



## INTERVIEW

Head of  
the TACSO  
office in  
Montenegro

## ANALYSES

Is the ruling  
coalition  
ready  
to create  
an effective  
and  
transparent  
local  
administration

## FOCUS OF THIS ISSUE

Consequences of the potential  
slow-down in the enlargement  
process for Montenegro and  
the Western Balkans



## DIPLOMACY

That Montenegro is a serious country which cannot tolerate violation of good diplomatic practice is hardly a good enough reason for a harsh reaction of the Montenegrin Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MFA) to the joint press release of the ambassadors of Germany and UK **Peter Plate** and **Catherine Knight-Sands** in which they condemned the attack on the underaged son of **Nebojša Medojević**, leader of the Movement for Changes.

Montenegro and its authorities got some much harder diplomatic blows they bore in silence.

There can only be two reasons for MFA's looking for an explanation from the ambassadors of the two powerful EU members, at the same time threatening to instruct its ambassadors in Berlin and London to initiate consultations in the Foreign Affairs Ministries of UK and Germany. The first is the party reflex of MFA, which is analogue to that demonstrated by the Police Directorate which quickly announced that the attack on the boy "had no political background", without any reservations of the kind "the accused claim"...

The second reason for this reaction by the Ministry headed by **Milan Roćen** might be that the Montenegrin authorities are in no hurry to join the EU. If this wasn't the case, why would they risk a confrontation with the diplomats whose reports, among other, will help the decision makers in Berlin and London decide whether to grant Montenegro the candidate status for EU membership or the date to begin negotiations...

The authorities in Podgorica created an atmosphere where they need to convince their own citizens that an attack on a boy on the school playground has no political background.

And that should be something to worry about in the future. **V.Ž.**

**In spite of all its problems, EU thinks about the Balkans (2 June)** – European Union is unambiguously dedicated to the European perspective of the Western Balkans and stresses that the membership of these countries in the EU is our common objective, reads the press release of the chairman of the EU–Western Balkans summit (Spain), organised in Sarajevo, which brought together high EU representatives and ministers of foreign affairs of the West Balkan states. Participant in the meeting stressed that the priority issue is to complete the reconciliation process. They added that the West Balkan countries "ought to intensify their efforts to fulfil the requirements and criteria of EU membership" and that "the progress of every country will depend on its merit". In addition to the Foreign Affairs Minister of Spain **Miguel Angel Moratinos**, the meeting was attended by the EU High Representative for Foreign Affairs **Catherine Ashton**, Enlargement Commissioner **Štefan Fule**, Foreign Affairs Ministers of UK and the Netherlands **William Hague** and **Maxime Verhagen**, as well as representatives of USA and Russia. The meeting was held according to the Gymnich pattern, i.e. as an informal meetings where the participants were only introduced by their names.

### EU demands independent judiciary (14 June)

The first meeting of the EU–Montenegro Association and Stabilisation Council was held in Luxembourg, six weeks after the SAA with Montenegro came into force. The meeting was attended by the Spanish state secretary for EU **Diego Lopez Garrido**, Enlargement Commissioner **Štefan Fule** and Montenegrin Foreign Minister **Milan Roćen**. The council represents a framework for the strengthening of relations between Brussels and Podgorica. EU representatives urged Montenegro to step up the efforts in fighting crime and corruption and to ensure independence of judiciary and prosecution.



**Montenegro and Macedonia upset with EU because of Serbia (21 June)** – Judy Batt, an expert on the Balkans warned that the EU's approach "Serbia first", if it allows itself to relax the requirements to make Serbia progress faster, would be "risky", threatening to alienate Montenegro and Macedonia. She added that Montenegro and Macedonia "are upset with what they see as double standards" by EU and are afraid that the Union could slow them down to allow Serbia to catch up in the integration process.

**New Communication Strategy (25 June)** – the Government adopted a new Communication Strategy for EU membership, from 2010 to 2014. The first Communication Strategy was adopted in 2004. The new document identifies target groups for the informational and educational activities in the preparation process for joining EU.

**Commission for European Integrations begins its work (25 June)** – At the first meeting, members of the Commission for European Integrations discussed the establishment of sub-committees for justice, freedom and security, and analysed the track record of activities planned under the Framework Action Plan for the fulfilment of SAA commitments in 2010. The Commission for European Integration was established by a Government decision in June, as the key body for coordinating European integrations.

**Presidents in favour of abolishing passports for Balkan travel (26 June)** – At a meeting in Prizren, presidents of Montenegro **Filip Vujanović**, of Macedonia **Đorđe Ivanov**, Albania **Bamir Topi** and Kosovo **Fatmir Sejdiu** urged the abolishment of the need for passports and other administrative barriers among the West Balkan countries.



## A VIEW FROM EU

# Negotiations as soon as possible

Preoccupied by its own financial troubles, European Union has forgotten about the Western Balkans.



by Alexandra Stiglmayer

The consequence of this is that it is losing credibility in a region which could easily slide back into instability. This is why the heads of European diplomacies ought to urgently reconsider their approach to the Balkans.

Negotiations for EU membership with the Balkan countries will not be done in three or four years, but will take eight to ten, or even longer.

The EU knows that without it there can be no future or lasting stability in the countries of this region. In spite of that, it is raising high obstacles for the candidate countries to get through the first few steps towards candidacy.

It doesn't allow them to apply for the candidate status, and when they do, it doesn't ask the Commission to write the opinion on the country's preparedness to become a candidate. This was the case with Montenegro, for instance, where the process took four or five months. In other words, it creates so many obstacles right at the beginning, which are in fact unnecessary. The goal should be to begin membership negotiations as soon as possible.

We don't see why this should be a problem since, even once the negotiations start, the Balkan states will need many, many years to be ready to join EU. The point is that, if the negotiations were to start sooner, the reforms would also begin, as the EC would become more tangibly involved, and would present *acquis communautaire*, open up

certain chapters, and give the candidate countries concrete tasks and deadlines to close them.

If you take the example of Turkey, you will see that, although in a difficult process of rapprochement with EU due to the open opposition of some EU states to Turkey's membership in the club, its situation is actually much better, the reforms are genuinely under way, and much more successfully so than in some West Balkan countries which are in a deep political crisis.

In these countries the perspective of EU membership is so remote that it plays practically no role in their political discourses. This is the case in BiH, where the situation is very tense, or in Albania, where the battle between the government and the opposition is constantly raging, which could have negative effects on EC's opinion about its readiness to start negotiations. Or, take the case of Macedonia, where we already see the return to the old nationalist rhetoric.

***If the negotiations were to start sooner, the reforms would also begin, as the EC would become more tangibly involved, and would present the *acquis communautaire*, open up certain chapters, and give the candidate countries concrete tasks and deadlines to close them***

As a matter of fact, in many countries we see retreat instead of progress, and this wouldn't have happened if the EU enlargement policy were more realistic and concrete. This is why we recommend that all countries in the region should be allowed to apply for the candidate status: BiH, but also Kosovo. Further, all countries should receive and fill out the questionnaire with thousands of questions in order to enable the Commission to assess their readiness for negotiations. We insist that all countries of the region should get the questionnaire and apply, and the Commission should publish its opinion on their readiness already next year.

Some of them won't be ready, but then the Commission ought to point out the concrete problems they need to solve in order to start membership negotiations. There are also countries which are ready to start negotiations by 2012. Bearing in mind Croatia's difficult experience with negotiations, none of the Balkan countries will anyway be ready for membership before 2020. This leaves the EU with more than enough time to sort out its internal problems and implement the Lisbon agreement.

Currently we are in a sort of a vicious circle. The governments in the region think that the EU doesn't want them, they sense the negative attitudes to enlargement, and they choose not to do the reforms that would be painful to their own citizens, without bringing concrete and immediate benefits. The West European countries, seeing this, generally conclude that the West Balkan states are not doing enough and should not be allowed to become EU members.

This clearly shows that the only way out of the vicious circle is through a positive logic. The positive turn will take place once the process of EU enlargement becomes more realistic, concrete and short-term oriented than it is today.

*The author is a senior analyst in ESI – European Stability Initiative and one of the authors of the report "Wait and watch: the way to advance EU policies for the Balkans", which, according to the media, has been prepared for the Summit in Sarajevo, on 2<sup>nd</sup> June 2010. Excerpts from the interview to Radio Free Europe*

## WHAT ARE THE CONSEQUENCES OF A POSSIBLE SLOWDOWN IN THE PROCESS OF EU ENLARGEMENT FOR MONTENEGRO AND THE WESTERN BALKANS

# It's up to Montenegro to do its homework



by Samir Kajošević

Montenegro and other countries of the Western Balkans should focus on the implementation of intensive reforms, without paying heed to the frequent warnings and insinuations that the European Union might slow down further enlargement.

People acquainted with

European integrations in Montenegro and the Balkans explain this approach with the fact that, once in the European union, there's no going back to the old vices.

EU analysts, members of the European Parliament and high officials of several EU member states have been sending disheartening messages to the Balkan countries in the last few months, and instead of 2014, which was originally considered the closest date for other countries, except Croatia, to join the EU, the more frequently mentioned year now is the faraway 2020.

The economic crisis, slow implementation of the Lisbon Treaty, the loss of EU's position on



Živorad Kovačević

the geopolitical map where it is gradually being overshadowed by China, Brazil, India and others, Brussels has been signalling enlargement fatigue and the possibility of halting the process for a while.

MEP Doris Pack says that, drawing on its prior experiences with Romania and Bulgaria, the EU has become wary of enlargements and is now expecting the candidate countries to be 100% ready for EU membership.

In any case, the current position of the EU places several question marks ahead of the Balkan countries, the crucial one being whether the slowdown in European integrations will endanger the already fragile reforms in Montenegro and the entire Balkans.

The former president of the European Movement in Serbia Živorad Kovačević says that for most countries of the Western

## WILL THERE BE MORE EUROSCEPTICS?

Marović believes that the announcements to slow down EU enlargement could have a negative effect on the public opinion of the West Balkan countries.

She reminds that the imprecise dynamic of integrations which the Montenegrin authorities have been touting to their citizens has created a wave of optimism.

"If the 'promise' is not fulfilled, this wave can come down crashing on the ruling coalition. Other countries of the Western Balkans are experiencing something similar, as their entire foreign policy strategy has been tied to the EU membership", she said.

Unlike her, Vasilije Lalošević doesn't expect armies of Eurosceptics, reminding that the consensus over Europe is something unique on the Montenegrin political stage.

He admits that in countries like Macedonia and Serbia the signals from Brussels fired citizens' mistrust towards EU, but says this cannot happen in Podgorica.

"I think the political climate is such that the European integrations have no alternative. This is why I think that the danger from disappointed Eurosceptics in Montenegro is much smaller than in other countries", he said.





Ana Vukadinović

Balkans the EU membership was anyway a long-term prospect.

"Brussels never promised us a

quick membership, and made it conditional upon genuine reforms. Sometimes our own governments are responsible for unrealistic expectations, painting a rosy picture of the enlargement process", says Kovačević in the interview for *European Pulse*.

Potential stalemates in the accession process are, according to him, something that every country needs to take into account.

In the meantime, he says, one ought to keep getting ready for the call from Brussels.

Although the Balkan states are famous of the fragility of their democracies, Kovačević believes the new EU policy won't slow down reforms in the region.

"There's no special reason to



Jovana Marović

go rescuing Euro-enthusiasm, nor to abandon the necessary reforms. First of all, we need these reforms for ourselves, not for the European Union. We ought to concentrate on the immediate next steps – getting the candidacy for those countries which have already signed the stabilisation and association agreement. This requires remedying all the weaknesses that have been repeatedly pointed out by Brussels, such as the reform of the judiciary, genuine, systemic and organised fight against corruption and organised crime, and solving the conflicts with the neighbours", Kovačević said.

According to the latest progress report and statements by the Commissioner **Štefan Füle**, fight against corruption and organised crime is precisely the task that will require a lot of effort by the Montenegrin authorities.

Whether because they consider that they have already done enough against these ills, or because they're putting on the pink glasses, for the last few months Montenegrin authorities

## THE GOVERNMENT CAN NEVER RELAX IN FRONT OF BRUSSELS

Member of the Parliamentary Committee for International Relations and European Integrations **Vasilije Lalošević** from the Socialist People's Party (SNP) believes the entire society must act in accordance with the expectation that Montenegro will get the candidate status by the end of the year.

The Government and the Parliament, according to him, should start developing the platform for negotiations and forging a consensus on all matters of European integrations.

According to Lalošević, this is the only way to prepare the society for the potential negative effects of delays.

He believes that in spite of the occasional statements by European officials, there is no reason to anticipate EU's enlargement fatigue, but concedes that Podgorica must be ready for every scenario.

"We still have to fulfil the commitments we undertook with the SAA and behave as if the next year will be the crucial one. We ought to meet all the standards required by the relevant international bodies, and this process mustn't slow down to a halt nor can we allow our energy to go to waste", Lalošević said.

The European standards Montenegro already adopted, he said, ought to be implemented in spite of the faltering interest in Brussels.

He warns that the European practice mustn't remain a dead letter, adding that, in spite of the EU's attention being turned to other issues, the Montenegrin government shouldn't relax.

"We have already matured enough as a society to move forward – otherwise we can end up in an uncomfortable vacuum which won't do any good to anybody. I believe the Government can't just relax, because the international community is watching it and there'll be no going back to old habits", he said.

have been confident in expecting their country to win the status of an EU membership candidate by the end of the year.

On the other hand, however, no such promises have been voiced. The six-month programme of the Belgian EU presidency doesn't mention Montenegro's candidacy for membership, nor the start of pre-accession negotiations.

The document only envisages the "final phase" of negotiations with Croatia, and promises Macedonia that the Council of EU will consider Commissions' recommendation to begin negotiations.

**Ana Vukadinović**, advisor for foreign affairs of the Prime Minister **Milo Đukanović**, believes that in spite of pessimistic announcements, there will be no impasse on the road to EU.

"We are treading the path of European integrations first of all for the sake of wellbeing of our own citizens, regardless of the outcome. We realise that many factors influence the current situation, but it is important for us to show that

Montenegro is able to be an EU member. We have demonstrated that we can implement reforms not because of the outside pressure, but because of ourselves", says Vukadinović, who doesn't think that Brussels is afraid of another Bulgaria or Romania.

In the interview for *European Pulse* she said that the date of accession is less important to Montenegro than the quality of reforms.

## GETTING THE CANDIDATE STATUS IS LIKE ENTERING A BOB SLIDE

**K**ovačević says that getting the candidate status is the crucial moment for every country, explaining that with that the country is irreversibly "entering the bob slide from which it cannot jump out any more". He says that this strengthens the monitoring powers of Brussels, adding that after Croatia joins the EU, Europe will increasingly view this region as one whole.

"I believe this will raise the pressure on those who are lagging behind, with the goal of all the remaining countries, including Kosovo, joining the EU as a package, although that won't be soon. If I'm right, that will also mean that the EU will increase the pressure to resolve all the remaining bilateral problems and strengthen all forms of regional cooperation. Brussels is definitely not eager to take under its wing a tangle of unresolved conflicts between neighbours, which means that before we get much closer there must be a consensus on Bosnia and Herzegovina and a viable *modus vivendi* between Belgrade and Pristina", Kovačević said

Vukadinović says that, for the Government's strategy, gaining a better image in the eyes of EU is more important than deadlines.

**Jovana Marović** from the Institute Alternative also doesn't expect that the current EU "enlargement policy" will slow down the current reforms in Montenegro.

She explains that the reforms are the only way to join EU, warning that it's not serious to expect "discounts".

"Democratisation of the society, harmonisation of our legislation with EU laws and implementation of "good practices" of EU member states must proceed independently from the statements by European leaders. If the goal of the reforms is the benefit of the society as a whole, they must be an aim in themselves. Finally, in order to earn the status of an EU member we must achieve comprehensive reforms and transformation of all levels and layers of the society. This is a long-term process, which means that once Montenegro is ready for European Union, the Union will also be ready for us.

## WE NEED A PARTNER IN THE BALKANS AND PODGORICA COULD BE THE ONE

**V**ice president of the European Parliament Delegation for South-East Europe **Jelko Kacin** said it was very important that another country of the Western Balkans should enter negotiations with EU after Croatia.

Asked about the reasons for the slow-down in the enlargement process, Kacin said that it's not the EU that decides on the dates, but the countries who wish to become members.

"We gave everyone the green light and a promise that we're ready for enlargement, but first a number of conditions must be met. For us, it is very important that after Croatia another country should begin negotiations to keep the attention on the West Balkan countries. If at least one country is negotiating that is already helpful to all other countries in the region. If we know that Macedonia won't be ready to accept a compromise regarding the name that would allow it to join NATO and begin negotiations with EU, then Montenegro is probably the next candidate country to start negotiations. Montenegro is a small country, but it has twice as many inhabitants as Iceland. If Iceland can negotiate, so can Montenegro", Kacin said.



## IS THE RULING COALITION READY TO CREATE AN EFFICIENT AND TRANSPARENT LOCAL ADMINISTRATION

# Give the vote, get the job

The innumerable attempts to train the Montenegrin local administrations to prepare and implement



by Neđeljko Rudović

projects that could attract funding from the EU IPA funds should bear the fruit sooner or later – provided that the staff that suffered through all those trainings on writing EU projects isn't fired in the meantime. And the risk is real, if we know that every local administration harbours a surplus workforce that ought to be eliminated if they are to become sustainable.

Only recently we were stunned to hear that only in the municipality of Budva the excess employment is in the range of 700%. According to the European Movement in Montenegro, regarding the overstaffing of local administrations, Budva is the worst, and Tivat the best example. The metropolis of Montenegrin tourism has 600 to 700% employees more than it needs. The comparative data produced by the EMiM shows that the optimal number of employees in Budva, according to the European standards, is 80, whereas the local administration currently employs 460. The problem is particularly striking if we compare the situation with, say, Slovakia, where a municipality with approximately the same number of inhabitants and on a comparable level of development employs 37 people in the local administration. In Budva, the number is 15 times higher. In some Montenegrin municipalities the rate of excess employment is around 50%, but there are many where the numbers are rather in the 100–200%

range. In Pljevlja, for instance, the number of employees ought to be cut from 280 to 180.

According to the Minister of Interior Affairs and Public Administration **Ivan Brajović**, at least 1 100 employees of local administrations in Montenegro are slated for layoffs.

"Our local administrations, public enterprises and institutions employ 10 700 people. We have identified a 10% surplus", announced Brajović recently, adding that the ministry will do its best, in cooperation with the government to "ensure that the redundant workers leave their jobs as painlessly as possible, and provide them with certain services".

To make things even more complicated, the head of the EU Delegation to Montenegro **Leopold Maurer** joined the debate, suggesting that the situation is not exactly alarming, since Montenegro only has two administrative levels – state and the local level – whereas in the EU there is also the regional level. According to Maurer, Montenegrin municipalities also deal with the issues which are usually delegated to regional administration. The Head of the EU Delegation seems to forget that the whole of Montenegro is of a size of

meantime, the Government maintains that the legal framework for the area of public administration in Montenegro has been nearly completed, with the Government adopting the strategy for the training of local administrations which "represents the key document for the development of a modern, professional and efficient local governments".

It is no secret that the EU holds Montenegrin administrative capacities in low esteem and that the key challenge for local governments is to establish transparent and accountable administrations. The importance of this has been best described by Maurer: "In every one of my speeches I have to repeat that the fight against organised crime and corruption is among our priorities, and that a digitalised, well functioning administration is the best way to go about it".

In order to achieve this goal, 15 municipalities currently benefiting from the Equalisation Fund – Andrijevica, Berane, Bijelo Polje, Cetinje, Danilovgrad, Kolašin, Mojkovac, Nikšić, Plav, Pljevlja, Plužine, Rožaje, Šavnik, Žabljak and Ulcinj – are undergoing a programme of technical support. The idea is to train the civil servants for the new

*Fight against organised crime and corruption is one of EU's priorities, and a digitalised, well functioning administration, is the best way to go about it, says Leopold Maurer*

a smallish region in the EU and that central administration here is nearly equivalent to the regional administration in some parts of EU.

Either way, the EU, the non-governmental organisations and the state have been trying to raise the capacities of local administrations to attract the money from EU funds. Several hundreds of civil servants have been trained in various areas, from financial management to strategic planning, project writing and project management. In the

technologies and teach them to identify, plan, develop and implement priority investment projects.

However, the project does not contain a clause preventing the ruling parties from ruining the public administrations by fulfilling their electoral promises with waves of clerks, door-men, drivers, typists and secretaries. Should the similar projects start with the Government, i.e. with the leaders of the ruling parties, perhaps they would be more effective.

HEAD OF THE TACSO OFFICE IN MONTENEGRO GORAN ĐUROVIĆ

# We need more strong NGOs for EU funds

The fact that few NGOs in Montenegro are able to access the European funds as leading partners will come to the fore once we get the candidate status, and the solution for this problem should be sought in partnerships between developed and less developed organisations and in the strengthening of capacities of less developed organisations, says the head of the office for "Technical Assistance to Civil Society Organisations – TACSO" in Montenegro, **Goran Đurović**.

In the interview for *European*

*Pulse*, Đurović said that until now there were few problems with the use of the national IPA funds intended for the strengthening of the civil society, and that a few NGOs also won a number of projects from the IPA component on cross-border cooperation.

"Unfortunately, very few organisations are benefiting from the resources of the multi-user, i.e. the regional IPA component. In 2009 only 8 NGOs from Montenegro featured as partners to NGOs from the region or EU in the multi-user



Goran Đurović

## BOSSES TO LISTEN TO THE TRAINED EMPLOYEES

- As a long-term trainer, what do you think about the abilities of the state of Montenegro, i.e. its administration, to develop quality projects that could attract money from the IPA funds?

We still don't have enough trained personnel on the state and local levels who are able to prepare quality projects for IPA funds.

In spite of sporadic trainings, in my opinion there are still too few people who are interested in and dedicated to this work.

One of the reasons is the inadequate training methodology. The times of "informative" trainings for the civil servants are long gone. We need to work on long-term training programmes combined with mentorship the results of which would be tangible, finished project proposals. Mentorship is also needed in the implementation phase of the projects, which must be conducted in line with European procedures, not only according to the national rules.

The problem of inadequate training can only be solved if the civil servants who already know about managing the EU-funded projects in communication with the heads of state and local units send clear requests to the international organisations whose task is to implement various projects aimed at training. The first step, of course, is that the employees who have the necessary knowledge get a chance to have their opinion heard. This, however, is already a question of public administration reform and human resource development, which are lagging behind.

regional projects", Đurović said.

"Soon enough, once it gains the candidate status, Montenegro will be able to use the funds also from other IPA components. At that moment, it will clearly come to the fore that very few of our NGOs are able to exploit these funds as leading partners. The solution is in establishing partnerships in Montenegro between more and less developed organisations and the strengthening of capacities of less developed organisations. I believe that TACSO will help to create a culture of partnerships for the national organisations, first within Montenegro and later on the level of the region and EU. Only by increasing the number of developed NGOs can we attract more funding, which in the end means being able to better satisfy the needs of the Montenegrin citizens. The entire society will profit if a larger amount of money is being spent in Montenegro", Đurović said.

- Are you afraid that Monte-



## TACSO FOR LESS DEVELOPED NGOS

### ● Can you tell us more about the TACSO project in Montenegro? What technical assistance do you offer to the civil society?

The project "Technical assistance to civil society organisations – TACSO" in the West Balkan countries and Turkey is financed by EU as part of support to civil society organisations. The project is implemented by the Institute for Public Administration SIPU International AB from Sweden, in collaboration with partners from Bosnia and Herzegovina, Poland, Romania and Turkey, with support of the European Commission. The project will last two years, with a total budget of 6.7 million EUR. The goals of the project are to improve and increase the capacity and activities of civil society organisations and to strengthen their role in the building of democracy.

The main activities of the Montenegrin branch will be to provide information to the non-governmental organisations regarding EU policies in certain areas; the available EU calls for civil society projects, on the regional and EU sectoral networks of NGOs, and on the management of administration and financing in EU projects.

Civil society organisations will have a chance to participate in trainings that will contribute to their further professionalization, raising the level of services they offer to the community and effective fulfilment of their goals. The trainings are mainly intended for the less developed NGOs active outside of the bigger cities.

Also, some segments of the project will encompass representatives of the state and local government in order to foster cooperation with civil society organisations. All activities in this project are based on the needs of civil society organisations as established through a survey conducted in September and October 2009.

All countries in the process of EU integration need a strong civil society as a precondition for, but also as a consequence of a successful accession process. The role of civil society organisations is irreplaceable for development of democracy, and the EU itself considers the civil society a key partner in the adoption of European values.

### ● Will Montenegro have difficulties attracting EU funds in the future?

I'm not that afraid when it comes to the local government. Certain municipalities, such as Danilovgrad and Berane, and others are announcing the plans as well, have established organisational units to collect resources and prepare projects for the EU funds. The officials in these units have already been trained for the job.

The process of EU accession will take a while and I hope that the government will organise itself better.

In this phase it is very important to partner with NGOs that have some experience in preparing projects for EU funds, as this is not only a technical matter, but requires prior definition of the needs of the communi-

ty and involvement of different partners.

Public administration will have to learn to how involve citizens and NGOs in the preparation and realisation of the projects, but also to foster partnership first within Montenegro. Unfortunately, I don't think that we will be able to adequately use the regional IPA fund (multilateral programmes with EU member states) in the recent future, not in those components where we can be the leading applicants. The reason is the insufficiently serious understanding of this work. The state mustn't renounce the opportunities that are around.

● Is this "unserious" understanding of the work the reason why the Government still hasn't established a decentralised implementa-

tion system (DIS)?

Decentralised implementation system for the management of EU funds is under way. According to my information, most of the work on the development of the necessary structure is done. All that remains is to train the employees for taking over the functions that until now were performed by EU Delegation in Montenegro. The fact is that some of these trainings are behind the schedule.

### ● Can this influence the opinion on our candidate status?

I don't think the shortcomings in the completion of decentralised implementation system will affect the positive opinion on the candidate status which we expect by the end of the year.

The sooner the necessary structure becomes functional, the better will our image become in general, and the better our chances to attract funding from other potential EU sources.

● Based on your contacts with colleagues from the region, can you compare the situation with administrative capacities of the state and the NGO sector in Montenegro and other countries in the region regarding their ability to use European funds?

Capacities of the state and the NGO sector in Montenegro, compared to the countries in the region, with regard to their ability to use European funds, are neither the best nor the worst.

The best are the countries which already have the candidate status – Croatia, and even Macedonia. Afterwards comes, in my opinion, Serbia, and then Montenegro. Behind us are Albania, Bosnia and Herzegovina and Kosovo. It is a fact that we have a smaller state apparatus than other countries in the region. That can be an advantage if we are skilled enough.

V. ŽUGIĆ

## THE RISE OF EUROPEAN POWERS, RELIGIOUS WARS AND ENLIGHTENMENT

## From discovery of Americas to capitalist economy

Early modern period in the European history encompasses the years from the discovery of the New World in 1492 until the



by Miloš Vukanović

French Revolution in 1789. It is marked by swift development of science and technology, the rise of secular civic politics and the beginning of the nation states, as well as by the inception of capitalist economy under the dominance of the economic theory of mercantilism.

As such, this period is also known for the downfall and disappearance, in most of Europe, of feudalism, vassalism and the waning power of the Catholic Church. It roughly encompasses the protestant reformation, the appearance of empires and kingdoms that will attempt to rule the entire continent, the catastrophic Thirty Years War, European colonisation of Americas and the Enlightenment.

The beginning of the modern era saw the establishment of a new internal political order in the western kingdoms. The weakening of feudalism lead to the strengthening of the central power, and thus contributed to stabilisation in many of these countries. Coupled with the cultural and technological development, economic boom and profits from the colonies, it lead to development of a state whose foreign policy will cease to rely on the local dynastic haggles. The "new" kingdoms plotted domination over the entire territory of the Western world. The most prominent examples is the kingdom of France which will become the greatest military and economic power on the continent until mid-19<sup>th</sup> century, where it will superseded by the united Germany. By banishing English and subduing, first of all economically, the unruly nobles, the royal house succeeded in forging a kingdom which in the 17<sup>th</sup> century had more than 15 million inhabitants (compared to England, for instance, which had 4 at the time), and will make its

name through numerous attempts to conquer the neighbouring territories forcing even the long-standing enemies to enter into alliances in order to fend off the greed of the kings and cardinals in Paris.

The first to oppose them will be the Holy Roman Empire, i.e. a conglomerate of more than 300 kingdoms and dukedoms stretching from the Danish border all the way to Rome. But the lax ties within the Empire forced the Emperors to enlarge their personal territories outside the borders of the Empire. Calculated marriage ties over the generations brought **Charles V** an inheritance which, in addition to the Holy Roman Empire, encompassed Burgundy and the Low Lands (the valley of Rhone, Netherlands and Belgium), the Kingdom of

second the rise of Protestantism. After the fall of the Balkans and Hungary, the Ottomans appeared on the eastern borders of the Empire, and the French seized the opportunity, establishing a "sinful alliance with the infidels", first on commercial and then on military grounds, in order to rein in the power of the new Empire. It was, however, the Reformation and the Counterreformation that left a more lasting impact on the European states.

Although on the decline, the power of the Catholic Church remained immense. The Protestant reformation and the Catholic Counterreformation created two opposed camps throughout the continent. Religious issues grew into political conflicts which first flared up in the countries with a multi-

*Early modern period in the European history encompasses the years from the discovery of the New World in 1492 until the French Revolution in 1789. It is marked by swift development of science and technology, the rise of secular civic politics and the beginning of the nation states, as well as by the inception of capitalist economy*

Naples (with Sicily) and Spain with its American colonies. The enormous empire ruled by Charles V and later by his son **Phillip II** will be on an almost permanent crusade to destroy its main competitors on the land and the sea, i.e. France and England. In spite of an extended feud with France, lasting almost sixty years, an all-out war never broke out. Two factors conspired to prevent any one power taking over the whole of Europe for almost a century. The first was the advance of the Ottomans, the

confessional structure, but they soon drew in the surrounding kingdoms keen to "protect the true faith" and their own interests. The conflicts first arose in the German states and the Netherlands in the mid-16<sup>th</sup> century, and soon escalated into three civil-religious wars against the French Protestants, Huguenots, who in spite of a score of military victories were soon expelled from their homeland. The invincible Armada which left Spain in 1587 in order to invade England, had, in addition to obvious political motives, the blessing of the Pope to destroy the Anglican Church. Religious conflicts on the British isles continued until 1701, and in the Netherlands they transformed into a brutal struggle for liberation from the Spanish authorities. Still, all these conflicts pale in the face of one of the most destructive wars ever waged on the territory of Europe.

The Thirty Years War (1618–1648) was predominantly waged on the territory of today's Germany, and on various occasions involved most of the then European states.

Overseas operations shaped the borders of the future colonies. Multiplicity of causes and actors' calculations influenced the course of events, and it is hard to say what exactly started the war.





The conflict started as a religious dispute between Protestants and Catholics in the Holy Roman Empire, although internal disputes over politics and the balance of power played a significant role. Gradually, the war flared into a larger conflict involving most of the European powers. Protestant countries of the Northern Germany received support of the Dutch united provinces, and Scandinavian countries, most of all Denmark and Sweden, as well as Bohemia, England, Hungarian rebels and even Cossacks and Ottomans. On the other hand, the catholic states of the Southern Germany (who represented the majority in the Empire and were known as the Catholic League) were supported by the Habsburgs, Spain, Papacy and Hungary.

The war remains famous for unprecedented destruction, famine and illnesses which, according to some estimates, killed almost a third of the population on the territory today occupied by Germany, the Czech Republic, eastern France, Netherlands, Belgium, Austria and northern Italy. A good part of the region was flattened to the ground and most of the warring parties ended up bankrupt. France played a key role in this conflict: although in the beginning it supported the catholic forces because of its antagonism with the German rulers, it will soon join the Protestant side. In this phase, the war was more a continuation of the rivalry between the Bourbons and the Habsburgs for political dominance in Europe and it soon became a war between France and the Habsburg territories rather than a religious conflict. Some disputes which flared up during the war remained unresolved for many years after. The Thirty Years War ended with agreements signed in Osnabruck and Munster, as part of a larger peace treaty of Westphalia.

With the dampening religious fervour the continuing conflicts in Europe were mostly a consequence of France's ambitions. Many European countries were forced to make alliances in order to counterbalance the most powerful Western country, both on the continent and in the colonies. The peak came with the war for Spanish inheritance (1701–1714) when England, Netherlands and the Habsburgs together prevented **Louis XIV** from annexing Spain and its colonial territories to his empire. The peace of Utrecht will ensure, for some half a century, the balance of powers in Europe, but also for the first time set down in writing the division of enormous territories in the New world which were several times larger than the conquering countries.

In this period the colonial system will develop to some extent, although only in the Americas. On the territory of Africa,



Asia and Australia all that existed were merchant outposts and smaller settlements and until the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> century only explorers' expeditions will venture any further into the continents. In the meantime, however, in the Americas the destroyed ancient kingdoms of Central and South America will be superseded by the governments and provinces of the Spaniards and the Portuguese. The lands attracted massive immigration, and the shortage of labour caused by the dying out of the natives under the onslaught of European diseases was countered by imports of African slaves. For a long time economic and cultural development of these areas will lag behind, partly because of the practice of Spanish authorities to use the colonies merely as a source of raw materials, and partly by the general decline of the Spanish and Portuguese civilisations in this period.

On the other hand, the English, Dutch and French colonists in North America were more successfully in building and developing their colonies. Although they came to the New World with the same goal as the Spaniards, i.e. to find gold, they

*In this period the colonial system will develop to some extent, although only in the Americas. On the territory of Africa, Asia and Australia all that existed were merchant outposts and smaller settlements and until the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> century only explorers' expeditions will venture any further into the continents, but a different fate was reserved for America*

found something much more worthwhile: an enormous, fertile land, with a climate comparable to that of Europe. The land that was capable of assimilating not only the excess European population but also their culture. One of the main secrets of success of the North American colonies was that the settlers, in addition to their agricultural and mining skills, also brought capitalism and an understanding of their rights.

The early modern period, with its wars, the religious decline and colonial

expansion brought two trends that will lay down the path to the revolutions which were to shake Europe in late 18<sup>th</sup> and early 19<sup>th</sup> century.

Although absolutism is understood as a form of government where the rule of the monarch is unfettered by any institution, this was hardly ever the case, because of a complex state, economic, warfare and cultural apparatus.

However, absolutism as a transitional form of rule between feudalism and capitalism represents consolidation of power in a single centre, the rise of the state power, centralisation of the legal system and the decline of the church and nobility. Absolutist monarchy goes hand in hand with the appearance of stationary armies and professional bureaucracy.

The second trend is the Enlightenment which, among other, raised the general level of education in Europe. The philosophers of Enlightenment, who base their thinking on the scientific discoveries instead of religious dogmas, placed the man, instead of god, in the throne of the universe. Scientific discoveries, general rise in education, the appearance of a new class of wealthy citizens and the impact of various eastern philosophies on the understanding of the world forced the rethinking of the laws and dogmas by which the Europeans had lived until then.

Between 1500 and 1800 Europe underwent several grand transformations. Centralisation of the political power and strengthening of the state ensured that any further changes (such as enlightenment) were more quickly and thoroughly spread than was the case ever before. The new states commanded enormous power which led, after the Roman Empire, to a succession of states, first the united German-

Spanish Empire, and then the French, who tried to extend their dominance over the entire West European cultural sphere. The religious authorities, after waves of violence, lost their influence on the main political vents. In short, this is the transition period which, in spite of all wars and destruction, laid the foundation for the beginning of the Revolution.

*The author is a programme associate in Centre for Civic Education*

# There's no place like home

by Brano Mandić

1.

One ought to write a fat book in six chapters. One for every former republic. Some unfortunate writer to toy with the Balkan butchers: Ustašas of every stripe, Četniks, homeland-lovers and clerowethers. And without gloves, for they have ruined the country whose coast I've been touring the last few days, with a transistor, a loaf of bread and a jar of anchovies. Without nostalgia and determined to observe things impartially.

European Union had its pilot seed in the Yugoslav federation. As much can be heard from any economist and theorist of political regimes, if there was anybody to listen. These days, when you go by the Croatian coast or take a detour to Mostar and back to Podgorica, you can sigh over the wealth of the buried union of Yugoslav republic, and over the fact that the kids know less and less about it.

In Trebinje they named a street after Herceg "Stefan" Kosača. At the neighbours' they translated Andrić to



now at the unemployment bureau.

If we tread the paths of the surrounding countries we will note, on the traffic signs and lampposts, the faded remnants of Serbian and Croatian nationalism. As the two biggest states, theirs is the main role. Return to the

*If we tread the paths of the surrounding countries we will note, on the traffic signs and lampposts, the faded remnants of Serbian and Croatian nationalism. As the two biggest states, theirs is the main role. Return to the ancient state of living together, before the shells and howitzers, IS the road to European Union. Regional cooperation, immediately spotted by the criminals as the way to success, is the only fundamental problem in the Balkans*

Croatian. In the town of Stolac they can't decide whether it's a mosque, a church or swans. Čopić's Spiky the Hedgehog has been thrown out of the textbooks as a reactionary. The bottom line is: a few hundred kilometres away, the inhabitants of towns and villages know nothing at all about the neighbouring country. Many live with the psychosis that their problems are unique. And in the meantime, borders do not exist, transition is a supra-national Inferno – equally screwing up the fired worker of the shipyard in Zadar and the former tailor in "Titex",

ancient state of living together, before the shells and howitzers, IS the road to European Union. Regional cooperation, immediately spotted by the criminals as the way to success, is the only fundamental problem in the Balkans. The politicians now have the task to say out loud that the concept of SFRY was superior and that it's actual, albeit abstract and impossible in its original form.

The idea of unity has been thoroughly soaked in blood, so beware! The concept of SFRY could, at best, be something akin to Tabuki's notion of

*grundnorm*: the basic norm, a scientific preposition, to be developed by theorists. It doesn't have to exist, it can be invisible like Our Lady from Medugorje. I don't know about Our Lady, but I suspect that scientific arguments about the advantages of SFRY could be useful. That is political metaphysics, but the only binding material between the tormented peoples of the Balkans is the collective admission that back then they used to live better.

The progressive idea which can be advocated today is the unity of peoples who speak the same language. Borders are not a problem, once you've crossed them.

Before my tip to Croatia I was seen off in the deepest conviction that somebody is going to break my car. On the other hand, it's been a while since we got any good news from Belgrade. News from Belgrade can only be something about the national and the statehood question, possibly an attack on Montenegro's dignity. Besides, the flight to Belgrade costs 150 euros, so whoever feels like it... Zagreb doesn't even count, that's another world, exotic stuff. Podgorica for the people of Podgorica and don't you budge! Read



your newspapers and worry about the local stuff. That's the recipe you're made to follow, and blessed are those who reject it and recognise the new energy of bonding between the people who speak the same language. Just keep the brotherhood and unity out of soap advertisements and back stages of local festivals. That's only the way to invoke the devil of slavery which has always lurked in the region and the bad taste, similar to the old kitsch of the fallen homeland which sucked it dry in the first place.

At the moment there is no political force pure enough to offer reconciliation, unless we count debt negotiations between Serbia and Croatia which often leave us beyond dignity. That's what it's like, when the warriors repent and take the money. You're still a sheep, and you curse Tito and the Party and nostalgia, which was reduced to the commercial project of the new elite – the same gang which twenty years ago blew up the thing. Either way, there is no political network in the

*At the moment there is no political force pure enough to offer reconciliation, unless we count debt negotiations between Serbia and Croatia which often leave us beyond dignity. That's what it's like, when the warriors repent and take the money. You're still a sheep, and you curse Tito and the Party and nostalgia, which was reduced to the commercial project of the new elite – the same gang which blew up the thing twenty years ago*

Balkans, with the exception of a few agile initiatives for the rights of LGBTs, nations and nationalities, which is not enough to mobilise the half-literate populous without whom there can be no country and no victory, that much we have learned.

## 2.

Local tombola: Will the Prime Minister "desert the political stage", "go into deserved retirement", "become part of political history", "let go off the helm" etc.

There's much tension among the political analysts, none of them wants to go wrong. One daily announces that



Đukanović will go to NATO, followed by ten days of public debate on the topic. The paper is a yellow, but with a huge circulation and who knows, they might be right. One should be careful. The opposition could know more, but they went to German on an official visit to unknown persons. The public doesn't need to know whom

they met there. That kind of reminds me of Lukashenko. The official daily of Belarus announces that the President has decided on something. The very act of Presidential Decision is enough to occupy the cover page. The public should be patient and follow the situation and they might even discover what it was the Unerring had decided.

And so wrapped in the veil of mystery opposition leaders headed abroad and who knows what they brewed for the ruling oligarchy which can't do anything to them this time because the oath of silence hides them from the spies and policemen. That's

how we play politics in a country where after 40 years of service one retires with a pension of 200 euros and hopes that the children will feed him. It takes real skill not to overthrow the government in the times of layoffs, strikes and empty fridges. Who does the opposition manage, what is the recipe for failure? Playing safe. The only thing that can piss off the angry voters even more than the kleptocratic government is the flaunting of welfare slogans which are so hollow and forced that they systematically kill any appetite for change.

With the stage set like that, the Prime Minister jokes around – throws up some dust, pauses to think – should

he, shouldn't he, retire? – according to the theatrical rules of best soap operas. Entertainment for the millions, working up the uncertainty, what will come next, is there hope for the survival of the ruling party, is there life after death and other everyday trifles.

Ideologically, the opposition doesn't exist, it is a political pretence playing the good guy, but so sloppily that the public rather goes for the witches, thieves, drug dealers, Ku Klux Klan, mafia, bad music and the devil himself just to avoid the gang of smug manikins, in love with their historical, October 5<sup>th</sup> profile.

When after ten days of having your phone off you return to Montenegro, there isn't much you would have missed by way of news. Everything stayed where it was, the political trenches are in fact very comfortable apartments which you don't leave without a dire necessity. There's always the world football championship, Serbia is out so there's no threat to stability, we can enjoy the ball rolling on the background, which is good for the nerves, welcome the tourists with a wide smile, as becomes the citizens of a proud, but corrupt state.

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



## WHAT TO DO WITH A BACHELOR DEGREE

# Proper implementation of the Bologna Declaration is key to a knowledge society

Transformation of the European academic space formally began at the Summit



by Milica Milonjić

of Education Ministers in 1999 in Bologna. The reform represents recognition of the need to change and adapt the system of higher education to the new economic, social and ethical paradigms of the 21st century. This is historically the most comprehensive reform of the European higher education.

Transformation of higher education in Montenegro is a result of the new tendencies in education policies of the European countries and of synchronised reconstruction of all areas of the social life of

Montenegro, following the changes we usually put under the label of transition of our society from one to another economic system.

Montenegro signed the Bologna declaration at the Ministerial Conference in Berlin in 2003. The reform itself started with great enthusiasm which was, however, not transferred to the results of the implementation of the Bologna declaration. Critique coming from the students, as well as by some professors, most frequently concerned the lack of harmonisation, improvisation, insufficient knowledge on the part of students about the new rules of studying, selective implementation of the rules, as well as the lack of financing for the quality implementation of the reform.

According to professor **Milan Podunavac** from the Faculty of Political Science in Belgrade, the Bologna process is in fact European integration in the area of higher

education, with the goal of establishing a convergent system of national education and a common European education area as the foundation to the future unified labour market.

The goal of the reformed system of higher education is greater effectiveness and quality of academic training in Europe, as well as continuous adaptation of higher education to the changing needs of the labour markets and the specific requirements of the society. Accordingly, the reform includes various changes, among which: standardisation of curricula through reorganisation, establishment of an integrated European higher education area which would enable greater mobility of students and teachers, introduction of the European Credit Transfer and Accumulation System (ECTS), involvements of students as partners in the education process, introduction of participative forms of teaching with students as active participants, external and internal evaluation of administrative bodies, teachers and curricula, as well as the promotion and implementation of the concept of life-long learning.

We should now ask whether these changes have also taken root in the practice of Montenegrin departments. The question is: what is missing in the educational process of the Montenegrin students, i.e. what prevents them from becoming equal to the students from the developed European countries in the unified European labour market?

One of the most frequently



Faculty of Economy in Podgorica



emphasised advantages of the reform is the shortening of the average duration of the study, and accordingly important savings for the public budget. In spite of this, the money for the University is still short, which leads to improvisation. This means that there are still fifty, hundred, or sometimes more students per classroom, although the Bologna Declaration recommends work in smaller groups. Accordingly, student participation, a crucial ingredient of the new system, remains very low. Social science students have a chance to participate in the education process through papers and presentations in almost every subject, but these requirements are purely formal. The students aren't interested in exploring the issues further, and even less in initiating discussions or otherwise offering contrary opinions after the presentations of such works. Finally, the distribution of points within the course gives such activities at best a 10% of the final grade, and forces the students to focus on the basic readings which rarely offer material for critical thinking and exploration of the topic.

Evaluation of the teaching staff is also just a formality. Students are almost never informed about the results of the questionnaires they fill out, nor does the average grade of a teacher have any impact on his or her working status, curriculum or methodology of teaching or the reading list.

The basic, undergraduate studies should, according to the Bologna Declaration, last three to four years and prepare the students for professional work. Graduate studies should last one or two years, and provide additional specialised training or introduce students to scientific work, through the writing of a PhD thesis.

Upon completing the undergraduate studies in Montenegro, a student receives diploma of higher education



with a degree "Bachelor" (the title is transcribed, but not translated, neither in Montenegro nor elsewhere in the region) of Science (BSs), applied studies (BApp) or arts (BA).

It should be added that different departments organise their study programmes differently, even those with the three-year programmes. Even the departments of similar profiles do not always use the same formula. This means that the students attending the departments which follow the 3+2(+3) formula have to defend a bachelor thesis in order to receive a diploma that entitles them to graduate master studies, while their colleagues from the departments which use the 3+1+1(+3) path will receive a Bachelor diploma after three years (without writing a thesis) but will not have the right to enrol for the master studies. The number of ECTS credits within the three-year programmes is the same in both cases – 180. The convergence of the levels of study across the European education area was created precisely in order to support mobility of those who already acquired a diploma but would like to continue their education elsewhere. Would a student from one of the above departments be allowed to enrol for a master course in the next department? Or would he or she have to complete the fourth year of "special-

ist" studies and thus for the second time write a final thesis? How can we speak about mobility on the European level if we cannot ensure mobility within the country?

Still the biggest problem of the Bachelor degree is that most students perceive it as insufficient, and some even regard three-year studies as a form of advanced schooling below a proper University degree. This is clear from the Montenegrin National Report for 2007–2009, which shows that around 90% of students with a Bachelor degree decide to continue with education.

And while I wonder what to do with a Bachelor diploma, I would like to believe that educational reform is more than just one of the many criteria Montenegro needs to fulfil on its road to European Union. I want to believe that the state understands the enormous importance of this reform which should, first of all, improve the quality of studying, and by the same token the level of education of every student and prepare them for future work. I want to believe that it is finally dawning on us that a high-quality system of education in a country is the moving force and a guarantee of its overall development. I want to believe that the authorities know that the radical decrease of expenditure on higher education will prevent adequate implementation of the reform and of the entire process which, according to the Bologna Declaration, will end in 2010, and that they will change the policies accordingly.

I want to believe that in the near future students with a Bachelor diploma will not be asking themselves the same question.

*The author is a volunteer in the Centre for Civic Education (CCE) and a participant in the Student Leadership Programme*

## WHY DO I WANT TO BE A CITIZEN OF EUROPEAN UNION

# For my children

When I ask myself "why do I want to be a citizen of EU", the first answer that comes to my mind is: For my children!



by Sanja Todorović

mes to mind is: For my children!

For them, I want a life that will be worthy of living, based on the principles on which the EU is based – like freedom, democracy, rule of law, respect for human rights and freedoms.

I want to think I'm right when I tell myself that in the future they will be the makers of their own destiny, and that they will be helped by the above principles.

*I want to promise them that they will have a choice in all areas, that they won't suffer from uncertainty, from economic and political limitations, that they'll be free in every sense, especially in intellectual and private matters*

I want them to grow up knowing that the law will protect them from others and others from them – we already talked about the Marko Miljanov's "Examples of Humanity and Bravery".

I want to convince them that thanks to their abilities, their will and hard work, they will be able to study wherever they want. I want to promise them that they will be chosen for a job exclusively based on their knowledge and abilities, and that they will be able to live decently with their wages. I want them to be able to travel without barriers and to broaden their horizons and their knowledge.

I want them always to come back to Montenegro, a country ruled by these same principles, a country socially, politically and economically developed and the one which, in spite of development, hasn't forgotten about its traditions or lost its identity. I want it to be their base, a place to go from and come back to. I don't want to tell them that everything will be easy in this European Montenegro, just the opposite – I want them to know that the path to everything they want leads through a lot of effort, study, hard work. But I want to promise them that they will have a choice

*I want my children to grow up knowing that the law will protect them from others and others from them*

in all areas, that they won't suffer from uncertainty, from economic and political limitations, that they'll be free in every sense, especially in intellectual and private matters.

I want them to live in our Montenegro which built itself with its own strength, with the help of the people who really want a life like that, and have a chance and ability to make it.

I want them to have the right to their own priorities, because only that



way can they become aware of those of the entire society, to build their house, their Montenegro, with the knowledge that every construction

starts with the foundation and that fancy bricks on the roof mean nothing – that any stronger wind will blow them away.

I want to tell them all this without risking that one day they will tell that it was all a lie!

And, another thing, I don't want them to "accuse" me of living in fairy tales although I grew out of them long ago!

I really want me and my family to live to see this "fairy tale", aware that the road to fairy tales leads through thorns. And I don't want to stop wishing, I don't want the "hope to day last".

I want to live with them in that Montenegro, which will be a part of EU. I already became a citizen of Europe at my birth, 39 years ago.



*The author is a programme coordinator in the Joint Technical Programme Secretariat for cross-border cooperation between Montenegro and Croatia in Kotor. She attended IX generation of European Integrations School*



# Stop dirty money

EU interior ministers agreed in June that they ought to band together to fight enormous profits coming from the drug trade and cooperate on interrupting the cocaine and heroine routes in



Europe.

"We have to put an end to criminal profits", said the Spanish minister **Alfredo Rubalcaba** after the meeting. "We will confiscate their property, and without the money their business won't survive". Property confiscation is one of the measures adopted by the ministers as part of the new pact against drug trade in Europe.

"We are talking about enormous amounts of money", said French minister **Brice Hortefeux**. It is estimated that the cocaine trade in the EU alone brings around nine billion euros per year.

## Where to bet

The EU Court of Justice recently ruled that the EU member states can ban Internet based betting.

The Dutch citizens, for instance, are now unable to access the Internet pages of the UK gambling companies Ladbrokes and Betfair, which contested this measure in two separate trials, relying on the EU regulations on the freedom of movement of goods and services across the EU territory.

The two companies argued that by blocking their websites the Netherlands is in fact trying to protect the national state company De Lotto.

The verdict, which is valid for the whole of EU, the Court ruled that the members can block access to the websites of companies from other EU member states if they fall under the laws which "protect the interests of consumers and prevent manipulations and incentives to waste money on gambling, i.e. those which protect public law and order".

## Germans worried about the future

German citizens are more worried about the future than the inhabitants of any other country in Europe. According to the research institute GfK from Nurnberg, the amount of worries an average German has to cope with "exploded" this year. While last year the average was 2.8 thing every German worried about, now the number is 3.2.

Most Germans worry about unemployment – 2/3 of the citizens are worried that they might lose their jobs, which is almost 10% more than in 2009. At the same time, it is hard to find an empirical justification for the rise of fear of unemployment since, in spite of the crisis and a GDP drop of 5%, the number of unemployed remained almost stable. In Europe, approximately 43% of the

citizens fear unemployment. The number is the highest among the Spanish – 73%, and the lowest among the Britons (16%) and the Dutch (8%).

More and more Germans are also worried about their future pensions, crime, and the possibility that in case of severe illness they will be unable to afford adequate treatment.



## Dumping tiles

EU regulators started an investigation to find out whether ceramic tiles imported from China are being sold on the markets of the 27 EU members at dumping prices, after receiving repeated complaints by European producers.

EC can introduce penalty tariffs on all products which it finds are being sold at prices lower than the production costs, and the dumping prices of many Chinese goods have been a long standing cause of tension between EU and China. China is the second largest EU's trade partner, after the US.

## Mandatory interpreters

EU citizens who are under criminal investigation in another member states can count with assistance of an interpreter from the moment they are informed of being suspect or accused of a crime until the conclusion of the procedure, including the verdict and the result of the appeal, ruled recently the European Parliament.

All the key documents must also be translated, and the costs of translation are to be borne by the member state where the trial or investigation is taking place, regardless of the final outcome. The goal of the new directive is to improve the rights of suspects and the accused who do not speak or understand the languages of the country where the process is taking place.

## No dearth of blood

Thirty seven percent of Europeans gave blood at some point in their lives, shows the Eurobarometer poll published on 14 June, the World Blood Donor Day.

The highest percentage of donors is found in Austria (66%), France (52%), Greece and Cyprus (51%). On the other extreme, Portugal (22%), Italy (23%) and Poland (25%) have the fewest donors.

## EU ADOPTED STRATEGY FOR SUSTAINABLE ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT UNTIL 2020 WHOSE PREDECESSOR – THE LISBON AGENDA – LARGELY FAILED

# "Knowledge economy" the key to a rich EU

In mid-June European Council adopted "Europe 2020", a new strategy for jobs and greener, sustainable and inclusive growth until 2020.

Europe 2020 is a successor of the Lisbon Agenda, adopted in 2000, which largely failed to turn the EU into "the world's most dynamic knowledge-based economy by 2010".

Compared to the Lisbon Agenda, Europe 2020 is a much more modest programme, focusing on a limited set of targets on education, R&D and poverty reduction, but, also unlike the Lisbon Agenda, it proposes stricter monitoring and sanctioning mechanisms for the countries that fail to meet them.

According to the head of the European Commission, **Jose Manuel Barroso**, the strategy should bring "at least 2% growth" to EU.

This doesn't seem much, but is the most that can be safely promised in the context of



the current economic crisis.

Speaking at the joint parliamentary meeting on EU affairs in Helsinki in May this year, **Laszlo Andor**, European Commissioner for Employment, Social Affairs and Inclusion, put the things even more starkly:

"We know that the results of the Lisbon

Strategy were disappointing – despite the stalwart efforts of the best performers. And we cannot ignore the impact of the crisis over the last two years. It has wiped out so much of the progress we had made and reversed many of our achievements. With EU GDP down 4.2% in 2009, with industrial production back to 1999 levels and unemployment up 7 million at 9.6%, there is a big hill to climb just to get back to where we were", he warned.

The strategy defines five headline targets at EU level, which member states will be asked to translate into national goals reflecting their differing starting points. The five targets are: raising the employment rate of the population aged 20–64 from the current 69% to 75%; raising the investment in R&D to 3% of the EU's GDP; meeting the EU's 20% reduction target on greenhouse gas emissions and renewable energies; reducing the share of early school leavers from the current 15% to under 10% and making sure that at least 40% of youngsters have a degree or diploma, and, finally, reducing the number of Europeans living below the poverty line by 25%, lifting 20 million out of poverty from the current 80 million.

Some of these objectives, like the 3% R&D target, already featured in the Lisbon Agenda. Others like the 20% greenhouse gas emission reduction target and renewable energy objectives have already been agreed and put down into hard legislation.

"There are some things in our strategy that you will have heard before," Barroso said. "We make no apology for that. They would not be here if they had been done properly in the last ten years."

Notably, the new strategy incorporates new concrete targets regarding education and poverty reduction. The issue of education is crucial to the development of a "knowledge" based economy, but it is difficult to formalise and quantify the desired goals.

Even before the crisis started, it was obvious that further growth and EU's standing as a world economic power more generally is coming under threat from several interrelated factors. These concern, first of all, the demographic changes which affect Europe more than other parts of the world, and the changing balance of powers on the international markets.

Trend scenarios of Eurostat show that between 2005 and 2015, the number of children aged 14 years or younger will decrease by about 15 million in the EU 25. At the same time, the population aged between 55 and 64 years will increase by about 4 million. Until 2050, the population aged above 80 years is

## EUROPEANS RATHER STUDY AT HOME

The extent to which the educational systems in EU can produce a highly skilled and competitive workforce partly depends on the extent to which its educational programmes are internationally competitive. But the Bologna process, which was supposed to lay foundations to an integrated educational area and thus strengthen compatibility and attractiveness of its programmes, has so far yielded mixed results.

With only ten years into the implementation, it is understandable that most of the effects of the project, especially those concerning the labour market, are yet to be seen, but even among the countries that were on the whole high achievement cases, compatibility and comparability have not yet been fully attained. Even the tasks of diploma recognition and student support require further efforts to become fully functional.

But most striking are the questionable achievements in the area of student and teacher mobility, which was one of the flagship goals of the entire project. Between 1999 and 2009 the numbers of students acquiring degree in another EU country rose by more than 193 000, which is almost negligible when compared to the growth of the entire student population. Indeed, in comparative terms, there was hardly any change at all – in 1999 1.9% of all EU students gained their diploma in a country other than their own, in 2007 this number was 2%.

The performance was somewhat better with regard to international students, and in 2009 30% of all students studying abroad in the world were in the EU (compared to 25% in 1999).

This is, of course, only one aspect of student mobility, the other being short-term exchange within one's study programme. However, the fact that few students decide to earn their diploma elsewhere in the EU also testifies to their low expectations of mobility within the labour markets. Another worrying sign is the imbalance in the patterns of student mobility, which is skewed towards Western Europe and especially towards the English-speaking parts of the continent as well as Scandinavia.



*The strategy defines five headline targets at EU level: raising the employment rate of the population aged 20–64 from the current 69% to 75%; raising the investment in R&D to 3% of the EU's GDP; meeting the EU's 20% reduction target on greenhouse gas emissions and renewable energies; reducing the share of early school leavers from the current 15% to under 10% and making sure that at least 40% of youngsters have a degree or diploma, and, finally, reducing the number of Europeans living below the poverty line by 25%, lifting 20 million out of poverty from the current 80 million*

supposed to augment to 51 million in the EU 25, a doubling of the 2005 number. The share of old people in the population will be significantly higher in Europe than in other world regions such as Asia and Africa. This means that the future workforce of Europe will be recruited increasingly from the older population, which requires substantial rethinking and amendments of the current educational system. Much more needs to be invested in continuing education and life-long learning in order to keep the skills of the older population up to date.

At the same time, the EU has been losing competitiveness to low-cost production locations, especially in labour intensive industries. Whereas during the past decades of the 20th century Europe, North America and Japan were the most important players in the world economy, some emerging regions and countries – Brazil, Russia, India and China – are supposed to take over the leading role as future major forces during the coming decades. Particularly worrying in that regard are the estimates that by 2040 China's share of world BDP will increase from 11% to 40%, whereas that of EU might fall from 21% to only 5%. Wages in Europe, which, in comparison to the Asian countries, are very high even in the least paid EU members, and competition with low-cost locations threaten to wipe out demand for lower-skilled labour in Europe, causing rising unemployment and inequalities. In order to prevent this scenario, the EU hopes to step up European advantages in offering a high skilled labour force and increase efforts in augmenting the quality of schooling and training all over the lifecycle.

Because the distribution of education is crucial for societal inequality, the education system is also a key institution affecting social cohesion, which is why it is considered as one of the levers for the EU-wide poverty reductions scheme. In that regard, rising educational levels overall and reducing the incidence of early drop-outs from the educational systems should also contribute to overall improvement of living conditions in Europe.

In order to ensure implementation of the agenda, the Commission will cooperate with member states on formulating country-specific targets and issue "policy warnings" for those countries who fail to meet them.

"Warnings" are a new mechanism intro-

duced by the Lisbon Treaty, but some are sceptical about its effectiveness, which requires the approval of all member states before it can be issued, making it dependent on EU leaders' willingness to name and shame each other. The member states are expected to submit their stability and convergence programmes detailing country-level targets to comply with Europe 2020 by the end of 2010.

However, while everybody agrees that the only way to rescue EU's competitiveness lies in improving the skills and education of its workforce, many are sceptical about the effectiveness of the new strategy. The targets have already met with some resistance by the member states, including Germany which argued that education is a national and regional matter, and that EU meddling in these issues would be counterproductive. On the other hand, some fear that quantifying knowledge in terms of graduation rates might lead to "inflation" of diplomas, without much impact on the skills.

But perhaps the biggest difficulty in achieving the present targets are the uneven starting points of EU member states, which are not only a consequence of different levels of development, but also of the differences in their economic models, which are reflected in education. While in Belgium, Denmark, Sweden, Ireland and France already 40% or more young people aged between 25 and 34 has a tertiary diploma, in the Czech Republic, Italy, Austria and Slovakia, this number is under 20%, with Germany slightly over 20%. This partly reflects the economic structure of these countries which is strongly focused on manufacturing and requires skilled workers

*Perhaps the biggest difficulty in achieving the targets of "Europe 2020" are the uneven starting points of EU member states. While in Belgium, Denmark, Sweden, Ireland and France already 40% or more young people aged between 25 and 34 has a tertiary diploma, in the Czech Republic, Italy, Austria and Slovakia, this number is under 20%*

with vocational secondary education, but not necessarily with a university degree. While it might be true that in the long run Europe will lose the battle for manufacturing with the low-cost destinations in Asia, for these countries this would require the transformation of

**Current situation with regard to the Europe 2020 targets**

	Employment rate	Percentage of youth with tertiary diploma (age 25–34)	Share of early school leavers	Percentage of the population at risk of poverty	Total R&D spending as % of GDP
EU-27	69.1	31.6	14.4	16.5	1.9
Austria	60.5	19	7.7	12.4	1.7
Belgium	69.0	41	16.2	14.7	2.6
Bulgaria	69.0	:	16.2	21.4	1.3
Czech Republic	69.1	15	16.2	9.0	1.4
Cyprus	63.7	:	14.5	16.2	1.0
Denmark	67.1	40	16.3	11.8	:
Estonia	70.9	:	14.7	19.5	2.0
Finland	63.5	39	31.2	13.6	:
France	66.7	41	13.9	13.4	0.8
Germany	68.8	23	11.1	15.2	1.4
Greece	74.8	28	10.6	20.1	0.5
Hungary	67.1	22	11.7	12.4	0.6
Ireland	77.8	44	5.4	15.4	1.2
Italy	65.8	19	11.3	18.7	1.6
Latvia	69.6	:	31.2	25.6	0.5
Lithuania	61.7	:	12.3	20.0	1.6
Luxembourg	75.7	36	19.2	13.4	2.7
Malta	67.2	:	13.9	14.6	1.5
Netherlands	70.4	37	8.7	10.5	0.6
Poland	58.8	30	11.2	16.9	0.5
Portugal	78.8	21	36.8	18.5	3.7
Romania	74.7	:	10.9	23.4	3.8
Slovenia	64.9	30	8.7	12.3	1.9
Slovakia	71.2	17	5.3	10.9	0.9
Spain	69.9	39	11.1	19.6	0.6
Sweden	71.9	40	16.6	12.2	2.7
United Kingdom	66.4	37	5.3	18.8	1.6

Source: Eurostat, OECD

the entire economic model, and not only of their educational systems. The extent to which the European economy will be able to absorb all the new diplomas is still open.

V. ŠČEPANOVIĆ

## THE EFFECTS OF EU'S EFFORTS TO INTEGRATE HIGHER EDUCATION SYSTEMS IN MONTENEGRO

# Retake Bologna

## EVROPSKI REPORTER

by Vanja Lazarevski

Reform of higher education in Montenegro is being implemented without the adequate quality control and without the necessary funding.

In the last ten years, since the beginning of the implementation of Bologna Declaration, the budget of the University was reduced and the number of students swell by 2.5 times, from 10 000 to 25 000. The reform cut down on the length of study and multiplied the number of study programmes.

This is, in short, the summary of the effects of implementation of the Bologna programme in Montenegro. The aim of this higher education reform, also known as Bologna Declaration, which should integrate educational systems of the EU member states and aspiring candidates, is to unify the educational, research, personnel and professional characteristics of the higher education systems across Europe.

It also strived to make the diplomas and certificates useful across the

European higher education area, to improve mobility of students and teachers and to populate the entire territory of Europe with highly qualified experts from various fields.

"Material conditions for work are stretching the limits of the bearable: the laboratory equipment is outdated and the funding for scientific research minimal. There's no mobility to speak of, since there's nothing we can offer to the foreign students and teachers. The basic achievement of the Bologna process here are, unfortunately, lower quality of instruction, overproduction of BA diplomas which are almost useless and on top of it, little or no improvement in the efficiency of studying, says in the interview for *European Reporter* Prof Dr **Radenko Pejović**, president of the Higher Education Council, a body whose task is to coordinate monitoring and implementation of the Bologna process.

EU's plan was to use the Bologna Declaration as a vehicle to develop and strengthen cultural, intellectual, social



and scientific and technological aspects of EU. The Bologna Declaration was signed in 1999 by the ministers in charge of higher education in 29 European states. The formal title of the declaration is European Higher Education Area –EHEA, which, according to the declaration, ought to be established by the end of 2010. The process combines national and international processes, and it is implemented by the national ministries of education, universities, professors and students who then represent their more or less harmonised work to the Council of EU and European Commission.

The basic tenets of the Bologna process are quality assurance, a unified system of transferrable credits – ECTS (European Credit Transfer System), which ensures that the diplomas are recognised in all countries of European Union, two basic cycles of higher education (Bachelor and Master) and a system of comparable diplomas.

Independent of the official assessment, official and unofficial resentment on the part of the teachers and students, the set of regulations that goes by the name of "Bologna declaration" and has reformed higher education in Europe is in dire need of revision.

This is the conclusion echoing from almost every university of Europe, while

## STUDENT LEADERS LED BY PERSONAL INTERESTS

Dissatisfied students across Europe are complaining about the changes in the study programmes caused by the Bologna process. They are asking for more funding for the universities, abolishment of the semester-based tuition fees and of the rigid organisational schemes which prevents them from working parallel to their studies.

"Student protests against the Declaration come as no surprise. The students have realised that the point is not to get the diploma as quickly and easily as possible but to acquire the knowledge the diploma should stand for. Our students, unfortunately, still haven't realised this, and their representatives in the university bodies are too busy minding their own interests to fight for the genuine students' concerns. Until now the most important thing they asked for were some loopholes in enrolling for the next study year", Pejović said.



in Montenegro the opinions are divided. The supporters of Bologna believe that its implementation, even if by force, can speed up the accession to EU, while on the other side there are those who argue that "Bologna" is full of holes. Most criticism has been aimed at the short study period which doesn't allow adequate fulfilment of the teaching plans, lack of autonomy in organising lectures, low spending on research...

"I think that before Bologna we had a more quality educational process and that the only problematic bits were the long study periods all low rates of completion. In my opinion, the reform should have modernised the curricula and gotten rid of unnecessary materials, in order to improve efficiency. Even so, however, it is an open question whether it is better to educate the students cheaply and get experts with a modest amount of knowledge or to extend the study period a little and get a high quality expert", Pejović said.

"The new educational system was implemented overnight, without preparing the students or the staff, and we threw away whatever there was before, regardless of whether it functioned or gave positive results. Except for the Law and a handful of accompanying regulations, nothing else was changed, and the University budget was even reduced in the first year of reform by 21%. Unsurprisingly, the reform turned out to be a utopia without an adequate material basis" Pejović said.

He explains that the Bologna Declaration only offers the framework, principles and standards, but leaves the teaching methodology and management of the University and departments to be decided on the level of each institution.

Reducing the average length of study was imperative, but quality didn't receive as much attention. However,



relevant indicators show that the quality is much lower, and even the reduction of the average length of study is questionable.

"We just had to put in something to make us different. Instead of setting the undergraduate studies at four years, which is the minimum in order to get an expert in a certain field, with an option of a fifth year for those who want to broaden their knowledge, we chose the basic length of study to be three years", Pejović said.

He warns that the new educational process produces an oversupply of Bachelor diplomas whose value is very low, which means that most students ought to continue their studies for at least one year in order to acquire a diploma that will guarantee them employment.

In technical subjects, for instance, the three-year programmes provide enough training for the students to be able to execute only the simplest projects, which means that they cannot get a licence for programming or implementation, and cannot get a job abroad.

The Bologna process has thus turned to producing diplomas instead of knowledge, which has adverse effects

on employment. It has also been accompanied by a huge number of new study programmes, often self-financed, both at the national universities and private institutions.

For some, education is business like any other. In their race for profit, certain departments have enrolled an enormous number of students, especially self-financed, without having the necessary space or cadre.

Some departments enrol as many as 400 students in graduate programmes, without any consideration for the completion rates or similarities among certain programmes. The employment policy, on the other hand, is very restrictive.

The doors of the University are closed to young and promising staff members (assistants and assistant professors), which is justified by the lack of funding.

The implementation of the Bologna process changed the structure of education in Montenegro, in line with the contemporary developments in Europe. A Master degree, together with the undergraduate studies, takes five years, and most programmes issue a special certificate after the fourth year, indicating specialisation in that particular field.

On the other hand, the new system envisages a three-year PhD programme, where the first year consists of courses, and the other two are reserved for research and writing of a PhD thesis. And all that at a price – a semester at undergraduate and graduate studies costs 750 to 2000 euros, while the PhD semester comes at 3000 euros.

## ALL THE BEST ABOUT OURSELVES

Although the Montenegrin report to the 2007 London conference, which was organised to assess the state of education for 2005–2007 period in 46 countries signatories of Bologna declaration, earned it the last place in Europe, behind Andorra and Albania, its average self-assessment of the higher education reform was higher than the European average. The average grade countries signatories of the Declaration gave to the process was 3.6, while Montenegro gave it 3.8.

## FIRST HUMAN RIGHTS FILM FESTIVAL

# Shifting borders

Human rights film festival "Speed Up", successfully organised by CCE between 31 May until 2 June with support of the US Embassy in Montenegro and ERSTE foundation, in



Piše: Paula Petričević

cooperation with Cultural Information Centre (CIC) "Budo Tomović" involved, in addition to a three-day screening programme, two public debates.

The discussions concerned the topics which, we believe, are best suited to the needs of this region and which require additional efforts to inform and sensitise Montenegrin public: reconciliation with the past and the rights of sexual minorities, i.e. the LGBTTIQ population.

The first panel was titled "The role of engaged cinema in the process of reconciliation with the past". The panellists of the debate, moderated by **Daliborka Uljarević**, executive director of CCE, were: **Želimir Žilnik**, the guest of honour at the festival, **Monja Suta Hibert**, executive director of "Pravo ljudski", Sarajevo Human Rights Festival, producer **Janko Ljumović**, director of the Montenegrin National Theatre and director **Dušan Vuleković**, expert advisor of the Festival.

They shared their opinions, experiences and dilemmas regarding the problems of reconciliation with the past, which thematically coincided with the second day of the festival.

Speaking about this complex and demanding topic, Janko Ljumović said that explorations of our recent past and its re-reading represent the absolute challenge, especially for the young authors who should be supported in such endeavours.

Želimir Žilnik said that engaged cinema which focuses on the topics stemming from our recent past is essential to our societies because, unless they confront the facts, the future generations will grow up in confusion and uncertainty, which is a mental environment where every spark can cause fire.

"The system of consumerism we live in moulds us into passive observers", said Monja Suta Hibert, who believes such events should primarily serve to awaken critical awareness in as many people as possible, through a cultural programme open for and available to all.

Dušan Vuleković insisted that every film is engaged in its own way, the important thing is to recognise the direction of the political thrust of every piece of work. Speaking about documentaries dealing with human rights issues, Vuleković said that their audience is still non-existent, and is only created through the encounter with such films. In this way, focusing on individual stories and problems, it is possible to achieve the desired change, he con-

cluded.

"The role of engaged cinema in the rights of sexual minorities" was the topic of the second panel of the third day of the Festival, which brought together **Tea Gorjanc Prelević**, executive director of Human Rights Action, **Monja Suta Hibert**, executive director of "Pravo ljudski" and **Ivana Vujović**, president of the youth association Juventas. The discussion was moderated by **Paula Petričević**, CEE programme director, who emphasised the fact that sexual minorities are completely absent from the public arena in Montenegro and that the members of the LGBTTIQ population are forced to resort to being invisible, remaining "below the radar" of social recognition and acceptance of their sexual identity and orientation.

Reminding in mind that 5 to 10% of the population of every country consists of sexual minorities, Tea Gorjanc Prelević explains that, in the Montenegrin context, that means an army of unhappy people – 30 000 to 60 000 non-heterosexual persons. She compared the attitude of the Montenegrin public towards them to that of the Nazi authorities towards the Jews in the 1930s, and suggested that these issues ought to become part of formal educational process, adding that parts of such curricula could incorporate films like the ones shown at the Festival.

Monja Suta Hibert said that working with the young people and offering them an opportunity to get properly acquainted with this and other human rights-related issues is the only way to create a foundation for a more just and inclusive society.

Ivana Vujović presented the project currently implemented by Juventas which deals with the rights of LGBTTIQ population and emphasised that the rights of sexual minorities as a key moment in democratisation of every society.

The discussion was closed with a message that everybody has the right to publicly declare his or her sexual orientation and that this must not be a cause for discrimination, but also that no one should be forced to make such declarations. It is therefore of utmost importance to work together on creating a cultural climate which recognises our differences and refrains from dangerous prejudices, but also provides support and encouragement to those who want their public identity to coincide with their private one.

Both panels attracted large audiences and were accompanied by intensive, at times even bitter debates but also well argued and inspiring discussions, which made them last much longer than was originally planned.

Experience with organisation of the First Human Rights Film Festival "Speed up" shows that the selection of films which dealt with such issues from different aspects, as well as the discussions accompanying them played a very important role. They brought these issues into the public sphere, speaking out the words that most of the time remain unspoken and provoked in the best possible way our prejudices and stereotypes, testing the limits of our understanding of the reality which surrounds us, and of tolerance we believe we possess.

## NON-GOVERNMENTAL ORGANISATIONS IN EUROPEAN UNION



## The European Youth Forum (YFJ)

The European Youth Forum (YFJ) is an independent, democratic, youth-led platform, representing 97 National Youth Councils and International Youth Organisations from across Europe. The YFJ works to empower young people to participate actively in society to improve their own lives, by representing and advocating their needs and interests and those of their organisations towards the European Institutions, the Council of Europe and the United Nations.

The European Youth Forum works in the fields of youth policy and youth work development. It focuses its work on European youth policy matters, whilst through engagement on the global level it is enhancing the capacities of its members and promoting global interdependence. In its daily work the European Youth Forum represents the views and opinions of youth organisations in all relevant policy areas, based on principles of equality and sustainable development.

Some of YFJ main goals are:

- Increase the participation of young people and youth organisations in society, as well as in decision-making processes;
- Positively influence policy issues affecting young people and youth organisations;
- Promote the exchange of ideas and experience, mutual understanding, as well as the equal rights and opportunities among young people in Europe;
- Uphold intercultural understanding, democracy, respect, diversity, human rights, active citizenship and solidarity;
- Contribute to the development of youth work in other regions of the world.

More on this organization you can find on: [www.youthforum.org](http://www.youthforum.org)

Prepared by: Ana VUJOŠEVIĆ



# Political support for RECOM

Centre for Civic Education, in cooperation with the Parliament of Montenegro, organised 30 June 2010 national consultations with politicians regarding RECOM, with participants from almost all party committees.

Consultations were opened by **Daliborka Uljarević**, executive director of Centre for Civic Education (CCE) and **Ranko Krivokapić**, president of the Parliament of Montenegro.

Uljarević explained that the Initiative for RECOM is the greatest regional effort to date to conduct the process of reconciliation with the past in a way that would be respectful of victims and their suffering, and that the initiative comes from the civil society, and out of the needs of the citizens to find justice and avoid abuse and brutal politicisation which often reopens the victims' wounds years after the crimes have been committed. She emphasised the importance of this organisation of these first national consultations with politicians "in Montenegro, where for too long the process of effective confrontation with the past has been systematically suppressed".

Krivokapić said that "the Parliaments ought to be the ones to promote the idea of confrontation with the mistakes of the past" and expressed his hope that the time has come "to write textbooks about the errors committed by our peoples".

Krivokapić said that the non-governmental sector and the state are together on the same road and that "there ought to be consensus on this issue", explaining that "this is not an issue for one or another party, but the one that concerns the whole of the society". He announced that the Parliament of Montenegro will remain open to such initiatives because "the war and the victims were decisions of leaders and politicians" and the decision makers ought to face them.

Answering the question "Why RECOM" **Eugen Jakovčić** from Documenta in Zagreb explained the audience the reasons and the need for the establishment of a regional Commission, offering an overview of the consultation process so far. The draft Statue of RECOM, authored by the working group of the Initiative, was presented by **Tea Gorjanc Prelević** from the Human Rights

Action in Podgorica, who is also a member of this working group.

MPs took an active part in the discussion, offering comments, suggestions and proposals for amendments of some items in the Statute, but also expressing their support for the establishment of RECOM. The consultations sent an important message to the Montenegrin public, as well as to the other states in the region, signalling that the politicians ought to be among the first to support this Initiative and do everything in their power to make it happen.

## Learning democracy is a process

With a graduation ceremony on 12 June 2010 the XV generations of Democracy School, organised by CCE with support of the Friedrich Ebert Foundation (FES) completed the four-month programme.

The participants received their diplomas from Prof. Dr **Radovan Radonjić**, head of the School, **Daliborka Uljarević**, executive director of CCE and **Ivana Račić**, FES programme coordinator. The organisers emphasised that democracy is something that always needs learning, and that continuing interest in the School certainly indicates a change in the social climate in Montenegro and a growing understanding of the necessity of further efforts to develop a democratic political culture.

The programme was successfully completed by 36 participants, which is the highest number of students per generation so far and reflects the enormous number of high quality applications which prompted the organisers to expand the number of places.

The next generation of Democracy School will start in September 2010.

## Transatlantic relations

In the framework of the Marshall Memorial exchange programme, which exists for the last 28 years under the sponsorship of the German Marshall Fund, new leaders from the USA and Europe are given a chance to explore and get to know societies, institutions and people on the other side of the Atlantic. As a part of this programme, a group of American alumni of the programme (AMMF) visited Montenegro between 19 and 23 June 2010 upon invitation by Centre for Civic Education.

During this short visit the alumni had a chance to meet a number of representatives of various social segments, in order to get to know the

political life and institutions in Montenegro from different angles. They also had a chance to see and feel the beauties and opportunity Montenegro offers in terms of natural potential, touristic and cultural capacities and social environment.

Communication between GMF and CCE is ongoing and develops also through different forms of cooperation, some of which were discussed during the two-day visit of the director of GMF's office in Paris **Francois Lafond** to Montenegro and CCE. On this occasion, he gave a lecture at the CCE's premises titled "French interior and foreign policy and relationship with the process of EU integrations".

## FOR THIS ISSUE WE RECOMMEND:

## JEF INTERNSHIP

The webzine of the Young European Federalists – JEF Europe is looking for a part/full-time editorial intern with preferable start in September 2010. The successful candidate will be working at the European Secretariat in Brussels together with the Secretary General and other Secretariat members. JEF is an organisation of young people from all over Europe who share a vision of a united, federal and democratic Europe. We bring together people at local, regional, national and European level to campaign for a federal Europe based on the values of peace, democracy and the rule of law.

## JEF are offering the following internship possibilities:

- a free place to do an Erasmus placement / Leonardo Da Vinci internship of 3–6 months (depends on your sending university and/or organisation) in the European Secretariat;
- an unpaid full-time internship of 2–4 months;
- an unpaid part-time internship of 2–4 months;

## Eligibility and Requirements:

- preferably student and recent graduates interested in pursuing a career in magazine journalism;
- knowledge and/or experience of the European institutions and policies as well as good administrative and IT skills are welcome;
- welcoming an enthusiastic team player willing to show initiative in their work;
- splendid writing skills and a good work spirit;
- an excellent command of English is required; good knowledge of other EU languages (especially French, German and/or Italian) is an asset.

Interested applicants should submit fol-

lowing documents: CV, 1 page motivation letter (highlight your skills, point out your specific experience and interest in working) and any work samples, preferably magazine articles, or links to online material by 15<sup>th</sup> August 2010 to: [sg@jef.eu](mailto:sg@jef.eu).

More information on:

[http://www.jef.eu/index.php?option=com\\_content&task=view&id=692&Itemid=1](http://www.jef.eu/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=692&Itemid=1)

## COORDINATOR OF RESEARCH AND ADVOCACY, BUDAPEST

The European Roma Rights Centre (ERRC) announces open position for Coordinator of Research and Advocacy. The Researcher will be responsible for the development and implementation of research and advocacy work in relation to ERRC strategic priorities, by providing human rights research knowledge and know-how, strong analysis and effective communication skills.

## Requirements:

- University degree in human rights, gender studies, social sciences or a related field;
- At least 2 years experience conducting desk and field research on human rights, women's rights or related issues;
- Experience writing research and advocacy reports and other materials;
- Significant experience living and working in Romani communities is desirable;
- Advocacy or campaigning experience at local level is a plus;
- Strong English language skills required; knowledge of Russian, Italian, Romanian and/or Romani preferred;
- Strong, clear oral communication skills; ability to represent effectively



ERRC positions in public;

- Understanding and sensitivity in dealing with different people and groups including survivors of human rights violations;
- Strong team player; ability to work independently;
- Attentive to deadlines, flexible and able to deal with high workload;
- Willingness to travel for work, either alone or with colleagues;
- Demonstrated commitment to the promotion of Roma rights;
- Proven ability to work in a diverse team.

Salary is ranging between 24,000 – 27,000 EUR gross per year.

Interested applicants should submit following documents: letter of interest (max 500 words); CV in English; contact details for two present or former employers (reference should be from immediate supervisor) and one other relevant referee; an unedited English-language writing sample by the applicant (preferably human rights focused) by 16<sup>th</sup> August 2010 to [dora.eke@errc.org](mailto:dora.eke@errc.org)

More information on:

<http://www.errc.org/cikk.php?cikk=3610>

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

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

**Editor in Chief: Vladan Žugić**

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

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

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

**EIC Bulletin – European pulse can be downloaded at the [www.cgo-cce.org](http://www.cgo-cce.org)**