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Can Montenegro fulfil
EC's seven conditions for
the start of negotiations

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THE CONDITION

It would be delusional to believe that Brussels will insist on complete fulfilment of all seven conditions from the Opinion on Montenegro's application for membership of European Union, in order to recommend the opening of accession negotiations.

If the Montenegrin government and institutions fulfilled all the conditions to the letter, there would be no need for accession negotiations – they would be, if not already a member, then but a step away from membership – or we would storm through the negotiations like it is likely to be the case with Iceland.

The expectation is rather that Podgorica should demonstrate the first tangible results in implementing its laws and showing clear signs of political will to tackle the outstanding problems.

We ought to adopt a new electoral law (it can be implemented later), strengthen parliamentary oversight (increase the number of control hearings and get tougher with the ministers), publicly and transparently employ a child of an opposition leader in public administration, tell **Dinoša** to keep quiet...

One by one, and judging by all statements of EU officials, the only real condition is the mother of all conditions – concrete results in terms of proactive investigations, processing and verdicts on corruption charges on all levels.

Or, do a bit on each of these six conditions, go on with your investigations against rangers and customs officers, but give us some big fish from the underground and the world of politics.

Brussels would lose even more of its credibility with the critics of Montenegro's reality if it gave Montenegro the date for negotiations without a single firm case against or incarceration of someone from the high political establishment.

V.Ž.

Brussels approves 29 million (7 November) – Montenegrin Government and the European Commission signed the agreement on the use of IPA funds from the 2010 programme, worth 28.6 million euro.

Candidate status, conditions to start negotiations (9 November) – EC presented the Opinion on Montenegro's application for membership, recommending the European Council to grant Montenegro the status of a candidate. The Commission, however, believes that Montenegro should be given the starting date of negotiations only once it fulfils seven outstanding conditions. These are harmonisation of the electoral law with the recommendations of OSCE/ODIHR and the Venetian Commission, strengthening the legislative and monitoring functions of the parliament, reform of public administration, strengthening the rule of law through de-politicisation of the appointments to the Judicial and Prosecutors' Council and strengthening professionalism and independence of judges and prosecutors. Among the conditions for the start of negotiations are also fight against corruption and organised crime, greater freedom of the media and cooperation with the civil sector, as well as implementation of the legal and political framework on anti-discrimination.

Fule in Podgorica (10–11 November) – European Enlargement Commissioner Štefan Fule delivered the EC's Opinion to the Prime Minister **Milo Đukanović**. During his stay in Podgorica Fule met with the highest state officials, leaders of the opposition, representatives of the civil sector, and addressed the MPs in the Parliament urging them to take up one of the key roles in the integration process through exercise of parliamentary oversight of implementation of the laws.



First in line after Croatia (15 November) – After the conclusion of pre-accession negotiations between Croatia and EU, Montenegro will be the next Balkan country to start negotiations, said the head of Slovak diplomacy **Mikulaš Džurinda** during his visit to Podgorica.

The Parliament has a plan (19 November) – Upon request of the President of the Montenegrin Parliament **Ranko Krivokapić**, Secretary General **Damir Davidović** prepared a draft of the action plan for the strengthening of legislative and monitoring roles of the Parliament by the end of November 2011. This is the precondition for the Parliament to fulfil its share of EC's conditions for the opening of negotiations with Montenegro.

Đukanović promises to fulfil EC's conditions (23 November) – Montenegro is ready to fulfil the outstanding tasks within the given time period, and the EC is bound to note the improvements and suggest opening accession negotiations with Montenegro already in its next progress report, said Prime Minister **Đukanović** in a meeting with EU ambassadors in Montenegro hosted by the head of EU Delegation **Leopold Maurer**.

The Government also has a plan (25 November) – The Government will draft the action plan for the fulfilment of the seven key recommendations and submit the draft to the European Commission to be discussed during the meeting of the representatives of the Government and EC Enlargement Directorate during January 2011. The communication from the Government adds that this course of action was agreed at a meeting between ministers **Miraš Radović** and **Ivan Brajović** and director for the Western Balkans in Directorate General Enlargement **Pierre Mirel**.

Youth for EU (25 November) – Montenegro's membership in EU is supported by 67% of young people, concludes the study conducted by De Facto agency from Podgorica.

EP worried about the powers of the president of Constitutional Court (26 November) – The European Parliament is concerned about the possibility for excessive accumulation of power with individuals such as the President of the Constitutional Court and the Supreme State Prosecutor of Montenegro, warned the EP reporter for Montenegro **Charles Tannock** in a proposed resolution on the European integration process in Montenegro.

A VIEW FROM EU

Why are Germans turning their backs on EU

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October 3, 1990, was the effective date for the implementation of a stunning decision taken barely a



by Michel Rocard

month earlier when East Germany's House of Representatives, the Volkskammer, voted for unilateral adherence by the East German Lander to West Germany's Constitution. Article 23 of the West German Basic Law permitted this, but neither West Germany's government nor its Parliament had been consulted.

These events, accomplished by three actors, shook the world – and changed it forever. The first actor was **Mikhail Gorbachev**, who approved the act – the opening of the border between Austria and Hungary – that triggered the chain of events leading to reunification. And it was Gorbachev who proclaimed that Soviet forces would not intervene to support troubled communist regimes against the will of their people – a declaration aimed directly at East Germany.

The second key figure was West German Chancellor **Helmut Kohl**, who rushed into the opened breach, overriding his Allies' caution, while the third actor was the East German people, who rushed into the streets, regardless of the risks, to demonstrate and push reunification forward.

These events had a profound impact on relations between Germany and its allies. The United States, Great Britain, and France all seemed to think that everything was happening too fast, that international security was at risk should the new Germany not confirm its membership in NATO (which Germany finally did). But for a few months, there were fears that Russia would demand Germany's withdrawal from the Alliance as a condition of its agreement to reunification.

While the US masked its doubts,

Great Britain and France were less at ease. British Prime Minister **Margaret Thatcher** limited herself to worried public statements, but French President **Francois Mitterrand** felt it necessary to improvise a visit to East Berlin, against the opinion of his Foreign Ministry and despite the French people's great enthusiasm for German reunification. Mitterrand hoped to slow the process and to link negotiations to some international guarantees. His effort was a fiasco, remembered in Berlin to this day.

The motive of Mitterrand's "mission" was to determine what precautions could or should be taken against the potential vagaries of this powerful but unpredictable people. The response was eventually enshrined in the Maastricht Treaty, which extended the European Union's competences to foreign affairs and judicial matters, making them partly supranational.

Great Britain and Denmark, however, insisted that these new competences be exercised on intergovernmental grounds

Twenty years after reunification was completed, Germany has become one of the world's great democracies. Many wish that it were also more European in its outlook and behavior. But Germany does not bear the main responsibility for killing off the vision of political Europe

only, not by the European Commission, and thus only through consensus. France did not vote, so Great Britain and Denmark won by default. Europe would take common action related to foreign affairs only on unanimous grounds. Political Europe was stillborn at the moment of greatest potential.

In Germany itself, failure to achieve a politically integrated federal Europe baffled pro-integration political forces and dented the war generation's moral authority. As a result, reunified Germany naturally fell back on its old sphere of dominance, Eastern Europe.

But Germany's leaders were uneasy with these changes. In September 1994, two MPs from the majority Christian Democratic Union published a political statement on Europe, questioning its future, particularly the prospect of federalism. A dismal silence greeted its publi-

cation, which left Germany's pro-European establishment isolated and dispirited.

In May 2000, **Joschka Fischer**, the ex-leader of the Green Party and German Foreign Minister, gave a long speech about the necessity of European integration. The question about European federalism was posed to all member states, and none answered. France, obviously in the limelight, remained silent, again leaving Germany to feel abandoned by its partners.

A process of erosion, catalyzed by British diplomacy, was under way. It succeeded. The prospect of genuine European integration on foreign affairs and defense issues was denied time and again.

In today's Germany, the European project is no longer viewed as conditioning Europe's collective future. The new leaders envision Europe only as a trade regime.

The impact of this lost European perspective became clear in the autumn of

2008 when, in the aftermath of the subprime crisis and the failure of Lehman Brothers, Chancellor **Angela Merkel**'s first impulse was nationalistic and wholly anti-European. There would be no common European plan to address the crisis, and no call for public funds. Germany would protect its banks' depositors on its own and through private means. Only the sheer gravity of the situation brought Germany back within the European realm for the subsequent G-20 meeting.

Twenty years after reunification was completed, Germany has become one of the world's great democracies. Many wish that it were also more European in its outlook and behavior. But Germany does not bear the main responsibility for killing off the vision of political Europe.

The author was Prime Minister of France at the time of German reunification

CAN MONTENEGRO FULFIL EC'S SEVEN CONDITIONS FOR THE START OF NEGOTIATIONS IN THE NEXT YEAR?

Political will is the key

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If it wishes to begin negotiations for accession to European Union (EU), Montene-



by Samir Kajošević

grin Government will have to show Brussels that it has the political will to change the system.

This means that by next November, when the next European Commission (EC) progress report on Montenegro is expected, the government in Podgorica ought to renounce, at least to some extent, its power over the judiciary and the media, and produce a new electoral law, investigations and verdicts on crime and corruption charges against some "big fish".

The Montenegrin public is divided on whether or not the executive can, in the next 12 months, fulfil the already notorious seven conditions set by the Commission.

Part of the civil society believes that the usual exchange between Brussels and Đukanović's cabinet will continue: Montenegrin Government will do as much as it absolutely has to in order to get the date for negotiations, just like it did in the case of requirements for visa liberalisation, while avoiding genuine changes in the Montenegrin society.

On the other hand, some of the public believes that Brussels will now be more rigorous and expect the Government and Đukanović to do in the next 12 months what they avoided doing for the last two decades.

MP of the Socialist People's Party (SNP) and member of the Parliamentary Committee for International Relations and European Integrations **Predrag Bulatović** says the Government will be particularly resistant to the requirement to start a more effective fight against organised crime.

Admitting that the EC approves of the institutional framework for the fight against corruption, Bulatović warns that the EU now insists on the implementation of this framework and on more tangible results. In order to demonstrate these, he says, the Government will have to show some verdicts against

"In principle, I'm optimistic, but I think that it will take a long time until some institutions figure out that they don't have the legal grounds nor are allowed to influence judiciary. This compromises their independence, as was clearly spelled out by the EC report. If we wish to join the Union, many will have to give up on their influence on courts and their work", says Đorđe Blažić

FREEDOM OF THE MEDIA THE EASIEST CONDITION



Tea Gorjanc Prelević

Tea Gorjanc Prelević from Human Rights Action says improving the freedom of the media could be the easiest task for Montenegro.

To get a passing grade, according to her, it should suffice to take the reform of the law seriously and improve the courts' practices by training the judges.

Human Rights Action proposed a detailed reform of constitutional and legal provisions on libel and defamation in order to bring them in line with the European standards of the freedom of expression.

That includes, among other, complete de-criminalisation of offences against honour and dignity or at least a radical reduction of fines for such offences.

"If the Government accepts our proposal, organises a public discussion and ensures a parliamentary majority the whole package could be adopted in only a few months, fulfilling way ahead of the deadline one of EC's conditions. During our discussion on the reform proposal, Government representatives made encouraging statements so it seems there is will to at least take our proposal into consideration", Gorjanc Prelević said.

people in high positions.

"The EC is asking Montenegro to tackle the main pillars of the organised crime, who are interlinked with certain local centres of influence. It is obvious that there is no political will to do this and the EC's question is thus addressed directly to the executive – the government and its key political figures. This, I believe, is the crux of the matter", Bulatović said.

He believes that Montenegro won't start negotiations on EU accession any time soon, although it is pos-

sible, according to him, that the Government will make some gestures towards Brussels, but none of these would be high-level arrests.

Reminding that the EC is asking for improved legal framework for the fight against corruption and implementation of the anti-corruption strategy, president of the national Council for European Integrations (NCEI) **Nebojša Medojević** says that it will depend exclusively on the political will of the ruling coalition.

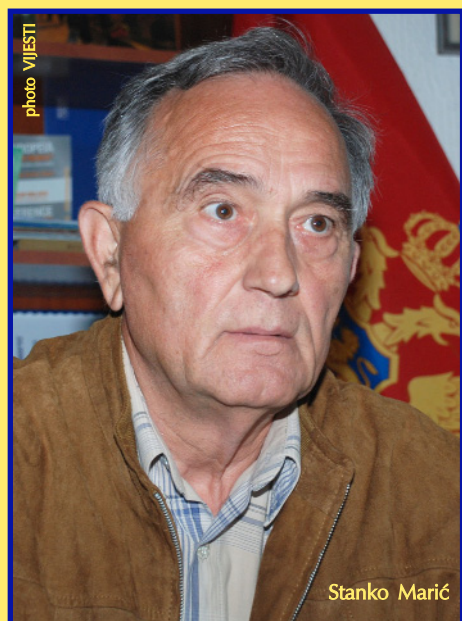
Emphasising that Montenegro is

"All it takes is political will and a bit of technical organisation. The judgement will not be about how much the Government does in the upcoming months, but how much political will it shows and what it plans to do in different areas", says Momčilo Radulović



Nebojša Medojević

ELECTORAL LAW MORE COMPLEX THAN IT SEEMS



Stanko Marić

Although the demand to adopt a new electoral law seems the easiest one, president of the Association of Lawyers of Montenegro **Stanko Marić** says the Government will not rush with the changes.

According to him, the ruling coalition would lose an important advantage by introducing provisions that guarantee fair democratic elections, and are therefore unlikely to do so.

"In the last three years the Government has proven unwilling to abandon its electoral advantage. Right now, they enter every electoral match with a starting three-nil against he opponents. They will find it hard to renounce it", Marić said.

Difficulties with the adoption of the electoral law are easy to guess based on the work of the Parliament so far, as the legislator undertook to finish this task three years ago. The working group in charge of drafting the new law asked for extensions of the deadline four times, because they could not agree on the procedures for representation of minorities in the Parliament and on the issue of voters without Montenegrin citizenship. Government representatives in the working group practically ignored OSCE's recommendations, explaining that the task of the working group was to harmonise the electoral law with the new Constitution. On the other hand, the opposition is guilty of changing its opinions and reopening the issues already agreed on within the working group.

expected to deliver results in terms of investigations, processing and verdicts in corruption cases on all levels, Medojević expects the results to follow only after the withdrawal of Prime Minister Đukanović.

"The tasks are challenging and demanding, but are quite easy to fulfil compared to the conditions received by other candidate countries before us. They are perhaps painful and difficult for DPS and SDP, but are quite easy for Montenegro", Medojević said.

In order to tackle corruption and organised crime, Montenegrin government will first have to work on strengthening the rule of law, especially through de-politicisation of the judiciary and prosecution. Brussels also criticised politically-driven nominations for membership of judicial and prosecution councils and state prosecutors, emphasising that greater independence and efficiency is expected from judges.

Professor **Đorđe Blažić** believes that, in spite of EU's demands, the government is not showing much will to let go off the courts.

According to him, the Government will have to make some concessions for Brussels, but it won't be easy.

"In principle, I'm optimistic, but I think that it will take a long time until some institutions figure out that they don't have the legal grounds nor are



Momčilo Radulović

allowed to influence judiciary. This compromises their independence, as was clearly spelled out by the EC report. If we wish to join the Union, many will have to give up on their influence on courts and their work", Blažić said.

The reform of public administration will certainly not be easy. The cumbersome, under-educated administration where the party influence on employment is at its strongest, reappears as a chronic problem in every European Commission Progress

RETURN TO KOSOVO AND BETTER CAMPS

The Government is planning to fulfil EC's demand for adoption and implementation of a strategy to close down the Konik refugee camp by returning the displaced persons to Kosovo but also by building a better camp with better living conditions.

As already noted by the Director of the Montenegrin Bureau for Refugee Care **Željko Šofranac**, the return of refugees to Kosovo is a priority for Montenegro, explaining that according to the latest data of the Bureau around 350 persons want to return. The Bureau said that both Konik camps house a total of 1 433 internally displaced persons, which is around 276 families.

"We established a working group tasked with developing the Action plan for permanent resolution of the temporary settlements in the two camps, and we also cooperate with the EC Delegation in Montenegro which developed a project task to fund the resolution of this problem", Šofranac explained.

Apart from EC, another voice demanding the closure of the Konik camps is the presidency of the Capital City, which owns the land where these two camps are situated. The city gave the land free of charge to build the two camps, but is now interested in using it for construction projects, and is asking for the camps to be dissolved.

Brussels also asked Montenegro to guarantee the legal status of displaced persons, especially the Roma, Ashkali and Egyptians.

Report on Montenegro. For years now Podgorica has been told about weak administrative capacities and asked to develop an efficient, professionalised and de-politicised public

administration.

Secretary General of the European Movement in Montenegro **Momčilo Radulović** believes that EC is only asking the Government to show some political will for changes.

According to him the Government should come up with a strategic plan for development of administration, including education of the employees in post-graduate programmes and education of all those who in the future will end up working for the state.

He suggests opening training programmes for the future cadre at popular university departments.

Radulović warns that, if it wishes to have high-quality administration, the Government should plan ahead for at least five years.

"All it takes is political will and a bit of technical organisation. The judgement will not be about how much the Government does in the upcoming months, but how much political will it shows and what it plans to do in different areas", Radulović said.



CONSEQUENCES OF THE SEVEN CONDITIONS SET BY EC FOR THE MONTENEGRIN AUTHORITIES TO START NEGOTIATIONS

Brussels takes the gloves off



Montenegro has never received from Brussels a more open, sharp and useful report. Apart from



by Neđeljko Rudović

copying the most important findings on Montenegro's ailments which have been pointed out for years by non-governmental organisations and independent media, the real value of the Opinion of the European Commission on Montenegro is to have given the Government directions it ought to follow if it wishes to see this country become a serious aspirant to membership in EU. There is no more space for manipulations and endless simulation of reforms: this time they've asked for tangible results.

The Government will have to fulfil seven conditions to qualify for the next stage of the road to the "elite club". Otherwise, it will not receive the date of negotiations which will snatch away the ace usually pulled by DPS and SDP – that they're leading Montenegro towards EU and a better life – unless they can prove that it's more than an election slogan.

Without the full commitment to changes the Government will not be able to get the recommendation from EC for the opening of accession negotiations next year, thereby demonstrating its incompetence at home. And this could be the first step towards changes on the political scene. Perhaps not so much because of the competence of the opposition as because of the desire on the part of the ruling structures to maintain power, which in that situation they could only achieve through per-

sonnel changes in the leading positions.

Either way, EC will help Montenegro to go forwards by bringing the Government to its senses and back on the ground or by influencing it to change and give space to new people, since the opposition itself is unable to do anything to influence Montenegro's reality.

All tales for local consumption have fallen through and Brussels has clearly said what it thinks about Montenegro – not enough political will to tackle corruption and crime, while the government tries to discipline independent media terrorising them with draconic defamation fines. In other words, Montenegro looks like a subtle dictatorship trying to broadcast a false image of a young European democracy through the loyal media. In order to be

The EC Opinion, when translated from the language of diplomacy, essentially says that Montenegro today looks like a subtle dictatorship trying to broadcast a false image of a young European democracy through the loyal media. In order to be able to count on the European perspective its Government will first have to set fair rules of the election game which will not give a head run to the authorities taking advantage of public resources. It will also have to give more powers to the Parliament, whose legislative and monitoring roles are purely fictional at the moment

able to count on the European perspective its Government will first have to set fair rules of the election game which will not give a head run to the authorities taking advantage of public resources. It will also have to give more powers to the Parliament, whose legislative and monitoring roles are purely fictional at the moment.

At the same time, Brussels is seeking reform of public administration in order to strengthen professionalism and avoid politicisation, so that appointments and promotions are done transparently and according to merit. In other words, DPS and SDP have to forget about party favours.

"Strengthen rule of law, in particular through de-politicised and merit-based appointments of members of the judicial and prosecutorial councils and of state prosecutors as well as through reinforcement of the independence, autonomy, efficiency and accountability of judges and prosecutors", recommends the Opinion of EC. The same document asks for a clear track record in fighting crime.

What the message actually means is: the prosecutors are obeying party directives, the politicians are the ones who appoint them, and therefore they cannot be expected to uphold public interests when this means endangering someone's personal or party interests.

Finally, Montenegro is expected to increase freedom of the media and adhere to the practice of the European

Court of Human Rights in Strasbourg as regards defamation, and to strengthen cooperation with the civil society. This means it ought to abandon both public and hidden pressures on the free media, and stop declaring civil society activists "state enemies" who are being paid by foreign intelligence services.

All this could remain a dead letter if there isn't already a climate in Montenegro where any thought that we do not need EU comes across as heresy. The public expects the Government to fulfil its promises, and although much of the leadership would prefer finding a way around it, there is no more backing out.

MEMBER OF THE FORMER NEGOTIATIONS TEAM OF SLOVENIA FOR EU ACCESSION VOJKA RAUBAR

Things get more serious once negotiations start

Member of the former negotiations team of Slovenia for accession to European Union **Vojka Raubar** indirectly confirms that profound changes in a society start with the opening of negotiations.

Precisely because of the tacit understanding that the adoption of European standards in Montenegro will only genuinely begin once the negotiations start, the opposition and part of the civil society have been hoping and lobbying for the country to get the opening date as soon as possible.

"The extent to which a country changes during negotiations depends on the society and on the preparations and approach to the negotiations. Naturally, things get more serious once the negotiations begin. During or before negotiations it is necessary to compile an overview of the state of the current legislation in the country, as well as a proposal for activities to harmonise these regulations with EU laws and a plan for when and how the country will be able to implement them. These issues are then discussed and agreed on during negotiations. These are the commitments you

The negotiations usually take longer – several years, and the policies cannot be changed with every elections. This is why it's important that the members of the team should change as little as possible, because it is necessary to preserve some stability, permanence and professionalism of members and even their integrity in taking over and implementing commitments

undertake and their implementation is monitored. In that sense, negotiations bring gradual changes to the society",



The negotiations are there to discuss and agree on when and how the country will be able to implement EU legislation. These are the commitments you undertake and their implementation is monitored. In that sense, negotiations bring gradual changes to the society

said Raubar.

- Montenegrin officials suggest that the country is planning to open the negotiations with the sensitive

this is a good move, since most countries start with easier chapters?

It is hard to say which chapter is easier or more difficult for which country – all of them are important. It is a matter of agreement where you start from.

- Could you give a short description of the structure of the negotiating team of Slovenia?

We can speak about a core and a broader structure of the team.

The core team consisted of experts and professionals. There were, first of all, experts from various fields

and with experience in different fields. There was also the representative (vice-president) of the Slovenian Chamber of Commerce (link to the economy), representative of the Bank of Slovenia (vice-governor of the Central Bank of Slovenia, link to the monetary sphere), experts from the ministries and various institutes.

At the time I was the state secretary for foreign economic relations and I had a lot of experience in international negotiations (with GATT, WTO, EFTA, CEFTA, EU, multilateral and bilateral negotiations) and in preparing and implementing foreign trade rules in Slovenia.

The core team consisted of around ten people appointed by the Government, but with the consensus of almost all political parties, as they thought of us as professionals and experts, not as politicians.

● **Unlike Slovenia when it started the negotiations with EU, in Montenegro it is almost inconceivable to think that most of the negotiating team wouldn't consist of the people from the ruling coalition. Could this be dangerous for negotiations?**

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photo VIJESTI

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questions, and I have to admit that the MPs listened and valued our opinions.

They were informed about everything and, importantly, they were able to discuss these issues with their colleagues in the parliaments of EU member states, elaborate on our positions and thus contribute to better understanding of our positions and overall a

The MPs were informed about everything and, importantly, they were able to discuss these issues with their colleagues in the parliaments of EU member states, elaborate on our positions and thus contribute to better understanding of our positions and overall a better result of negotiations for our entire society and the country

600 PEOPLE INVOLVED IN NEGOTIATIONS

In addition to the core team, some 600 people participated in the negotiations – experts from the ministries, institutes, the chamber, the businesses... we were well organised we all had the same goal: succeed in the negotiations and prepare our country for an easier, more professional accession to EU.

As you can see, we made it.

implementing commitments.

During the negotiations there is the building of the team spirit and joint responsibility for fulfilling the commitments, there are personal acquaintances with the experts in the country and in EU, which can help a lot in clarifying the issues and seeking the best solutions.

We had the politicians involved in everything through the Government and the Parliament. The Core negotiating team sent all proposals for consideration and approval to the Government, which then submitted

better result of negotiations for our entire society and the country.

● **Which moment of negotiations remained most vividly in your memory?**

There were many such moments. To me it was very important that we trusted each other, helped each other whenever we could and that we always shared important information. We were really a team, and we still meet every year, with great joy.

V. ŽUGIĆ

FIRST AND SECOND WORLD WARS, THE FALL OF EUROPE

In blood because of a cake of which only the crumbs were left

Europe entered the 20th century as the ruler of the world. Colonial empires of European powers occupied most of the planet and con-



Prepared by Miloš Vukanović

trolled all seas, and the continent itself was free of all conflicts for already 30 years. World's exhibition halls saw the European nations boast their technical and construction achievements, while their economies, relying on the wealth of the colonies, continued the expansion they started already in the 18th century. The Central and Eastern empires jealously guarded their borders and concealed the burning national and economic problems. Even the rowdy Balkans were appeased after the Berlin Congress of 1878 and only saw small skirmishes. But this pretty façade collapsed in blood, in a slaughterhouse the proportions of which the world has never seen before.

Changes on the map of Europe which brought national unifications, most of all of Germany, meant that the old division of power was untenable. The German economy expanded and very quickly overtook the French, possibly even the British. Such an economy needed the resources and the markets in the colonies, of which there were simply none left. The crumbs of territory belonging to the German Empire in Africa and in the Far East were far from satisfying its appetites. On the other hand, its ally, Austro-Hungary, also sought territorial expansion, which is a problem for a central European country. The only available direction for expansion was towards the Balkans, with its fighting tiny states and further into the declining Ottoman Empire towards the Middle East.

One should bear in mind that at the time Germany had the best equipped military of 12 million soldiers with superior military technology. It was already clear in 1871 that the French army cannot cope with the German force, and while the British fleet was still powerful, its ground troupes were few, albeit well equipped. On the other hand, the enormous Russian army of 15 million soldiers had neither the training nor the arms, nor leadership to oppose the German military machinery. Consequently, and in response to the alliance between Vienna and Berlin, Russia and France struck an alliance. Knowing that Germany's military superiority will endanger their colonies, the British joined the alliance between Paris and Moscow.

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Even in the case of smaller wars it is hard to pinpoint the cause of outburst. Reasons are always many, and the situations are complex. The same goes for the First World War. It did not start because of the

assassination in Sarajevo, it was inevitable. Even before the assassination the great powers were nearly on the brink of war on several occasions, but diplomacy and the current balance of powers maintained peace. The assassination created mounting pressure and led to Austro-Hungarian declaration of war on Serbia, with the purpose of further conquest of the Balkans. To protect Serbia and its interests in south-east Europe and prevent Vienna's advance towards Bosphorus, Russia in turn declared war on Austria. Within only a few days the conflict was joined by Germany on one and France and UK on the other side, not in order to protect the Balkans, but for settling their own accounts. Victory would have meant a just redistribution of power and

territory for Germany, while the Allied hoped to finally cut down on the threat from Berlin. In addition to Russia, UK and France, the Entente was joined by Italy, USA, Japan, Greece, Serbia, Romania, Belgium, Montenegro, Portugal, as well as the colonies, while the Central powers of Germany and Austro-Hungary had the support of the Ottomans and Bulgarians. The number of countries involved, conflicts which spread across several continents, the size of the armies and the fact that the war was fought on the land, in the air and on the sea, make it a world war. The principle of total war, which includes the entire population, all capacities and resources of the country, has been known since the times of Napoleon but has never been seen in such proportions.

The First World War is unique also because of development of arms of mass destruction. The world had a chance to get a glimpse of the threat in the American Civil War, but the European generals haven't taken stock of the



changes. Their ignorance, arrogance and inability to understand that the war had evolved to tremendous proportions sent hundreds of thousands of people in old formations, marches and even on horses right into the maelstrom of bullets and grenades from machine-guns and canons.

The war lasted from 1914 to 1918. It was waged on three fronts: the Western, the Eastern and the Balkan. The colonial war was to end soon enough because of UK's supremacy, but it took a whole different turn in Europe. After the Russian Revolution, the Eastern front closed with a victory for Germany, while the Western front remained in spite of US' involvement. At the same time, economic demands the war had placed on Germany created social unrests that eventually forced it to capitulate. Even if it weren't for these upheavals, Germany could hardly keep up the war in the west for much longer. Its capacities and human resources reached the maximum of efforts in the exhausting four-year conflict, while the British and the French



Franco in Spain and various other right wing monarchs from Yugoslavia to Romania and Hungary clearly showed that a democratic Europe was still but a dream. Preoccupied with its colonies, UK handed over the European affairs to France. Paris' attempt to

The reasons for the Second World War are the same as for the First – redistribution of power and wealth. The second time around, however, they came fuelled by ideologies of democracy, fascism and communism

kept bringing in new soldiers and resources from the colonies. The USA as a power on the rise with its enormous capacities only contributed to the stability of the Allies.

The victim toll of the war was 16 million dead and 21 million wounded. Around 9.5 million victims were soldiers, other were civilians. European borders have been redrawn and the colonial empires strengthened. Four empires disappeared in the war: the German, Austro-Hungarian, Ottoman and Russian. The victory of western democracies was cemented with the crumbling of German territory and establishing alliances with newly created east European states.

While the USSR withdrew into isolation after the destruction of the civil war of 1918–1921, it seemed that democracy in Europe was flourishing. This could not have been further from truth. After the war and economic crisis, political and social turbulences began to shake almost all European countries. The crisis and the fear of communism constituted a fertile ground for the spread of right-wing ideologies. Add the old grudges regarding the division of power and wealth and it is easy to see why Europe soon started to resemble a veritable powder keg.

Fascists in Italy, Nazis in Germany,

create a Little Entente to the east of Germany failed in the midst of the economic crisis. The new, more powerful and more aggressive Germany under **Adolf Hitler** easily forged an alliance with **Mussolini's** Italy and turned the central and east European state into its reserve of raw materials.

Two difficult wars left Europe in ruins. The military, economic and technological superiority of Europe that was built up for centuries collapsed within a few decades. A disunited, destroyed Europe could not compete with the new world superpowers whose power was based on large territories, numerous populations, industrial and military power

And while Paris and London still weighed whether Hitler or **Stalin** were a bigger threat, the crazier one from Berlin snatched away Austria and Sudetenland, and divided up Poland with his Russian colleague.

The reasons for the Second World War are the same as for the First – redistribution of power and wealth. The second time around, however, they came fuelled by ideologies of democracy, fascism and communism. The war started in 1939 with Germany attacking and conquering Poland and London and Paris declaring war on Hitler. The war

again reached world-wide proportions, dragging in on the Allied side, in addition to France, UK and Poland, also Norway, Yugoslavia, Greece and, most importantly, USSR, USA and China. On the Axis side, part from Germany, Italy and Japan, were also Hungary, Romania, Bulgaria, Finland, Croatia... The war was accompanied by massive destruction, slaughter of entire armies and civilians and systematic extermination of Jews.

In spite of ideological conflicts, the USSR and the western countries agreed that it is more important to destroy the threat of Nazism, which was a threat to the entire human kind. The alliance will yield the anti-Fascist coalition, the principles of which will be laid into the foundation of post-war Europe.

The Second World War resulted in more than 60 million victims, out of which the largest number, 58% were the civilians from the Allied countries. The genocide of European Jews alone killed six million people.

The highest toll was, however, on USSR, where there were 25 million victims. Without a shade of subjectivity, if this number is combined with the number of Polish and Yugoslav victims, as well as the total percentage of victims in the population of these countries, the effect is that of an all-out slaughter of the Slavic nations.

Two difficult wars left Europe in ruins. The military, economic and technological superiority of Europe that was built up for centuries collapsed within a few decades. A disunited, destroyed Europe could not compete with the new world superpowers whose power was based on large territories, numer-

ous populations, industrial and military power which was beyond reach of all the European countries put together.

In the midst of the second half of the 20th century the colonial empires started to dissipate and the Old Continent was cut in half by the insurmountable barrier of the Cold War. A new era of internal transformation was dawning, which held in store a new place for Europe in the post-war world.

The author is a programme associate in Centre for Civic Education

Campaign on Brussels

by Brano Mandić

1.

Written on the chest of the guy arrested for drug smuggling a few days ago, it read "nothing to lose". Did he have that t-shirt on by chance when the police got him? But if the suspect donned the Dylan-inscribed garment on purpose, then he knew he was going to be tied and recorded. Paranoia aside, **Duško Šarić** is the first big catch after the European Commission recommended Montenegro for the status of EU membership candidate. Express reaction, or another coincidence.

The task is simple, arrest and condemn in order to start negotiating with Brussels. A good example is Croatia, which sacrificed its deputy Prime Minister. Which one of ours will be struck for the good of the nation? We could set up a bookmaker: which public official has already been scheduled as a victim? They probably have a little voodoo doll and they're already sticking pins into it.

Simple, like any other epic, our road to Europe is crying out for fallen angels, stock villains on whose shoulders we can dump the misdeeds of the last twenty years. It will be a patriotic sacrifice, with-

Štefan Fule was hardly in this airplane when we got positive rulings in favour of journalists. In his latest interview Prime Minister Đukanović does not talk about "curmudgeons", "frustrated individuals" and "media tycoons with political ambitions". He has flipped the record and is now talking about "critically minded media"

out which there's no rule of law.

To us today it seems like there can be no rule of law in Montenegro until many years and several generations have gone by... But the truth is different: arrest two dozen people who have filled their pockets unscrupulously so far, and it will be a warning for the others. Two dozen scarecrows are needed in the corn field. If you look closely at the scarecrow, you'll see it's a crucifix, adapted for agri-



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cultural purposes. This takes us back to the spiritual levels of our tale about sacrifice for the higher goal and common good.

Accordingly, the courts are also waking up to European wisdom, suddenly. **Štefan Fule** was hardly in this airplane when we got positive rulings in favour of journalists. In his latest interview Prime

Minister Đukanović does not talk about "curmudgeons", "frustrated individuals" and "media tycoons with political ambitions". He has flipped the record and is now talking about "critically minded media", which is a compliment par excellence for those he refers to. For if you admit that there are critically minded media, it means there are also "uncritically minded media". If the media do not criticise, it means they are fine with the society as it is. Since the society is not yet ready to join European Union, that means uncritical journalists are against progress. And whoever is against progress has not recognised the historical moment when we must all push towards social reforms... These are the words of the Prime Minister, whose favourite newspaper is the government bulletin "Pobjeda". That's probably where he got inspired by the critical spirit and realised the value of research journalism, which is being financed by taxpayers since nobody in their right mind wants to buy it.

But the change of rhetoric is also visible with "our European friends". Fule noted several times the things Montenegro "must" do. Up until now it was all wrapped in Brussels' cotton and recommendations and now we go to imperatives and orders.

It is interesting that Croatia is about to close Chapter 23 – justice and the rule of law – as it nears the end of its European road, whereas for Montenegro that will be the starting point. If the

courts are functioning, says Brussels, the rest will follow. It's the proof that the European Union is slowly learning how to handle the Balkans. We like it rough and we don't understand the language of courting.

2.

President **Boris Tadić** visited Podgorica and brought gifts. Believe it or not, he is offering the Scandinavian model. Let's love each other, merge diplomatic representations around the world and together show Europe that we're rational, thrifty and ready to cooperate.

Is there anything more logical than two brotherly nations that speak the same language doing the paperwork together? This is not a question of politics, but of civilisation. Tadić is opening his arms wide and calling for good will and trust. But let's now ask the next question: why is the president of ten times larger Serbia calling tiny, rotten Montenegro to diplomatic brotherhood of the Scandinavian persuasion? Our tried and tested diplomats will surely know how to answer Tadić, but we ought to wrap it up well for his offer

President Boris Tadić visited Podgorica and brought gifts. Believe it or not, he is offering the Scandinavian model. Let's love each other, merge diplomatic representations around the world and together show Europe that we're rational, thrifty and ready to cooperate. This might seem like a superficial interpretation, I admit I'm no match for the brains who lead or peoples and nationalities, but in this moment I'd say no to Tadić. And start a political campaign instead to lower the price of air transport between Belgrade and Podgorica, thus demonstrating I'm willing to be Swedish

seems fair and humane on paper, progressive even. Except we're no Scandinavia.

If we were, Tadić would also drop by the president of the Parliament **Krivokapić** for a little chat and to ask for his health. As it is, Tadić is ignoring Krivokapić, in response to which the latter remains, in his own head, the bastion of Montenegrinness. Everyone is happy and the circus goes on. In any case, the



Serbian offer is a great compliment to Montenegro, even if it were the craftiest political trap, as it anyway ought to be understood by every honest paranoid. If the big neighbour sees advantages in hanging out with you, you should be proud for having proven yourself in your street. This might seem like a superficial interpretation, I admit I'm no match for the brains who lead or peoples and nationalities, but in this moment I'd say no to Tadić. And start a political campaign instead to lower the price of air

transport between Belgrade and Podgorica, thus demonstrating I'm willing to be Swedish.

As for Tadić, points for the visit to Vukovar, which we can justly call historical. Just pray we don't see a certain vernacular proverb come true, which arose from sediments of bitter Balkan experience: whenever Croats and Serbs are making friends, somebody else in the neighbourhood is in trouble.

3.

We heard there should be a cable rolling off from Montenegro under the sea and bringing electricity to the old occupier from the Apennines. That's all we know. For the time being, it's a secret where the cable will be coming from, why are we exporting electricity, and isn't that rude of Italians after we've chosen them to build hydro-power plants in the country.

Company A2A, our partner in this business isn't an energy giant like our media were trying to convince us. In Italy this deal is slowly unravelling,

while we still have no idea how much it will cost. Local media from across the Adriatic are wondering why the cable is some 100 km longer than geography suggests. Nasty questions are being brought up, threatening to undermine the idyllic cooperation of **Berlusconi**–**Đukanović** tandem. Here nobody ever mentioned the cable until we organised little parties in honour of the Big Business with the neighbours. It was pretty all right, Italians even brought Caravaggio's 'Narcissus', there was jazz and toasts for Queen Elena. The money was transferred to the First Bank. Ministers from the Social-democratic party are once again abstaining. The public has more urgent worries, so we should just wait patiently for the whole thing around the cable to unravel. In the meantime, Montenegro's energy company is a regional giant in terms of profit per capita, beating all the big companies from Croatia, Serbia and Slovenia.

We are paying our bills every month, trained to break into sweat before the post box. And the essence of European integrations, says the Prime Minister, is a better living standard for the citizens. That means either raise the wages or lower electricity bills. The Government should decide which one is easier to pull off.

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

STATE AUDIT INSTITUTION – MAJOR ACHIEVEMENTS AND MAJOR CHALLENGES

SAI ready for audit



External audit of the public sector is one of the main instruments to strengthen accountability of the pub-



by Marko Sošić

lic servants and raise the trust in the public sector, as its main task is to inform the citizens comprehensively and accurately about whether the public money is being spent according to the rules and whether the bodies in charge of managing these funds fulfilled the goals for which the funds were intended.

State Audit Institution (SAI) is an independent, supreme body of state audit, established by the Law on SAI from 2004. To date SAI published 46 audit reports, out of which six are reports on the final accounts of the Budget of Montenegro, and the rest are reports on individual audits. The number of audits has been growing from one year to the next, alongside a gradual increase in SAI's capacities and implementation of new, more demanding forms of audit.

Within the research project "Towards

will be published in early December.

As the Law on SAI is to be amended in 2010, this is an opportunity to solve certain issues that have seriously impaired the functioning of SAI to date. The importance of further strengthening of SAI's capacities has been underlined by the European Commission in its Opinion on Montenegro's Application for Membership in EU, singling it out as one of the seven key priorities Montenegro needs to fulfil before it can start membership negotiations.

One of the most important questions is that of SAI's ability to monitor implementation of its recommendation. Apart from the control audit, which is the most reliable and best way for auditors to ensure their recommendations are being

the sense of regular submission of all audit reports and training of state auditors, not in the sense of transferring the responsibility for raising criminal charges from SAI to the prosecution.

Procedural offences with regard to mismanagement of public finances in Montenegro belong to a legal area which has not been fully regulated, nor implemented in practice. The fact that the Law on Public Budget of the Republic of Montenegro has not a single provision regulating the issue of procedural responsibility is a precedent compared to other countries of the region where such laws contain lists of activities that are considered procedural offences as well as definitions of sanctions for the perpetrators.

So far the practice of the Parliament

It is a cause of concern that no audit to date had provided grounds for persecution of public functionaries in criminal, procedural or disciplinary terms

followed, another important step is to inform the subject of audit about these findings after the publication of the final audit report.

A less demanding but effective type of control is the strengthening of information mechanisms towards the subjects of audits and detailed planning of deadlines and structure of these communications, as well as their accessibility (publication).

and the relevant working bodies suggests a worrying tendency of a superficial approach to SAI's reports and missed opportunities to mount parliamentary pressure on the institutions for which there is firm, objective evidence of budgetary failures. The same observation was made in the Public Expenditure and Financial Accountability Assessment (PEFA) report from July 2009, which rated parliamentary oversight of audit reports with a D+, barely a "pass".

The MPs are not using their legal competencies to ask SAI for additional explanations of certain facts or circumstances. The plenary discussions of the annual report and budgetary audits barely take up a single day's session, individual audit reports are neglected and are not being used, and the attempt to introduce half-yearly reports by the Government and audited institutions on the activities undertaken to correct the shortcomings and irregularities failed. Besides, the parliament is neglecting its

A seldom noted, but important problem is the financial independence of SAI. Namely, the legal framework for SAI does not fulfil the requirement of independence which forbids the executive to influence the budget

the best EU practice: Strengthening external financial control in Montenegro", Institute Alternative presented an overview of SAI's work to date, its position within the institutional framework, the ways in which its reports have been used by other relevant bodies and, above all, results of its work so far. The report on key findings and recommendations

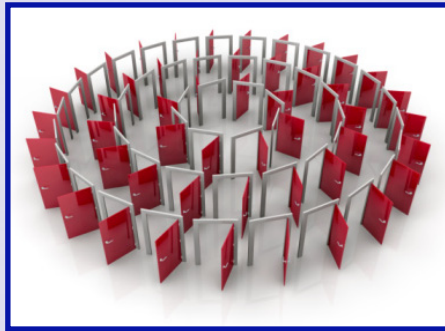
It is a cause of concern that no audit to date had provided grounds for persecution of public functionaries in criminal, procedural or disciplinary terms. Although processing criminal offences isn't the primary task of SAI, the Law on SAI gives it fairly unambiguous competencies in that regard. SAI's cooperation with the State Prosecutor ought to be strengthened, in

duty to oversee SAI's budget and has never ordered an audit of the final accounts of this institution.

Establishing a subcommittee for budget and audit would strengthen the parliamentary control over the executive in terms of planning and implementation of the budget, allowing it to make better use of SAI.

Discussions at the Committee and plenary sessions of the Parliament cannot be a place for analysis of the SAI reports in the sense of ascertaining their accuracy and validity or checking the facts presented in SAI's reports. However, as the office of the MP is not professionalised, parliamentary debates often turn into an opportunity for the leaders of institutions under audit, who are at the same time MPs, to "explain" their positions and present new interpretations of SAI's reports from their own perspective.

A seldom noted, but important problem is the financial independence of SAI. Namely, the legal framework for SAI does not fulfil the requirement of independence which forbids the executive to influence the budget. SAI is dependent



strategy for communication with the public, in spite of repeated claims that "the public is SAI's best weapon" and the fact that this strategy has been in the drafting process since September 2008.

The next steps in the development of the legal framework will involve, apart from the announced revision of the Law on SAI, adoption of methodological guidelines and handbooks for audit, which requires, among other, harmonisation of other legal acts and the official translation of INTOSAI standards with regard to types of audit and their meaning, as well as the structure and content of audit reports.

SAI made no significant initiative to

down not only because of the lack of cadre (out of the planned 65 posts only 38 have been filled so far) but also because of the lack of working space. In addition to this, the recently founded body for auditing the use of pre-accession funds has dealt a severe blow to SAI's capacities. The average wage of employees in external audit in the public sector is almost three times lower than of those in the private sector, in spite of the efforts to improve their situation by changing the pay structures.

Important activities assigned to SAI by the previous Action plan for the implementation of measures against corruption and organised crimes, which concerned education of the public in the matters of budget control and required involvement of non-governmental organisations and the media have not been implemented. These unfulfilled obligations became part of the new strategy, i.e. action plan, from which it can be concluded that the work on educating the public in matters of budgetary control has been neglected.

Bearing in mind the fact that SAI does not have the power to directly impose measures on the subjects of audit, its position within the system of control of public finances depends not only on the quality, credibility and persuasiveness of its findings and recommendations, but also on the readiness of the executive to implement them. This makes the public SAI's most powerful weapon and, alongside parliamentary pressures, constitutes

SAI still lacks a medium or long term development strategy. Overview of SAI's annual reports shows that the institution has been working on these documents for more than three years

on budgetary funds, and its budget is subject to approval by the Parliamentary Committee for Economy, Finance and Budget. Upon the committee's approval, SAI's budget is forwarded to the Ministry of Finance which returns it to the parliament as part of the overall budget plan. Although this was never the case so far, the Ministry can, at this stage, change the budget proposal of SAI, thus endangering independence of this institution.

Although SAI's independence from the legislative and executive powers must not be violated, there should be a mechanism for subjects outside of SAI to provide suggestions and proposals for the Annual audit plan, as well as procedures for the SAI's Senate to comment on these suggestions.

SAI still lacks a medium or long term development strategy. Overview of SAI's annual reports shows that the institution has been working on these documents for more than three years. There is also no

amend existing or adopt new laws, although this is part of its responsibilities. This is especially evident in the area of public procurement. In spite of having

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expressed reservations towards the legal framework for public procurement, warning that it has not been fully normatively defined and that it lacks a clear division of authority and responsibilities of certain institutions, SAI never initiated any activities towards systemic solutions to this problem.

According to IA's information, further development of SAI has been slowed

the main channel for influencing the work of the subjects of its audit. Media and non-governmental organisations are thus the allies of SAI in pursuing this goal, because they can rely on SAI's findings to mount additional pressure on the subjects of audit.

The author is a programme associate of Institute Alternative

WHY DO I WANT TO BE A CITIZEN OF EUROPEAN UNION

Europe starts in the mind

I will speak of the reasons that make me wish I were a citizen of EU from the perspective of a recent graduate of the Department of Economics and,



by Miloš Žarković

most of all, a perfectly ordinary citizen of Montenegro. Europe starts in the mind and actions of every individual. For me, and, I suppose, for a majority of the citizens of Montenegro Europe is not a goal but a means to achieving a more secure, just and better life. Many European countries have knocked on the EU doors, and Montenegro is there too. After six waves of enlargement, for the remaining European countries which are not yet part of the EU, accession to the Union is a strategic priority.

For Montenegro, membership in European Union is a realistic and attainable goal. But ever since the dissolution of SFRY the challenges of integration have not been easy. While the south-east Europe intensively prepared for full memberships and many neighbouring countries started making smaller or larger steps towards Brussels, Montenegro had to first focus on restoring its statehood. The fight for the Montenegrin "track" was fought parallel on the domestic and international front. By spring 2007 Montenegro achieved a success that was unconceivable only a year ago by anybody in European institutions.

Like most south-east European countries, which are knocking in all honesty and earnestness on the doors of a common European home, Montenegro set the membership in EU as its strategic priority and "Europeanisation" as the engine of all reform processes and positive changes in the society. Naturally, we expect that in the future the enlargement policy will remain equally stimulating and open for new members. It is extremely important that Europe should come here. To remind us of the sometimes forgotten premises, scarred by the "crazy 90s", that discussion is half way to an agreement, that power is no measure of truth, and that we are all born with equal rights. To be a citizen of European Union to me means rais-

ing the level of general and professional information, but also levelling out unrealistic expectations of EU. We expect more from integration than the process is capable of giving us. I want Montenegro to be my base to leave from and come back to. I don't want to tell you that living in that Montenegro will be easy – just the opposite, it will take hard work, continuous learning and much effort to reach the results. I want something which is scarce in these parts – the possibility of choice in all areas. I want to live with my family and friends in a Montenegro which will be a part of EU. I have already been a citizen of Europe since 26 March 1987.

Europe has long ceased to be just a continent, a geographical notion. The EU gives it the character of a political and economic entity, it unites Europe. People who know each other can live together better. I want to be a citizen of Europe in which I can travel,

It is extremely important that Europe should come here. To remind us of the sometimes forgotten premises, scarred by the "crazy 90s", that discussion is half way to an agreement, that power is no measure of truth, and that we are all born with equal rights

live, study and work anywhere in EU.

I have used this right as a student through numerous scholarships which allowed me to study and travel around EU member states. There I expanded my knowledge and adopted a European style of living and working. With membership in EU, every one of us will have a chance to do so, it will stop being a privilege of the best. This is extremely important for all of us young people, students, researchers, scientists, experts... Everybody will have a chance to apply or to look for work in any EU country. Thanks to many academic and study visits in EU countries I had a

chance to attend lectures, seminars and conferences organised by students of economics departments around Europe and was able to see what the borders really mean. This is what motivated me to hope that we should also become a part of EU, for we are already part of Europe.

We should be realistic and understand that EU is a community based on powerful interests, but that in spite of it its future is uncertain. Its existence is not set in stone. The fact that it played an important role in the past is no guarantee for its future. The Union survived and developed because it enabled mutually profitable cooperation. In a certain sense, the EU lived a role whose major purpose was to unite Europe on civilised grounds.

The EU is rife with opposing tendencies. On the one hand are the market forces, on the other the heavy hand of the state. On the one hand there is insistence on enlargement,

which contributes to greater diversity among the member states, on the other there are voices calling for deeper integration, which is made more difficult by diversity. On the one hand is the need for majority vote in decision making which requires the EU institutions to become more similar to the nation states and minimisation of democratic deficit, on the other hand this is impossible to achieve without raising the risk of redistribution among the countries and the accompanying conflicts.

Further enlargements are delayed, which is mainly the fault of the badly prepared candidates, rather than of EU's unwillingness to accept them. Were the Balkan states champions of reforms, perhaps they wouldn't worry so much whether they can join the EU. But they aren't, and the membership in EU is their best option.

Let's get our acts together and work for it. Let us be extraordinary individuals and even better as a team. Only with great commitment, together, we can make it, we can fulfil the dream of all generations of Montenegrins, the dream called EU.

The author attended X generation of European Integrations School



EUROPEAN COMMISSION OPINION ON MONTENEGRO'S APPLICATION FOR MEMBERSHIP IN EU

Seven conditions for negotiations

On 9 November European Commission (EC) gave a positive opinion on Montenegro's application for membership of European Union and proposed to the European Council to grant our country the status of a candidate, which should happen by December.

In the Opinion, the Commission said negotiations with Montenegro on EU accession should begin once the country fulfils seven conditions, or, in EC's words, "once the country has achieved the necessary degree of compliance with the membership criteria and in particular the Copenhagen political criteria requiring the stability of institutions guaranteeing notably the rule of law".

As preconditions for negotiations, the Commission expects Montenegro to:

- Improve the legislative framework for elections in line with the recommendations of the OSCE-ODIHR and the Venice Commission; strengthen the Parliament's legislative and oversight role.
- Complete essential steps in public administration reform including amendments to the law on general administrative procedure and the law on civil servants and state employees and the strengthening of the Human Resources Management Authority and the State Audit Institution, with a view to enhancing professionalism and depoliticisation of public administration and to strengthening a transparent, merit-based approach to appointments and promotions.

Money laundering and drug-smuggling are key areas of concern with regard to organised crime

- Strengthen rule of law, in particular through de-politicised and merit-based appointments of members of the judicial and prosecutorial councils and of state prosecutors as well as through reinforcement of the independence, autonomy, efficiency and accountability of judges and prosecutors.
- Improve the anti-corruption legal framework and implement the govern-

ment's anticorruption strategy and action plan; establish a solid track record of proactive investigations, prosecutions and convictions in corruption cases at all levels.

- Strengthen the fight against organised crime based on threat assessment and proactive investigations, increased cooperation with regional and EU partners, efficient processing of criminal intelligence and enhanced law enforcement capacities and coordination. Develop a solid track-record in this area.
- Enhance media freedom notably by aligning with the case-law of the European Court for Human Rights on defamation and strengthen cooperation with civil society.

Strong political will is needed to significantly improve performance in combating corruption

- Implement the legal and policy framework on anti-discrimination in line with European and international standards; guarantee the legal status of displaced persons, in particular Roma, Ashkali and Egyptians, and ensure respect for their rights. This will include the adoption and implementation of a sustainable strategy for the closure of the Konik camp.

In its conclusions addressed at the European Council and European Parliament the Commission encouraged Montenegro, among other, to continue its constructive engagement in regional

cooperation and in strengthening bilateral relations with neighbouring countries.

"Montenegro is strongly encouraged to continue enhancing its administrative capacity across the board. Particular efforts are required as regards the effectiveness and impartiality of the state administration in sensitive areas such as environmental protection. Cases of violence and intimidation against journalists



and NGO activists need to be properly prosecuted. The issues of domestic violence, ill-treatment and sub-standard prison conditions need to be addressed".

In a detailed overview of political criteria, the Commission notes shortcomings in the functioning of democratic institutions and implementation of the laws, in spite of a satisfactory institutional and legal framework already in place.

"The parliament's overall capacity to ensure appropriate oversight of the government remains limited. The separation of powers is not fully respected in the case of the judiciary. The public administration remains weak and highly politicised", states the Opinion.

The EC also expressed serious concerns over the role of the parliament in appointing the judicial and prosecutorial councils and state prosecutors. It also warned against shortcomings regarding the efficiency and accountability of the judiciary.

Alongside a reminder that Montenegro has largely put in place the legal and institutional framework needed for combating corruption, the Commission finds that "corruption remains prevalent in many areas and constitutes a particularly serious problem".

"Anti-corruption legislation is not consistently implemented. Furthermore,

the legal frameworks on prevention of conflict of interest and on financing of political parties and electoral campaigns have important deficiencies. Supervisory authorities lack the full legal powers and the capacity to ensure enforcement of the legislation on prevention of conflict of interest and on the control over the financing of political parties and election campaigns. There are also concerns regarding the supervision of public procurement, privatisation, spatial planning and construction permits", states the

Opinion.

It adds that there is no consistent internal control to monitor corruption and ensure accountability and respect of rule of law within the state bodies, and that this applies in particular in areas such as tax administration and customs, the police and judiciary and local administration.

"Investigation capacities and law-enforcement coordination remain weak. Strong political will is needed to significantly improve performance in combating

corruption. The track record of investigations, prosecutions and final convictions in corruption cases at all levels remains low", states the Opinion.

The Commission is concerned about organised crime remaining a serious problem, although the legal framework is generally adequate and capacities have improved.

"Money laundering and drug-smuggling are key areas of concern. Law enforcement capacities and coordination are weak and implementation track records remain limited", warns the Commission.

According to Brussels, further strengthening of cooperation at the international level is necessary, including with neighbouring countries.

The document finds that "human rights are broadly respected in Montenegro".

The Opinion warns that it is necessary to work on raising awareness and sensitivity of the administration, police and the judiciary to standards regarding violations of human rights.

"There are concerns related to the effectiveness of anti-discrimination policies, freedom of expression and relations with the civil society. The anti-discrimination legal framework has been substantially improved. However, in practice, Roma, Ashkali and Egyptian, persons with disabilities and lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgendered (LGBT) persons are still subject to discrimination, including on the part of state authorities", states the Opinion.

As for the relations with the civil society, the Commission warns that the "existing dialogue is not fully satisfactory".

"In some cases, the most critical NGOs have been exposed to political and administrative pressures", says the EC.

Overall, the Opinion finds that Montenegro broadly satisfies the Stabilisation and Association Process conditions, but it disproves of its having signed the bilateral immunity agreement with the United States after ratifying the Rome Statute, which is not in line with the EU common positions and guiding principles.

"Montenegro needs to align with the EU position", states the Opinion.

In some cases, the most critical NGOs have been exposed to political and administrative pressures

UNEMPLOYMENT AND INFORMAL EMPLOYMENT POINT TO WEAKNESSES IN EDUCATION SYSTEM

In the chapter on economic criteria the Commission finds that after years of strong capital inflows supporting rapid economic growth, the global crisis unveiled significant internal and external imbalances exposing the country and threatening macroeconomic stability.

"The crisis also revealed vulnerabilities in the regulation and supervision of the banking sector, calling for critical recapitalisation of banks. Persisting unemployment, and informal employment, point to weaknesses in the education and vocational training systems as well as to some labour market rigidities. The country has a still insufficient energy and transport infrastructure. Small businesses in particular are confronted with scarce and expensive financing. Persisting weaknesses in the rule of law negatively affect the business environment. The informal sector remains an important challenge", warns the EC.

The chapter regarding Montenegro's "ability to assume obligations of membership" says that the country, if it continues with the current reforms, should, in the medium term, have the capacity to comply with the requirements of the *acquis* in the fields of taxation, enterprise and industrial policy, science and research, education and culture, customs union, external relations, foreign, security and defence policy, financial and budgetary provisions.

"However, Montenegro will have to undertake additional efforts to align with the *acquis* and to implement it effectively in the medium term in the following fields: freedom of movement for workers, right of establishment and freedom to provide services, free movement of capital, public procurement, company law, competition policy, financial services, information society and media, transport policy, energy, economic and monetary policy, trans-European networks, consumer and health protection" states the Opinion.

According to the document, these are the areas which require further adjustments of the legal and institutional framework and in particular strengthening of administrative and implementation capacities.

V.Š. – V.Ž.

European money to scythe fern

The case of Slovenian municipality Metlika shows that well-conceived programmes can attract money from European funds for all sorts of project. They received almost 60 000 euros from Brussels for scything fern by hand.

Swaths of tall fern were once used as a mat for cows in stalls, but this practice has almost disappeared. The municipality of Metlika managed to prove in a study that scything is being abandoned because of introduction of modern agricultural practices, thus threatening the survival of a valuable cultural tradition and diminishing biological diversity of rural areas.

The programme to scythe around 20 acres of land under fern received 80 000 euros, out of which 70% comes from the European Fund for Development of Rural Areas and the rest from the local community.



Germans splurge on innovation

Slightly more than a half of European companies (52%) in industrial and service sectors introduced some innovations in the period between 2006 and 2008, according to Eurostat. Among the EU members the highest share of enterprises with innovative activities is found in Germany where 80% of businesses introduced some innovations. Germany is followed by Luxembourg (65%), Belgium and Portugal (58%), and Ireland (57%). The lowest rate of innovation is found

in Lithuania, where only 24% of the companies work with innovations, followed by Poland (28%) and Hungary (29%).

Among the companies that introduced innovations, 34% cooperated with other companies, universities or public research institutes, while another 66% relied on internal resources.

The highest rate of cooperation with other institutions is found in Denmark (57%).

100 EUR saved on liberalisation

Every consumer in EU could save up to 100 EUR per year if he or she used the advantages of liberalisation of the energy market, finds a study published by the European Commission.

The consumers could make the sav-

ings by choosing the cheaper rates and the cheapest suppliers, suggests the study based on the results of the so-called "mystery shopping", conducted in all EU members.

The study shows that in 62% of the cases there is a rate cheaper than the one paid by the consumers, and that 41% did not know about cheaper rates. One third of the consumers compares prices, less than a half know how much electricity their household spends, and only 28% is satisfied with the way in which their complaints are processed.

Consequently, the EC proposed a series of activities to facilitate consumers' choice, provide them with better opportunities on the energy markets, including easier price comparisons and more effective processing of complaints.



Concern for workers

European Commission approved Poland's request for assistance from the European Globalisation Fund (EGF) for 189 workers who were laid off in the shipbuilding industry. The assistance amounted for 114,250 euros, while another 515 workers in the Spanish automobile sector received 382 200 euros, Brussels announced. The assistance for Poland is aimed at the former employees of the company H. Cegielski – Poznan, the only Polish producer of ship engines, and four of its branch factories.

"The laid-off workers could encounter difficulties finding new employment, and many of them will have to move to other industries. I believe that the support and training they receive through EGF will facilitate their move to a new workplace", said European Employment Commissioner **Laszlo Andor**.

Iceland on the scanner

European Commission and representatives of Iceland's government began in mid-November the process of screening to assess the degree of harmonisation of Iceland's legislation with the European one, which is a procedure proceeding negotiations on individual chapters.

In its Opinion on Iceland's application for membership from February, EC found that 10 out of 33 chapters to be screened are already covered by the agreement on European Economic Area. In another 11 chapters Iceland accomplished harmonisation with EU legislation, while little harmonisation was found in the remaining 12 chapters.

The screening process is expected to be completed in the first half of 2011.

Expensive seat

The EU presidency will cost Hungary 77 million euros, announced European media.

Hungary will take over the six-month presidency from Belgium on 1 January. As its priorities in this term Budapest listed improving the European economy, bringing EU closer to the citizens, strengthening cooperation in judiciary and home affairs. Among the issues on the agenda are also the situation of Roma and enlargement policy.

MEDIA FREEDOM DECLINING IN ENLARGEMENT COUNTRIES

Media prosecuted and threatened

Political pressure, threats and lawsuits against media and journalists are commonplace in EU candidate countries and other membership hopefuls.

"Freedom of expression and of the media, which is an integral part of any democratic system, remains a concern in most enlargement countries," Enlargement Commissioner **Štefan Füle** warned, unveiling the Commission's 2011 'Enlargement Strategy' at a press conference.

Only in Turkey does the existing legal framework "not yet sufficiently guarantee freedom of expression," the Commission's individual progress report on the country underlines. Whilst the EU has this year been funding civil society dialogue on the media with Turkey, a "high number of violations of freedom of expression" still exist, the report states, including a "high number of cases initiated against journalists and frequent website bans".

Indeed, forty journalists are cur-



executive.

Dutch European People's Party MEP **Ria Oomen-Ruijten**, the European Parliament's rapporteur on Turkey, underlined the serious conclusions of the Commission's progress report

government.

On the other side, despite the fact that legislation is gradually being put in place to secure media freedom in the Balkan countries, in practice its application is still being hampered, the Commission's enlargement reports reveal, mirroring reports from media organisations.

"In several Western Balkan countries, threats and physical attacks against journalists continued," the Commission's strategy paper said, with media freedom in Macedonia, Bosnia and Herzegovina and Kosovo being rated particularly poorly compared to last year.

In Bosnia and Herzegovina, "a growing number of journalists and editors are subject to violence including death threats," the report states, adding that implementation of the country's Freedom of Access to Information Act remained "insufficient".

Political pressure on the media was also noted to have increased in the country since last year, after the region had already seen the steepest drop in media freedom levels in the previous year.

Indeed, the South East Europe Media Organisation reported that Alternativna Televizija, a Bosnian TV channel, had received a memo from the Alliance of Independent Social Democrats, a political party, advising it not to report on last month's elections.

In late January this year, media mogul and aspiring politician **Fahrudin Radončić**, who owns Bosnia Herzegovina's largest daily newspaper Dnevni Avaz and led a political party in the elections, reportedly launched a public verbal attack on Bosnian journalist **Duška Jurišić**, using ethnic and sexist slurs.

South East European Media Organisation (SEEMO) Secretary-General **Oliver Vujović** described the pressure exerted by political parties on

Forty journalists are currently imprisoned in the country for "simply doing their job honestly and professionally"

rently imprisoned in the country for "simply doing their job honestly and professionally," according to the European Federation of Journalists. Meanwhile, Internet video-sharing website YouTube was banned from Turkey for two years, a ban which only expired in October.

Turkish opposition leaders have expressed their belief that last September's referendum on constitutional reform was held amid an atmosphere of financial pressure on media and created an atmosphere of fear in Turkey.

Journalism standards were also subjected to Commission criticism.

Despite "limited progress," anti-Semitism "continued to be an issue in ultranationalist media," warned the EU

regarding freedom of expression in the country.

"Pressure on newspapers, court cases against journalists and the disproportionate banning of numerous websites are unacceptable in a free pluralistic society. It is important to note that concerns have been fuelled about the effective judicial guarantees for all suspects in, for example, the Ergenekon case, and the length of pre-trial detention," she said.

Kemal Kilicdaroglu, leader of Turkey's main opposition party CHP, had earlier this year warned in a letter to the Brussels press that a "society of fear" was being created in Turkey due to pressure being exerted on the media from a "growing authoritarianist" AKP

ICELAND REFUSES EU MONEY FOR MEDIA CAMPAIGN

The situation is quite different in Iceland, which this year refused €30 million in Brussels cash out of fear that any projects the money is spent on would amount to interference in a domestic debate over whether or not to join the bloc.

In June, the commission announced that Reykjavik is eligible to receive up to €30 million for "pre-accession" projects. Ahead of joining the union, all countries can access funds from the "Instrument of Pre-Accession Assistance (IPA)."

One of the projects for which the money was intended was an information campaign by the EU to inform the Icelandic people about what it does. It is this aspect that has aroused controversy.

The government decided to keep its distance from the instrument, with applications having been halted by a number of government ministries.

Three Icelandic ministers in the EU-sceptic camp in particular fear that the funds would be used to change Icelandic legislation in a pro-EU direction already at this stage of negotiations.

Both the agriculture and fisheries ministry and the finance ministry – headed by the leader of the hard-left and eurosceptic Left Green Movement, **Steingrímur J. Sigfrússon** – have announced that they do not intend to apply for any grants, and two other ministries are considering not applying: the justice ministry and the transport, communications and local government ministry.

The European Commission for its part told EU observer that official notification of the move has not been made by Reykjavik and that as far as they are concerned, the country "still has lots of time to apply for funding."

Enlargement spokeswoman, **Angela Filote**, denied that the IPA cash amounted to pro-EU propaganda, however.

"It is eventually up to the government in agreement with the commission to decide on what they want to use IPA funding for."

It is understood that the issue within the government is "a delicate one," according to sources close to the discussion. The Commission says it is committed to finding a way that Reykjavik can use the funds that is acceptable to the government.

In several Western Balkan countries, threats and physical attacks against journalists continued," the Commission's strategy paper said, with media freedom in Macedonia, Bosnia and Herzegovina and Kosovo being rated particularly poorly compared to last year

the Bosnian media as "a serious press freedom violation, as journalists have the right to work freely and enjoy unrestricted access to all information concerning matters of public interest".

In a statement, Vujovic said: "SEEMO calls on the local officials of the political parties in Banja Luka to express any dissatisfaction with journalists in other, democratic ways instead of blocking communication. All media should be treated equally."

"SEEMO urges the Bosnian prime minister to change his behaviour in communicating with the media, and to

accept that diversity and critical reporting are a foundation of democratic development in any society," Vujović added.

Transparency of media ownership was identified as an issue in Albania and Macedonia as well, where intimidation of journalists was also seen as being "of serious concern" and Roma were often represented "in a manner that reinforces negative stereotyping" following their very public expulsion from EU member France this year.

Whilst the media was said to "generally operate freely" in Serbia, cases of

violence against journalists were said not to have been properly investigated. These include a murder attempt in April 2007 targeting **Dejan Anastasijević**, a journalist who reported on Serbian war crimes during **Slobodan Milošević's** presidency.

Concerns over media independence were also showcased in Kosovo, where the authorities were reported as being the largest advertisers. The media set-up there was described as being "conducive to strong political interference".

In fact, Kosovo's public broadcaster RTK is under political control and the country's deputy Prime Minister, **Hajredin Kuci**, last year served in the committee responsible for selecting the company's board members. Recently even the Economist reported a statement by RTK's chairwoman who claimed that the government was "blackmailing" them, "pressuring us to keep in line".

The Commission's report on Montenegro was not as bad as its neighbours, although lawsuits were still cited as being "used to exert pressure on the media," including through the imposition of fines.

Despite Croatia having provisionally closed 25 chapters out of the 35 necessary to complete its enlargement negotiations to join the European Union, including one on 'Information Society and Media', journalists who report on corruption and organised crime were said to continue to receive threats.

Freedom House ranks all of the candidate countries' press freedom levels as "partly free," alongside Bhutan and Nigeria. EU members Bulgaria, Romania and Italy also share this sad ranking.

However, the situation can be seen as being somewhat different in Iceland. The accession candidate this week refused to accept the €30 million it was entitled to for "pre-accession projects" including informing citizens on what the EU does, for fear of it being accused of gaining undue influence in the media.

The Commission will organise a conference on freedom of expression and the media in enlargement countries in spring 2011 in order to take stock of the countries' progress in this field.

Source: EuroActiv

Legal status of victims and casualties

On 26 November 2010 Documenta – Centre for Confrontation with the Past, in cooperation with the Fund for Humanitarian Law organised international expert consultations on the legal status of victims and casualties of the armed conflicts. The aim of the meeting was to provide legal definitions and distinctions between the notions of victims and casualties. The meeting was opened by **Vesna Teršelič**, executive director of Documenta and **Ivan Grujić**, head of the Office for the Imprisoned and Disappeared Persons of the Government of Croatia.

During the three sessions the participants presented methodologies of documenting human casualties which have been in use in the region and on the international level, the legal frameworks of the countries in the region defining the legal status of the victims and the dilemmas surrounding this notion.

The discussion gathered many participants from the region whose questions and recommendations provided a significant contribution. **Snežana Kaluđerović**, CCE legal advisor, participated in the meeting on behalf of CCE.

Life-long learning the road to the knowledge society

As part of the IX Festival of adult education organised by Centre for Civic Education in the framework of its programme "Life-long learning – the road to the knowledge society" on 11 November 2010 NGO representatives dealing with informal education of adults attended the meeting entitled "Overview of the current state and perspectives for development of the field of adult education in Montenegro".

Education of adults is an important component of the concept of life-long learning and incorporates all organised education processes, contents, levels and methods, regardless of whether the person is continuing or replacing initial education, developing his or her skills or broadening the knowledge and improving technical and professional qualifications. Such activities alter the attitudes and behaviour in the perspective of personal development of individuals and with regard to participating in a balanced societal and cultural development.

Adult education in Montenegro is

an important segment of the educational system, and has received recognition for this in a series of important strategic documents. The most important steps in the development of the system of adult education are the Law on adult education from 2003, Strategy for adult education (2005/2015), Plan for adult education (2006/2010). The main goals of these documents are to improve the knowledge and skills of the citizens and to embed the values of a democratic society through this form of education. Furthermore, an important condition for successful implementation of the strategic goals of adult education is successful implementation of activities such as licensing the organisers of adult education, accreditation of education programmes, external assessment of knowledge, skills and competences, as well as recognition of the acquired knowledge and skills.

Petar Đukanović, CCE programme coordinator, participated in the meeting on behalf of CCE.

NON-GOVERNMENTAL ORGANISATIONS IN EUROPEAN UNION



The European Centre for International Political Economy (ECIPE)

The European Centre for International Political Economy (ECIPE) is an independent and non-profit policy research think tank dedicated to trade policy and other international economic policy issues of importance to Europe. It was founded in 2006.

ECIPE is rooted in the classical tradition of free trade and an open world economic order. Progressive reduction of barriers to the movement of goods, services, capital and people across borders creates prosperity, and improves the conditions for peace, security and individual freedom. ECIPE's intention is to subject international economic policy, particularly in Europe, to rigorous scrutiny of costs and benefits, and to present conclusions in a concise, readily accessible form to the European public. The aim is to foster a "culture of evaluation" – largely lacking in Europe – so that better public awareness and understanding of complex issues in concrete situations can lead to intelligent discussion and improved policies.

The idea of a trade policy think tank in Europe is not new. There are other research centres addressing international economic issues, but few of them have a strong focus on trade policy.

ECIPE is trying to put an accent with its analyses on trade policies, linking these with economic, political and legal aspect of these policies and aiming to find other solutions that will be prepared for direct implementation within political processes in Europe. In that context, ECIPE conducts policy research and publishes papers, briefs, and books, organises seminars, conferences and roundtables on European and international trade policy, and other international economic policy issues of concern to Europe. It has developed network of fellows with tendency of expansion from its Brussels-based secretariat.

For more about ECIPE activities please visit: www.ecipe.org

Prepared by: **Petar ĐUKANOVIĆ**

Montenegro and public-private partnerships

On 9 November in Podgorica Institute Alternative (IA) presented a study entitled "Public-private partnerships in Montenegro – responsibility, transparency and efficiency", which was discussed from various angles by **Stevo Muk**, president of the Board of Managers of IA, **Jovana Marović**, senior cooperate i IA and author of the study and **Sanja Elezović**, director of the Foundation Open Society Institute, Regional Office in Montenegro (FOSI ROM).

The goal of the study was to present the legal framework and the projects implemented so far in this area in Montenegro and provide a comprehensive overview of the advantages and disadvantages of the legal framework and

practice. Furthermore, during the round table the participants could offer their comments, suggestions and recommendations for improving the practice of public-private partnerships. The research was conducted as part of the project "EU Matrix – Monitoring the process of European Integrations with the emphasis on the implementation of the National Plan for Integration of Montenegro into EU", which is being realised in partnership with the Centre for Monitoring (CEMI) and European Movement in Montenegro, with support of FOSI ROM.

Snežana Kaluđerović, CCE's legal advisor, participated in the round table on behalf of CCE.

Writing public policies

Montenegro's office for Technical Assistance to Civil Society Organisations (TACSO) organised on 19 and 20 November 2010 in Kolašin the first module of the national training "Effective writing of public policy documents."

During the training the participants had the opportunity to learn about the problem of defining public policy, building a public policy network, the purpose of policy papers, types of pol-

icy papers, public policy structure, as well as with the process of creating a public policy.

The training was conducted in the form of mini-lectures, through the application of participatory methods, group work and exchange of experiences.

Milica Milonjić and **Danilo Ajković**, CCE programme associates, participated in the training on behalf of Centre for Civic Education.

Capacity building in the NGO sector

From 28 to 31 November 2010 in Budva TACSO Montenegro organised a training "Managing civil society organisations", as a part of the project "Technical Support to Civil Society Organisations", financed by EU.

The goals of the training were: to increase the level of knowledge and skills of the selected representatives of civil society organisations from Montenegro in using different methods and techniques, tools and approaches in

managing civil society organisations.

Among other, the participants explored the key elements and tools for analysing the organisation, identifying the potential shortcomings and ways to overcome them, such as the integrated organisational model, organisational diagnosis, environment analysis, institutiogrammes, techniques for motivating the staff etc.

Ana Vujošević, CCE programme coordinator, attended the training on behalf of CCE.

Allow the other in the Balkans

On 10 November 2010 in Podgorica Centre for Civic Education, with support of the Robert Bosch Foundation, organised a panel presentation of an anthology of writings from South Eastern Europe "The other beside me", entitled "Allowing the other in the Balkans".

Anthology itself had so far published eight editions and eight countries (Albania, Bosna and Hercegovina, Bulgaria, Croatia, Macedonia, Serbia, Slovenia and Germany), and is prepared by **Richard Schwartz**.

Why do we distrust the others and the different so much? Where does the refusal to see them as friends instead of enemies come from? What are the roads to better mutual understanding in the Balkans? These are some of the topics to which 21 authors from eight countries in the region tried to give their literary answers.

The panel discussion also brought up the questions of why we are afraid of the other and the different, why does the otherness we do not understand provoke aggression, and how and to what extent do we understand and accept the others and the different in Montenegro, whether they belong to the national, religious, sexual minorities.

The speakers at the panel were: **Balša Brković**, writer and editor for culture in the daily "Vijesti", professor of the Department of Law of the University of Montenegro **Milan Popović**, **Nataša Nelević**, theatre critic and NGO activist, **Eugen Jakovčić**, journalist and coordinator of the Centre for Confrontation with the Past "Documenta" from Zagreb and **Nataša Govedarica**, playwright and coordinator of the Heartefact Fund from Belgrade. The discussion was moderated by **Daliborka Uljarević** from Centre for Civic Education.

FOR THIS ISSUE WE RECOMMEND:

FORECAST EXCHANGE PROGRAM

The FORECAST Exchange Program is open to all academic fields of study. Finalists will be selected on the basis of academic excellence, leadership potential, knowledge of English and their preparedness for study in the US.

In order to be eligible for the FORECAST Exchange Program, applicants must: Be a citizen of Montenegro and currently reside and study in Montenegro; Be enrolled as an undergraduate in good standing at a Montenegrin university and have satisfactorily completed at least one semester with final grades in some university courses but not be enrolled at the final year of their studies at the time of application; Be between the ages of 18 and 26; Have a strong command of written and spoken English; Be able to begin study in the United States in August 2011; Be able to receive and maintain the U.S. student exchange visa (J-1) required for this program; Be able to pass the medical exam

Interested undergraduates are required to fill out a FORECAST Exchange application form available in the American Corner, KIC Budo Tomovic, Vaka Đurovića 12, Podgorica. Application forms can also be downloaded at <http://podgorica.usembassy.gov>

Completed applications can be submitted to the above address from 10am to 6pm on the following dates: November 15, December 8 and 15, 2010 or January 10, 11 and 12, 2011. Applications and scanned copies of the other required documents may also be submitted electronically at

applications@worldlearning.org.rs by 5:00 pm on January 12, 2011.

Short-listed candidates will be called for an interview by a Selection Committee, and will be required to take the internet-based TOEFL test and receive a minimum score of 80. The final selection will be made by USAID in Washington, DC.

CEU SUMMER UNIVERSITY

Developing Local Economies through Inclusive Policies and Planning

This Summer School from 4 July – 15 July, 2011 offers the opportunity to learn the principles, strategies and applied skills necessary to equip policy makers and practitioners to be able to design, implement and measure participatory and inclusive local economic development (LED) enabling environments, policies, strategies and projects. This course will share local economic development strategies, tools and instruments that participants will be able to use to improve their sub-national economies.

This is the first course of its kind run by the CEU and offers global best in class faculty who are not promoting any specific 'tied' approach to LED. The course takes an interdisciplinary approach starting with a distance learning familiarization component, which will comprise a number of readings and opportunities to share knowledge. The main component is a 2-week residential course based in Budapest, Hungary. The first week's main focus will be on understanding the intellectual underpinnings of participatory local economic development, concepts and tools. The second week will be more concerned with practical application, case studies and debates and accountability activities. Every day will comprise a mix of Plenary sessions and Practice labs



providing a lively mixture of activities including seminars, workshops, presentations, discussions, case studies, team work, quizzes, debates, worked examples from across the world, assignments and 'afternoon sofa conversations'. Participants will be offered a choice between two elective thematic events: (i) A Master-class on LED in oil, gas and mining-rich areas – How to maximize opportunities and minimize threats to Local Economies or a (ii) A Master-Class – Nuts and Bolts of Implementing Local Economic Development projects.

All participants will undertake a Study tour in Hungary, and students before the programme and graduates after will have access to and opportunities to contribute to a permanent on-line knowledge hub and remain networked with this class and further classes.

The course aims to attract participants from across the world and across different organizations to maximize peer to peer learning and exchange.

More on:

<http://www.summer.ceu.hu/02-courses/course-sites/developing/index-developing.php>

Application deadline: 15 February, 2011

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