES ARE YET TO START PREPARING SERIOUSLY FOR ENTRY INTO EU

Back to the books for farmers and clerks

EVROPSKI REPORTER

by Bojana Brajović

Judging by the situation on the ground and administrative potentials, Montenegro and the inhabitants of its villages are far from ready for European Union. The lack of administrative capacities is probably most visible in the agriculture.

Like any other country that wishes to become a part of the European family, Montenegro has to, among other, transpose *acquis communautaire* into its national legislation, and harmonise its laws with EU regulations on food safety, veterinary, phyto-sanitation and animal feed.

The EU laws in this field aim to facilitate internal and foreign trade by setting standards for the production of healthy food.

In addition to the education on EU entry criteria for the employees of

effort on the part of the entire administration", said deputy minister **Branko Bulatović** in the interview for *European Reporter*.

The key element of the EU Common Agricultural Policy is individual payment per unit of land owned, irrespective of its use. However, such subsidies are tied to certain requirements regarding the environment, food safety, health of animal and plant species and animal welfare, and to the requirement of keeping the agricultural land in a good state from the point of view of agriculture and environment.

At the moment there are 18 regulations in this area to be implemented directly at the farm if the owner intends to secure subsidies. In Montenegro the existing subsidies in agriculture rely on the Law on Agriculture and Rural Development,

The closest to the European model at the moment are the per capita subsidies in cattle, sheep and goat breeding, which are paid out once a year based on a survey of the Cattle Selection Service

the ministry of agriculture and local governments, as well as for the producers, Montenegro ought to bear in mind that the goal of the EU Common Agricultural Policy (CAP) is to ensure sustainability of the agro-eco system.

The ministry of agriculture agrees that the reform process ought to be led by the understanding that the accession to EU is an opportunity and means to modernise Montenegrin agriculture and adopt European standards of production and consumption.

"This entails an extensive financial burden and a comprehensive

and the aim of the reform will be to redirect support from subventions to inputs to direct payments per acre or per head of cattle.

"In this way we will introduce certain measures (subsidies to cattle raising and plant production) with elements of direct payments modelled after the EU", Bulatović explains.

The closest to the European model at the moment are the per capita subsidies in cattle, sheep and goat breeding, which are paid out once a year based on a survey of the Cattle Selection Service.



Regarding crops, subsidies are paid per acre of cultivated land, except in tobacco production where payments are tied to output, i.e. they are issued as premiums for every kilogram of dried tobacco delivered to the Tobacco Combine in Podgorica.

"The 2010 Agrobudget shifted the subsidies to payments per acre of sown tobacco (1 000 euros for class II, +/- 20% for classes I and III). This was done upon recommendation by the National Programme of Rural Development, which was also raised during negotiations with the WTO", says Bulatović.

However, **Ratko Vujošević** from the Association of Agricultural Producers says that the state hardly subsidises anything:

"The countries from which we import offer their producers subsidies and raw materials, which makes their products much cheaper than ours. Our farmers cannot be competitive because their products are more expensive".

Experts believe that the only sustainable mechanism for development of the Montenegrin agriculture

NO SECTOR WILL BE IN DANGER WITH EU MEMBERSHIP

Associate researcher at the Bio-Technical Faculty in Podgorica **Milan Marković** warns that in the Montenegrin public we can often hear opinions that the domestic producers will suffer with the entry into EU.

"I don't see a single sector in the Montenegrin agriculture that could be in danger with EU membership", Marković says.

As for the supposed ban on the planting of new olive groves after the EU entry, Marković says that there was never such a strict prohibition.

"This is different. Direct subsidies to this sector were subject to such limitations, restricting the maximum support per county and landholding. Even that is, however, subject to change, as the latest reforms of the Common Agricultural Policy separate subsidies from production", Marković explains.

Rapprochement with EU and its policies can only help Montenegro to develop its olive growing, and support to investments to plant new and restore existing groves, alongside introduction of EU standards for the production of olive oil are the foremost priorities in this sector.

Marković emphasises that "in the EU wine-making sector there are still rigorous rules for the planting rights on new vineyards. However, the most recent reforms of this sector, which followed an intensive public debate, envisage elimination of such restrictions from 1 January 2016 on the EU level and from 1 January 2019 in all EU members".

"Even if Montenegro was to join before 2016, the EU couldn't impose the rules on a new member state which are being abolished in the EU as such. Even if the standing regulations change and the regime goes back to the system of planting rights, the accession country would be entitled to an appropriate transition period to adjust to the changes, which has to be negotiated before accession", Marković explains.

It is therefore wise for Montenegro to expand the existing vineyards, because there are plenty of resources to do so – land, market, tradition, and a growing interest in this branch. Wine is the main export article of Montenegrin agriculture, and the export volumes could be much bigger. The agreed quota for wine exports free of tariffs from Montenegro to EU are 16 000 hl per year, and are far from being fulfilled.

is extensive investment into rural development, with an emphasis on the strengthening of primary production and introduction of the relevant standards, most of all in the area of food safety and processing.

tenegrin products", says Bulatović.

If the experiences of the common European agricultural policy are anything to go by, the fashionable "withdrawal of the state" has no place in this sector, as the European

The countries from which we import offer their producers subsidies and raw materials, which makes their products much cheaper than ours, says Ratko Vujošević from the Association of Agricultural Producers who insists that the state is hardly subsidising anything

"Montenegro has significant comparative advantages in the fisheries, wine-making, greenhouse vegetables, lamb, organic production of original and traditional Mon-

agriculture owns its rise and growth in the last few decades to vigorous support policies of EU and its member states.

Our farmers, whose perform-

ance always depends on the climate, do not have comprehensive insurance against business-related risks. Their access to loans is very limited.

"They often pay high interests rates, which is in connection to high risk levels which are hard to insure, and they often face financial bankruptcy. They don't even have the right to a trade union", Vujošević complains.

"We are citizens of the last rank, nobody cares about us. We can't form a trade union because we're not officially employed, but we're farmers", explains Vujošević the core of the absurd.

He adds that "Montenegrin farmers are in dire straits, and our rural areas won't be ready for EU even by 2038".

The long awaited census of agricultural producers will take place in June. This will give a clearer picture of Montenegro's capacities in this field. The census is a large scale statistical enterprise comprising 202 000 households in Montenegro, with 2 300 field researchers administering a questionnaire of 136 questions. But the real challenge will be to process the data from the census. "Its results will serve to precisely define the entirety of the land fund, forests, cultivated land (fields, orchards, olive groves, vineyards, grazing land...), the structure of agricultural mechanisation and the number of cattle qualified for the premiums and subsidies. Such data is necessary in order to apply for the EC funds in the so-called IPARD component once Montenegro acquires the status of EU membership candidate", Bulatović said.

This also includes establishment of agricultural registers. All answers will be secret and will be available only for the purpose of statistical research. "This is why the symbolic motto of this census is "We want to know what we have", says the Ministry of Agriculture.

FIRST HUMAN RIGHTS FESTIVAL



Speed up

Between 31 May and 2 June in Podgorica Centre for Civic Education (CCE) organised the

by Paula Petričević

first Human Rights Festival "Speed up". The project was supported by the USA Embassy in Montenegro and ERSTE foundation, and it was co-organised with the Cultural and Information Centre (CIC) "Budo Tomović", in cooperation with the Sarajevo human rights festival "Pravo ljudski".

The audience in Podgorica had a chance to see a selection of excellent recent documentaries that have won numerous prizes in the film festivals across the world. The entry to all screenings taking place in the welcoming multi-media hall of the CIC was free of charge.

CCE's enthusiastic team has been searching for a new medium to revive, broaden and re-actualise human rights related issues which, watered down for the cheap political scores and atrophied into political correctness, has been "cooling down", slowly shifting out of the focus of public interest. The question which drove us to seek a different, innovative and fresh approach to communicating the problematic of human rights in our environment was – how to make such issues more vivid, more sensitive and present? How to revive them, make them more real, how to touch the nerve?

Provocative and direct, documentary is a perfect medium to truly make us face the victims and the hangmen, the unbearable injustices and incredible heroism, the weakness and the strength of humanity in an era to which many would ascribe apocalyptic attributes.

The first Human Rights Festival aims to position Podgorica on the cultural map of the region which for many years now has been cherishing this form of festival happenings which aims to introduce the public to the contemporary form of engaged documentary, but also to sensitise and inform the public in the post-conflict societies to problematic of human rights, the violation of which made the West Balkan region world famous.

The opening ceremony was attended by a great number of guests from the social and political life. The festival was introduced by **Daliborka Uljarević**, executive director of CCE, director **Želimir Žilnik**, the guest of honour, **Benett Lowenthal**, deputy US Ambassador to Montenegro and **Aleksandar Saša Zeković**,

researcher of human rights' violations who officially opened the Festival. The screenings began shortly after an informal cocktail.

The first film shown to the audience in Podgorica was *"Burma: Reporting from a Closed Country"* which talks about decades of oppression, a revolt against the state and its military dictatorship, during which the video journalists from Burma wrote a new chapter of high-risk journalism and the struggle for human rights. The next film, *"The Greatest Silence: Rape in the Congo"* told a moving story about the unthinkable number (several hundreds of thousands) of raped women in the Democratic Republic of the Congo, their traumas and their everyday lives under the constant threat of fear and torture from "their own" military as well as the brutal violence from the enemy soldiers. The director, who in her youth was also a victim of rape, bravely and directly explored this issue which the silence about truth makes all the more dramatic, horrifying and cruel. The first day of the Festival ended with the film *"Second Planet"*, whose unusually poetic cinematic language, through the voices of children from all over the world who narrate their terrible life experiences, uncovered the "secret face of the planet" where half of the inhabitants live on less than 1\$ per day.

The second day was dedicated to the issues of reconciliation with the past, starting with the screening of the film *"Pizza in Auschwitz"*, which tells the story of a 74-year old who as a child survived the holocaust. He is trying to share his trauma with children who accompany him on the road of generational confrontation with the past, a road which in the end proves that "surviving" the holocaust is in fact impossible. The theme of the war past continued with the *"20th Century Man"*, a film about the oldest camp survivor from Bosnia and Herzegovina, late **Bećo Filipović**. He was arrested three times in three wars and three times liberated: from Mauthausen in 1942, Goli otok in 1949, and Army Investigation Prison aka "Little camp" in Banjaluka in 1995. The French short *"Even if she were a criminal"* confronts the audience with the scenes of public punishment of the women who were accused of collaboration with the German soldiers during the war, authentic sequences which in only ten minutes manage to create a lasting impression and remind us of the nearly forgotten, dark side of the victory. The last film shown on second day was *"The Reckoning: The Battle for the International Criminal Court"*, a story about the first six turbulent years of existence of ICC, the first permanent body in



charge of processing international crimes – the crimes committed on the territory or by the states who acceded to the Court.

The overarching theme of the third day of the festival was rights of sexual minorities. It screened two films dealing with this topic, *"Queer Sarajevo Festival 2008"* and *"Suddenly, Last Winter"*. *"Queer Sarajevo Festival 2008"* narrates the events surrounding the QSF, eruptions of homo/bi/transphobia on the part of the representatives of public institutions, and parts of the media and public whose reactions, in the end, turned this documentary into a story about violence against the LGBTIQ persons in BiH and the region. Indisputably politically engaged film *"Suddenly, Last Winter"*, explores the possibilities and the fate of the struggle for the rights of same-sex communities and discusses homophobia in an exquisitely charming, measured, courageous and inspiring manner. This was also one of the films that received the best reception by the audience. The Festival was closed by the screening of *"Let's Make Money"*, which drew a large audience eager to see the celebrated documentary which talks about the circumstances that brought the world into the trap of neoliberalism.

It is important to emphasise the regional aspect of the festival, which would not have happened without the invaluable experience and selfless assistance from our colleagues in the region, most of all those from the Sarajevo Human Rights Film Festival "Pravo ljudski", and especially its creative director and selector **Kumjana Novakova**.

Our goal to render visible the problems which are stubbornly ignored in our public, to actualise the issues which are certain to make you lose the elections, to bring them into the public sphere and turn them into relevant topic of articulated debates, to test the limits of our understanding of the reality we live in, to remember what we would rather forget, suppressing it as a bad dream or ignoring it as somebody else's incommunicable nightmare, to make ourselves again vulnerable to the suffering of others. We believe that our aims were at least partly fulfilled through the excellent film programme which represented a transformative experience for many of us.

Recognition for European Pulse

From 8 to 12 May Istanbul hosted the winners of the contest for young journalists organised by the European Commission in all European countries. Thirty-five national champions represented their countries at the winners' trip and the closing conference which took place in Istanbul.

European Young Journalist Award (EYJA) is a prize awarded to young people from across Europe for their articles dealing with the process of European integrations and EU enlargement.

The contest is open to all young journalists and students of journalism aged between 17 and 25. On the national level the winners were selected by a three-member jury, and the best had a chance to meet their peers from other country, to travel together, exchange experiences and learn about other cultures and countries.

In addition to this, while in Istanbul the 35 young journalists had a chance to discuss the EU enlargement process, obstacles facing the countries which are not yet members, but also the fears from enlargement which have been looming large within the EU itself. Among the priority issues of the closing conference, organised in Istanbul as a part of the winners' journey, were the relations between Turkey and European Union.

Montenegro's national winner representing our country at this important conference was **Mirela Rebronja**, programme associate of the Centre for Civic Education and a journalist of the *European Pulse*, who received the award for her contributions to this monthly. This is a great recognition not only for her, but also for the efforts our paper has been making for many years to inform and promote the complex issues of European integrations.

Civil Society Forum

On 18 and 19 May 2010, in Brussels, around 150 representatives of civil society organisations from the Western Balkans, members of EESC, European and international social and professional organisations, European NGOs, representatives of West European governments, diplomats, EU institutions and international organisations met at the 3rd Forum of West Balkan Civil Society Organisations.

The Forum was opened by the vice president of the European Economic and Social Committee (EESC) **Irina Pari**, followed by introductory presentations by **Michael Leigh**, general director of European

Commission Enlargement Directorate and **Aleksandar Andrija Pejović**, Montenegrin ambassador to European Union.

During the Forum the participants discussed the relations between EU and the region, ways to improve the economic and social rights, the role of civil society organisations in monitoring the implementation of international commitments and paths of future cooperation. **Daliborka Uljarević**, executive director of Centre for Civic Education, presented at the panel discussion the strengthening of civil society organisations in the Western Balkans.

NON-GOVERNMENTAL ORGANISATIONS IN EUROPEAN UNION



AEGEE (European Students' Forum)

AEGEE (Association des Etats Generaux des Etudiants de l'Europe / European Students' Forum) is a student organization that promotes co-operation, communication and integration amongst young people in Europe. As a non-governmental, politically independent and non-profit organisation AEGEE is open to students and young professionals from all faculties and disciplines – today it counts 15.000 members, active in more than 240 university cities in 43 European countries, making it the biggest interdisciplinary student association in Europe.

AEGEE, which was founded in 1985 in Paris, puts the idea of a unified Europe into practice. A widely spread student network provides the ideal platform where youth workers and young volunteers from 43 European countries can work together on cross border activities such as conferences, seminars, exchanges, training courses, summer schools, etc.

By encouraging traveling and mobility, stimulating discussion and organising common projects AEGEE attempts to overcome national, cultural and ethnic divisions and to create a vision of young people's Europe. Its main aims are:

- Promoting a unified Europe without prejudices,
- Striving for creating an open and tolerant society
- Fostering democracy, human rights, tolerance, cross-boarder cooperation and mobility

All the numerous events and projects are within 4 Fields of Action (Cultural Exchange, Active Citizenship, Higher Education, Peace & Stability) and 3 Focus Areas (European Citizenship, Global Challenges and Intercultural Dialogue).

Among AEGEE's most well-known achievements there are the establishment of the Erasmus Programme, in which AEGEE has been directly involved.

AEGEE has participatory status in the activities of the Council of Europe, consultative status at the UN, operational status at UNESCO and it is a member of the European Youth Forum. Its partners are numerous famous persons.

More information on this organization are available on the web site www.eupd.eu

Prepared by: Ana VUJOŠEVIĆ

Youth for Reconciliation with the Past



On behalf of Coalition for RECOM, on 29 May 2010 in Podgorica, Centre for Civic Education organised regional consultations with young people and young organisations gathering 46 participants from Croatia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Serbia, Kosovo and Montenegro.

Consultations were opened by **Daliborka Uljarević**, executive director of Centre for Civic Education (CCE), who emphasised the importance of the young people's voice for the future development of activities towards establishment of RECOM.

Mario Velicković from the Centre for Development of Civil Resources in Niš and **Mario Mažić** from the Youth Human Rights Initiative in Zagreb also spoke about the need for RECOM and

the importance of the involvement of young people in this initiative.

Organisers presented the draft Statute of RECOM, which received many useful comments and suggestions in the course of a long, dynamic and constructive discussion.

The participants agreed that RECOM is more than necessary in all former Yugoslav countries, because the wounds opened during the years of wars in the region still remain. They emphasised the importance of bringing the facts into the education process in order to prevent further indoctrination and spreading of lies which only produce hatred, and called for active participation of young people in the creation of a more peaceful, better and more sustainable future.

Education Financing

In the context of the World Campaign for Education, education branch of the Confederation of Free Trade Unions of Montenegro organised on 5 May 2010 a round table titled "Education financing in Montenegro". The goal of the organisers was to emphasise that a quality reform of the educational system requires more funding from the Budget, but also to draw attention to precarious financial situation of the teachers.

Among the speakers were representatives of the Ministry of Education and Science, Ministry of Finance,

Committee for Economy, Finance and Budget of the Parliament of Montenegro, as well as MPs, NGO activists and other interested parties.

The participants agreed that education requires more, but also more transparent investments if the state is to have better quality education, a knowledge-based society and content teachers.

Daliborka Uljarević, executive director of Centre for Civic Education also spoke at the round table, and **Ana Vujošević**, CEE programme associate, participated in the discussion.

Against oblivion

Human Rights Action, Centre for Civic Education, ANIMA, Association of families of victims of deportation of refugees from Bosnia and Herzegovina from Montenegro in 1992 and Women's Safe House, organised on 27 May 2010 in Herceg Novi, in front of the Security Centre, commemoration of the 18th anniversary of deportation of refugees from Bosnia and Herzegovina from Montenegro.

On this occasion, NGO representatives said they expect the authorities to erect a monument at the site where one of the busses left with the refugees, as a lasting message that something similar must never happen again in Montenegro.

Regional Human Rights School

From 9 to 15 May 2010 Centre for Civic Education organised the 17th Regional Human Rights School, in the framework of the regional programme for youth education on human rights and active citizenship, supported by the Norwegian Ministry of Foreign Affairs through the Norwegian Helsinki Committee.

The School brought together 30 young people from Bosnia and Herzegovina, Montenegro, Croatia, Kosovo, Macedonia and Serbia, who worked on the strategic planning of youth groups with the help of the moderator **Emina Bužinkić**, secretary general of the Croatian Youth Network.

This was also an opportunity for a meeting of the Regional Team, consisting of representatives of all organisations participating in the project. **Paula Petričević**, programme director, participated on behalf of the Centre for Civic Education.

FOR THIS ISSUE WE RECOMMEND:

MBA IN INTERNATIONAL BUSINESS PROGRAMME

The Scholarships will go toward tuition fees to attend the XXI edition of the MBA in International Business programme (September 2010 – September 2011) in Italy. These will cover up to 100% of the tuition fees (equivalent to 24.000,00 EUR 20% V.A.T. included). The amount of the scholarships will be discounted from the overall tuition fees.

Candidates must meet the following requirements:

- Academic degree (or equivalent qualification) in any discipline.
- Good working knowledge of English (TOEFL certificate is recommended).
- Minimum 3 years of work experience.
- Less than 35 years of age as of September 2010.

MIB School of Management will award scholarships to the best candidates on the basis of educational qualifications, professional skills and motivation shown during the entrance interview. To be considered for a scholarship, the application form for the programme must be completed on-line at www.mib.edu

In order to finalize the application, the following documents must be received:

- Degree certificate
- Two letters of recommendation



- A certificate demonstrating adequate knowledge of English such as TOEFL (verification of skills may be made directly by the School)
- A deductive reasoning test score such as GMAT (alternatively, verification will be made directly by the School).

Deadline: 30 June, 2010.

PHD STUDIES AT THE YORK MANAGEMENT SCHOOL

The York Management School invites applications for admission to full time research study leading to the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the following subjects: Accounting, Business History, Human Resource Management, International Business, Management Systems, Organisation Theory, and Public

Sector Management.

The York Management School is offering two scholarships which will be on the basis of a fixed term stipend for three and a half years to the value of 13,290 GBP per annum, with all tuition fees paid at the UK/ EU rate (currently 3,390 GBP). The York Management School will increase these scholarships in line with University fees and stipends. Successful applicants will be appointed as Graduate Assistants within the relevant Research Group, providing suitable teaching support. Further particulars about the School and its research are available from: <http://www.york.ac.uk/management/> Details on how to apply, and application forms, are available from: <http://www.york.ac.uk/graduates-tudy/applying/>

Deadline for applications is 15 August 2010.

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